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ABSTRACT

The nine units highlight the history, activities, values, and aspirations of the Canadian labor force. The program's purpose is to help secondary school social studies students develop a more objective appreciation of labor and of labor's role in Canadian social history. The first unit, "Union Today," analyzes contemporary union activity and provides a basis for further labor studies. Other units are: "Origins of Canadian Labour;" "The Impact of Key Events;" "The Workingman: A Social Perspective;" "Union Leadership;" "Varieties of Labour;" "Labour and the Law;" "Labour and Politics;" and "Labour and the Future." For each unit, information is presented on objectives, rationale, content, strategy, and resources. Activities involve students in defining terms; reading about labor leaders and labor activities; presenting written and oral reports; participating in simulations of labor/management relations; making files of labor-related news clippings; analyzing illustrations, slides, tape recordings, and documents; interviewing; visiting local labor meetings; analyzing tables of data; debating about the quality of workers' lives; and problem solving. An appendix presents resource materials for each unit, such as newspaper clippings, texts of labor legislation, historical documents, government reports, and collective bargaining agreements. (Author/DB)

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LABOUR STUDIES UNITS

prepared for the

ONTARIO FEDERATION OF LABOUR

by

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February 1976

Unit 1 of 9 Units

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RATIONALE

Much of history and social studies in our secondary schools has concentrated on specialized studies reflecting the interests of the teacher responsible for the course. Teacher interests are in turn a product of the teacher's background e.g. courses taken, the philosophy of history expounded by professors, etc. Consequently the excessive study of politics, constitutionalism, foreign affairs in our universities has engendered an excessive study of these topics in our secondary schools and a sad neglect of underlying social-historical bases for the above subjects. Indeed, the failure to develop Canadian social history adequately has left us with little more than biases, fleeting perceptions and even blatant misinformation of that single largest component of the Canadian mosaic - the working man.

This program is designed to remedy in part that imbalance by looking at history from the bottom up rather than from the traditional top down. In approaching the subject this way students, in their formative years will receive factually more accurate information, allowing them to develop a more objective appreciation of labour, its history, activities, values and aspirations.

Two documents of the Ontario Ministry of Education have fundamentally influenced the structure, format, methodologies and objectives of this program. Recognition and application of these documents, it is believed, has enhanced the quality of the program by giving direction in its development and added purpose to its use.

The first of the documentary influences is H.S.1. In adhering to the philosophical principles of the document, the program is student centred. The student will identify the problems and their nature; the student will develop inquiry oriented strategies and research methods to solve the problems. In all of this the teacher's role will be that of a resource/directional person. Again utilizing the principles of H.S.1 the program will be community oriented. Wherever possible local labour leadership will be employed as springboards to the study of issues. Consequently the student, while looking at the Canadian labour scene, will see his community's role in that setting. Finally consonant with H.S.1 the program will endeavour to develop a variety of skills which will encourage the formation of a critical and analytical mind. This open-ended approach to the study of labour can only result in a more sympathetic and understanding citizen whether he works on the assembly line or in a corporate office.

The second document is History: Intermediate Division 1973 with its emphasis on Canadian Studies and the analyses of issues and events from a Canadian perspective. Its premise that "History, as an investigation and interpretation of the totality of the human experience, can give the learner an opportunity to reflect upon man's feelings and thoughts, his aspirations and failures, his social relationships, his artistic expression, his political experimentation, his economic evolution, and the interaction of these many aspects of the human drama," makes the study of labour and the working man an imperative subject of study at this level.

In its encouragement of the study of urbanization technology, it encourages the study of labour. Its encouragement of the use of artifacts and biography makes the study of labour particularly desirable. In short, labour as a subject of study contains all elements underlined in the Intermediate Guideline.

Two final major factors have had a major effect on the program's structure. Timetables in Ontario secondary schools are characterized by a flexibility ranging from a nine period day to full or half credit semestering determined by county needs and even in many cases by the needs of a particular school. In addition pressure to include a variety of subjects in each course under the credit system would make it unlikely that labour studies would receive full credit treatment. Consequently the program is divided into a series of units, each beginning with a present-day perspective on an issue which students will use as a focus for their study of the past and present. This will allow each unit with exception of Unit 1, to be considered independently of the others should the teacher wish to study some units but not others.

This program is not a final answer to the neglect of labour in our schools, nor is it intended to create an unquestioning naive belief in labour. Rather, it is intended to have the student develop a clear understanding of his society in general by studying and objectively assessing one of its major components.

OBJECTIVES

Knowledge:

Identify and give the importance of several of the key figures in the labour movement: (O'Donoghue, Simpson, Lawrence, Moore, Draper, Mosher, Heaps, Coldwell, Douglas Woodsworth, MacInnis, Barrett, Conroy, Millard, Burt, Dowling, Jodoin, MacDonald, Meagher).

Identify and give the importance of the following key events in the labour movement: The National Policy, Toronto Trades Assembly, World War I, Winnipeg General Strike, Female Suffrage, Depression, S.N. Strike in Oshawa (1937), World War II battle vs. "Commie-Liners", Kirkland Lake Strike (1941-42), Ford Strike (1945), Asbestos Strike (1949), Railway Strike (1950), Steelworkers Strike at Murdochville, Formation of C.L.C., Formation of New Democratic Party, Post Office Employee's Strike in 1965, Disputes of 1966, Labour Relations Act of Ontario.

Define the following terms: Injunction, wildcat, general strike, collective agreement, arbitration, closed shop, collective bargaining, mediation, cost of living allowance, fringe benefits, grievance, job security, Labour Council, Labour Relations Board, Local, lockout, picketing, seniority, craft union, trade union, knights of labour, Canadian Congress of Labour, Trades & Labour Congress, Independent Labour Party of Ontario, Canadian Labour Party, New Democratic Party, C.C.F., Canadian Federation of Labour.

- Account for the varying concern and views of management and labour
- Explain in verbal or written form, the operation and organization of unionism in Canada
- Explain in written form, the struggle of the working man in Canada
- Explain the various methods used by unions and by management to bring about contract agreements
- Identify the major legislative acts related to the labour movement

- Outline several varieties of unionism that have existed in Canada
- Explain how early unionism affects the union movement today

SKILLS

Improve the basic skills of reading, writing and verbal expression

Practise research skills

Question the readability of resources being used

Organize previous, unfamiliar data into groups, tables or charts

Develop questioning procedures related to guest speakers

Distinguish between fact and opinion by offering an example of each and to recognize bias

Develop the responsibility working individually or in small groups without constant supervision

Practise listening to the ideas and viewpoints of others

Practise co-operating harmoniously with other students to achieve a worthwhile learning experience

Perceive and articulate issues related to the course

Develop and observe leadership skills in group settings

Develop some criteria for evaluating one's own efforts

ATTITUDES

Develop some appreciation of the efforts of certain personalities on behalf of all working men in Canada

Appreciate the views in the continuing struggle between management and labour

Understand the fact that workers of the past often had the same basic concerns and problems as the working man today

Understand how people of the past came to grips with their problems and concerns

Hold some value in the acceptance of individual responsibility

Develop a sense of satisfaction from working by oneself or with others to successfully complete a task

Enjoy History

Be aware of the fact that learning takes place through a wide variety of experiences

Form a realistic appraisal of role of unions in Canadian History

Be aware of one's own attitudes and values related to unions and management

Unit # 1: Unions Today

Rationale

"Unions Today" is not only designed to analyze contemporary union activity but is structured to give students a basis for further labour studies.

The unit begins by challenging students to articulate and clarify their personal views and attitudes concerning labour. It is hoped that the students will be encouraged to continually assess their views and values as they pursue this study. Certainly, a post test should be applied to measure any change that might have taken place in this area and to reveal the nature of this change. This knowledge should be of value to both the instructor and the student.

Whether this unit is to be used in conjunction with others on labour or, independently, issues related to the labour movement in Ontario will confront the student. The flexibility in the structure of "Unions Today" will allow the instructor to expand those issues which best suit the local community. In fact, the unit demands that students carry their study into the community and bring local resources into the classroom. Students should now observe the views and attitudes of the local personalities they are now encountering. To determine why these varying views exist could be a valid historical study in itself. If further studies of labour history are to follow, students will observe some historical continuity as issues arising in this unit will be certain to reappear. It is for this reason that the authors recommend "Unions Today" as an introductory unit to labour studies.

The follow-up to the pre-test should require students to establish working definitions for the list of labour terms so that a common meaning will exist when used by members of the group. This vocabulary list should be expanded as students encounter other key terms.

As study proceeds into the unit, flexibility is again offered so that the instructor can choose those strategies best suited to meet the objectives of the overall program and the needs of his/her particular students. Certainly a variety of approaches can be used to develop various skills and to maintain interest.

Regardless of what strategies the instructor organizes, students should be better equipped to comprehend most facets of labour in their local area by the end of this study.

UNIT # 1: UNIONS TODAY

Theme: What do you think unions are?

OBJECTIVES	CONTENT	STRATEGY	RESOURCES
1. Examine attitudes and values which the students already possess concerning labour. 2. Raise issues relative to management and labour. 3. Develop a working vocabulary for the unit.	Opinions, attitudes and values concerning labour today. There is no intent for these opinions to be specific or lasting. Definitions of terminology.	Pre-test will be applied to determine existing knowledge, biases, values and attitudes. Will be applied again at the end of the course to show what growth has taken place.	See attached Pre-test re: attitudes, etc. Appendix I-A. Lazarus, Morden. Years of Hard Labour. pp. 110 - 111.
1. Establish issues in the labour movement. 2. Determine viewpoints of labour and management. 3. Ask questions to determine issues and viewpoints. 4. Listen attentively to guest responses.	Establishment of Issues. What are important problems concerning labour today? Some suggestions as to what issues may emerge are: conflict, harmony, values, human rights, who runs the plant? Government interference, standards of living. The teacher shall pick out those issues which best suit the local community.	Guest Speakers. (Labour leaders, working men, management). Question and answer period. Make up a file of news clippings concerning labour issues.	Contact local Labour Councils for guest speakers. Collection of statements by labour and management leaders. Appendix I-B Newspapers, local and national.

OBJECTIVES	CONTENT	STRATEGY	RESOURCES
1. Interpret and explain union activities from slides. 2. Determine activities of unions from documents or pamphlets.	Labour in Action i.e. strikes, picketing, ratification meeting, strike breakers, labour day parades. What are the various activities of unions today?	Analysis of pictures on slides tape recordings, documents.	Slides: Labour In Action Appendix 1-10 Attend meeting of a local or tapes of a local meeting or minutes of a local meeting. Contact locals and OFL for pamphlets.
1. Know the names of specific unions. 2. Know the sizes and strengths of unions today. 3. Interpret charts and graphs. 4. Determine any trends for labour from graphs.	Sizes and strengths of unions today. Percentage of work force organized. Growth patterns. Types of unions: i.e. C.L.C., C.N.T.U., Independents, N.C.C.L.	Statistical Analysis. Given a graph of statistics, determine the implications of those statistics.	Lazarus, Morden. Years of Hard Labour. PP. 70, 94, 104. Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Canada Labour Gazette. Ontario Ministry of Labour publications. Appendix 1 C.
1. Prepare an acceptable interview or questionnaire technique. 2. Determine bias or prejudice in attitude toward labour.	Attitudes in the Community. Clarify a variety of views and attitudes toward unions in the local community.	Conduct an interview or questionnaire. Visit to a membership meeting of a local. Examine collected newspaper clippings for opinions and attitudes.	Contact key local union leaders and Labour Councils. Labour Day Book. Local newspapers, union newsletters.

OBJECTIVES	CONTENT	STRATEGY	RESOURCES
1. Write an essay summarizing all ideas and attitudes accumulated in the unit. 2. Integrate learning from different strategies into a non-written presentation. 3. Compare and judge personal attitude and views concerning labour and unions with those presented throughout the unit.	Summation: What do you think unions are?	Every student will submit a written paper. Also, a panel discussion or a bulletin board illustration should be undertaken by the students to show the complexities of labour and unions.	Knowledge accumulated in the unit.

APPENDIX I - A

LABOUR STUDIES

Unit 1

Pre-test

1. A. Define the following terms:

- arbitration
- collective bargaining
- contract
- grievance
- injunction
- management
- local
- picketing
- trade union
- strike

B. What words above can be defined from different points of view? Suggest what these definitions might be.

2. A. List the unions that exist in your own local area.

B. Name other unions that you are familiar with.

3. A. Name the last strike in your community that you have heard or read about.

B. How did you get information about this strike?

C. What were the reasons for the strike mentioned in 3(A).

D. List other factors that sometimes result in a strike being called.

E. When do you feel it is right for a union to strike?

F. When do you feel it is wrong for a union to strike?

4. A. List those things that you think unions and management negotiate today when trying to draw up a contract.

B. Choose the two items in 4(A) that you think are most important.

5. Check the response that most accurately reflects your attitude towards the following statements.

A. I think unions are too powerful today.

strongly agree   agree   I do not know   disagree   strongly disagree

B. If you don't like the way things are run in this factory, get another job.

strongly agree   agree   I do not know   disagree   strongly disagree

C. I think that I paid so much for food at the store today because labour is always asking for so much money.

strongly agree   agree   I do not know   disagree   strongly disagree

D. I think that my dad had to pay too much for his car because the big companies are making too much money.

strongly agree   agree   I do not know   disagree   strongly disagree

E. I think that if a steel strike lasts longer than one month the government should determine a settlement.

strongly agree   agree   I do not know   disagree   strongly disagree

F. I do not believe that the police should be allowed to go on strike.

strongly agree   agree   I do not know   disagree   strongly disagree

6. Complete the following sentences by listing adjectives in the blanks that best describe your feelings.

Unions are __________
____
____
____

Company owners and managers are __________
____
____
____

Strikes __________
____
____
____

VIEWS OF LABOUR

"The strike or lockout are doubtlessly unsophisticated, perhaps even barbaric, methods of resolving disputes. To date, however, no one has 'built a better mouse-trap'."

-Bill Howes, Canadian Labour, December 1974

Whereas the growth and development of the working class is enhanced by periods of relaxation, and
Whereas present legislation forces an employee to work up to 100 hours per year over and above a 48 hour work week, and
Whereas overtime permits are easily available to employers to force the employees to work another 100 hours, and
Whereas the unemployment situation could be greatly improved if a standard 32 hour work week was enacted:
Therefore, be it resolved that this 1973 convention demand legislation forbidding the issuance of work permits governing overtime beyond a limit of 100 hours a year per employee, and
Be it further resolved that a 32 hour work week be adopted as a Canadian and a provincial standard.

-Resolution to 17th convention of O.F.L. - C.L.C., November 1973
(submitted by Local 541, United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers of America)

"We must not forget for a moment that two-thirds of the poor people in the country are Canadian workers who sweat and toil in low income jobs. Our purpose is to get to them, to seek them out, to persuade them that the solution of their economic and social distress rests with the labour movement, that we have the tools, the techniques, the spirit, the will, and the courage to stand with them so they too may share in the wealth which they produce..."

-Donald MacDonald, CLC President, 10th Convention, May 13, 1974

"The increased tendency of labour to resort to strikes to achieve its aims, whether they are realistic of not, is a form of militancy which threatens to tear apart the fabric of an orderly society."

-John Van der Fest, Canadian Business Magazine, December 1974

"In spite of the sneers and jeers of our critics, we follow the tenet that we are, in truth, our brother's keeper, whether they hold a union card or not. The trade union movement was founded on the principle of social justice - that an unresolved injustice to the individual is an injustice against society."

-David B. Archer, President, OFL to the 17th Annual Convention, November 12, 1973

"If the public won't see the justice of our cause, then to hell with the public."

-Joe Davidson, Canadian Union of Postal Employees - as quoted in Canadian Business Magazine, August 1975

APPENDIX I - B

VIEWS OF LABOUR (continued)

"As conditions become more difficult, criticisms are heaped upon the process (collective bargaining) from all directions: it is the scapegoat of discontent."

-A.W.R. Carrothers, President, Institute for Research on Public Policy,
Canadian Business Magazine, July 1975

"There is no real way to avoid strikes. Stability in labour-management relations can only be promoted by strengthening free collective bargaining."

-Labour Minister Martin O'Connell, Brantford Expositor, March 28, 1972

"I've got people telling me to get the garbage off the streets and people saying to me 'fire them' (the strikers) and that kind of stuff."

-Mayor Vic Copps. The Brantford Expositor, September 4, 1974

"The strikers are serious - their jobs are at stake. The management is serious - their business is at stake. But bargaining is so rigid, so set in its ways that, to an outsider, everyone seems to have a kind of role to play. And play. And ..."

-Star Weekly, January 9, 1971.

"The most publicized challenge to the labour establishment has developed within its own ranks. A campaign to reform the CLC was launched last fall by the presidents of the three largest national unions in the Congress - Stan Little of CUPE, Don Secord of the CBRT, and Claude Edwards of the PSAC.

Their program calls for higher standards of servicing by affiliates, a rigorous code of ethics, Canadian control of American union branches in Canada, a consolidation of labour's fragmented structure, and the improvement of CLC services to member unions"

-MacLeans, May, 1974

"The lesson seems to be that regardless of your skill level, you won't get the same benefits unless you're organized."

-Brantford Expositor, July 20, 1974

VIEWS OF LABOUR (continued)

"... statistics prepared by the International Labour Office in Geneva indicate that, in the period 1970-73, Canada lost more days through labour disputes than any major industrialized country with the exception of Italy."

-Financial Times, February 7, 1975

"... men were paid higher hourly wage rates than women in all but two out of 56 similarly described industry occupations in 1969."

-Globe & Mail, December 25, 1971.

"Office work has become an assembly-line process and the wor[illegible] unionizing."

-Weekend Magazine, August 25, 1973

"One of the big factors in the success of Canadian unions in recent years has been their ability to extract good wage improvements for their members."

-Ed Finn, CBRT Expositor, July 20, 1975

"Instead of perpetually relying on wage demands as the only way of asserting the workers' prestige and individuality in the industrial complex, workers should strive to impose their will on major industrial decisions."

-Derek Blackburn, N.D.P. Brantford Expositor, Monday, January 10, 1972

"Good union - management relations are prerequisite to a vibrant, healthy community where people can live and work in dignity."

-Terry Meagher, Secretary-Treasurer, OFL, Expositor, March 9, 1973

"Mass picketing against injunctions, wildcat strikes, revolts against union leaders and fifty percent wage demands are only the beginnings in labour's search for status in the new society."

-Saturday Night, December, 1966

UNION MEMBERSHIP BY CONGRESS AFFILIATION, 1942 TO 1960

Year	CANADIAN LABOUR CONGRESS CLC Total	 CLC only	 CLC/ AFL-CIO	CANADIAN CONGRESS OF LABOUR CCL total	 CCL only	 CCL/CIO	American Federation of Labour only	Congress of Industrial Organizations only	Unaffiliated international unions Railway Brotherhoods	 other	Can. & Catholi Federa- tion o Labour
	414	415	416	417	418	419	420	421	422	423	424
1960	1,122,831	234,083	888,748	-	-	-	33,117		9,857	66,434	101,942
1959	1,153,756	256,646	897,110	-	-	-	18,699		9,808	70,994	97,092
1958	1,144,120	237,054	907,066	-	-	-	18,432		9,608	79,970	104,255
1957	1,070,129	203,643	866,486	-	-	-	1,184		33,594	81,205	99,372
	TRADES & LABOUR CONGRESS										
	TLC	TLC	TLC/AFL								
1956	640,271	111,467	528,804	377,926	86,836	291,090	1,050		43,877	81,122	101,169
1955	600,791	107,260	493,531	361,271	96,361	264,910	9,290	2,500	40,307	58,627	99,801
1954	596,004	100,212	495,792	360,782	92,590	268,192	9,748	2,430	40,922	62,127	100,312
1953	558,722	97,450	461,272	352,538	101,737	250,801	10,524	3,000	41,751	61,935	104,486
1952	522,965	91,999	430,966	330,778	102,256	228,522	9,555	2,000	41,385	62,592	89,013
1951	470,926	80,953	389,973	312,532	107,587	204,945	11,307	1,500	40,459	50,205	86,184
1950	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1949	459,068	104,265	354,803	301,729	98,461	203,268	13,996	27,475	41,363	25,303	80,089
1948	439,029	105,782	333,247	338,627	93,771	244,856	9,367	3,777	41,126	2,351	93,370
1947	403,003	104,590	298,413	329,058	97,100	231,958	6,274	2,174	39,627	2,326	91,026
1946	356,121	93,582	262,539	314,025	92,912	221,113	9,513	1,680	37,731	2,247	70,367
1945	312,391	87,687	224,704	244,750	93,268	151,482	6,227	163	37,273	2,669	68,205
1944	284,732	52,886	231,846	272,146	99,687	172,459	9,516	159	36,147	1,924	74,624
1943	249,450	39,324	210,126	245,812	105,514	140,298	11,459	3,877	34,590	1,330	68,576
1942	230,290	32,634	197,656	200,089	84,942	115,147	6,622	2,400	32,984	607	54,556

APPENDIX I - C

Union membership in Canada, showing those with international affiliation, 1911 to 1960 (thousands)

Year	Total union membership	Membership in unions with international affiliation
	412	413
1960	1,459.2	1,052.0
1959	1,458.6	1,055.7
1958	1,454.0	1,062.3
1957	1,386.2	990.5
1956	1,351.7	947.5
1955	1,268.2	893.8
1954	1,267.9	904.7
1953	1,219.7	850.5
1952	1,146.1	796.0
1951	1,028.5	725.6
1950	-	-
1949	1,005.6	712.6
1948	977.6	675.0
1947	912.1	620.5
1946	831.7	573.3
1945	711.1	471.0
1944	724.2	468.0
1943	664.5	425.4
1942	578.4	379.0
1941	461.7	288.0
1940	362.2	227.0
1939	359.0	216.7
1938	381.6	230.5
1937	383.5	217.5
1936	322.7	174.8
1935	280.6	143.6
1934	281.3	161.4
1933	285.7	167.7
1932	283.1	176.1
1931	310.5	215.9
1930	322.4	230.9
1929	319.5	230.4
1928	300.6	211.3
1927	290.3	204.4
1926	274.6	202.5
1925	271.1	199.8
1924	260.6	202.0
1923	278.1	203.8
1922	276.6	206.2
1921	313.3	222.9
1920	373.8	267.2
1919	378.0	260.2
1918	248.9	201.4
1917	204.6	164.9
1916	160.4	129.1
1915	143.3	114.7
1914	166.2	140.5
1913	175.8	149.6
1912	160.1	136.4
1911	133.1	119.4

APPENDIX I - C

Union Membership by Type of Union and Affiliation, 1973

Type and Affiliation	No. of Unions	No. of Locals	Membership Number	Membership Per Cent
International Unions	96	4,787	1,443,246	56.5
AFL-CIO/CLC	79	4,445	1,230,735	48.2
CLC only	5	195	139,481	5.5
AFL-CIO only	5	8	619	*
Unaffiliated Unions	7	139	72,411	2.8
National Unions	87	4,980	1,045,363	40.9
CLC	22	2,050	461,356	18.0
CNTU	9	977	163,928	6.4
CSD	8	233	41,000	1.6
CCU	10	43	17,455	0.7
Unaffiliated Unions	38	1,677	361,624	14.2
Directly Chartered Local Unions	133	133	16,056	0.6
CLC	130	130	15,492	0.6
CNTU	3	3	564	*
Independent Local Organizations	158	158	51,571	2.0
TOTAL	474	10,058	2,556,236	100.0

* Less than 0.1 per cent.

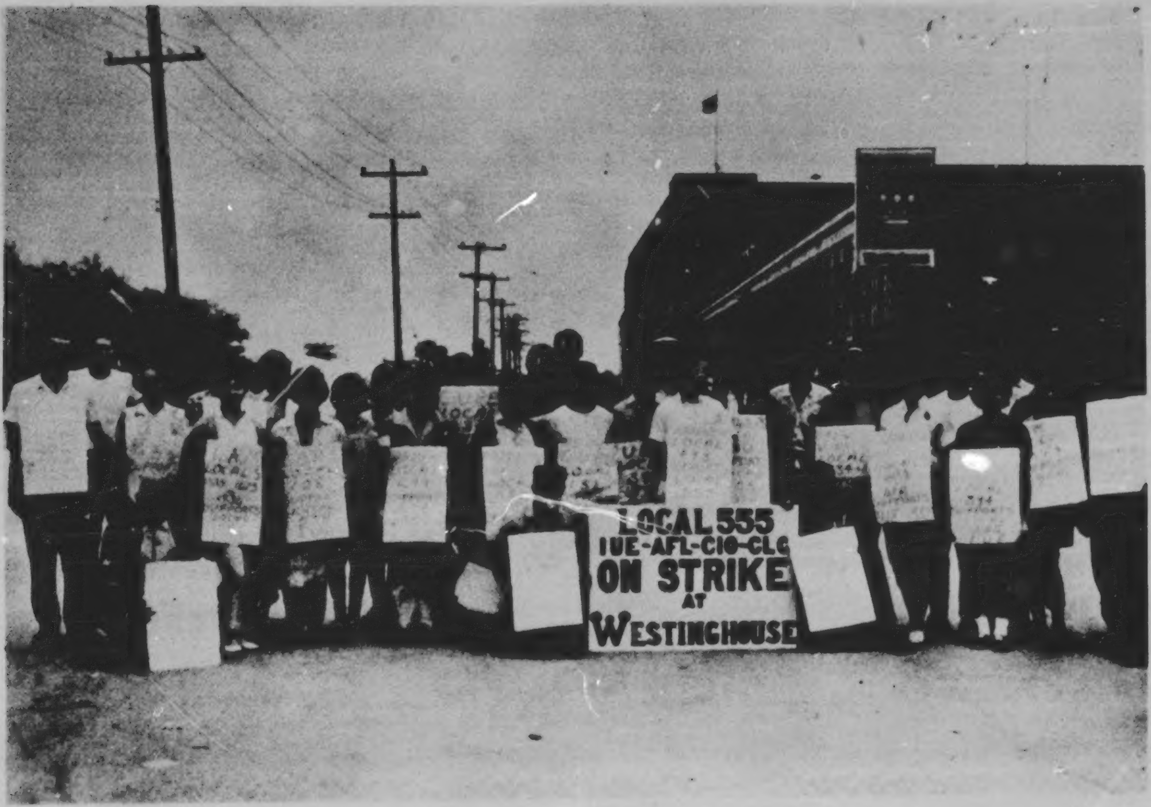
Source: Economics & Research Branch
Canada Department of Labour.

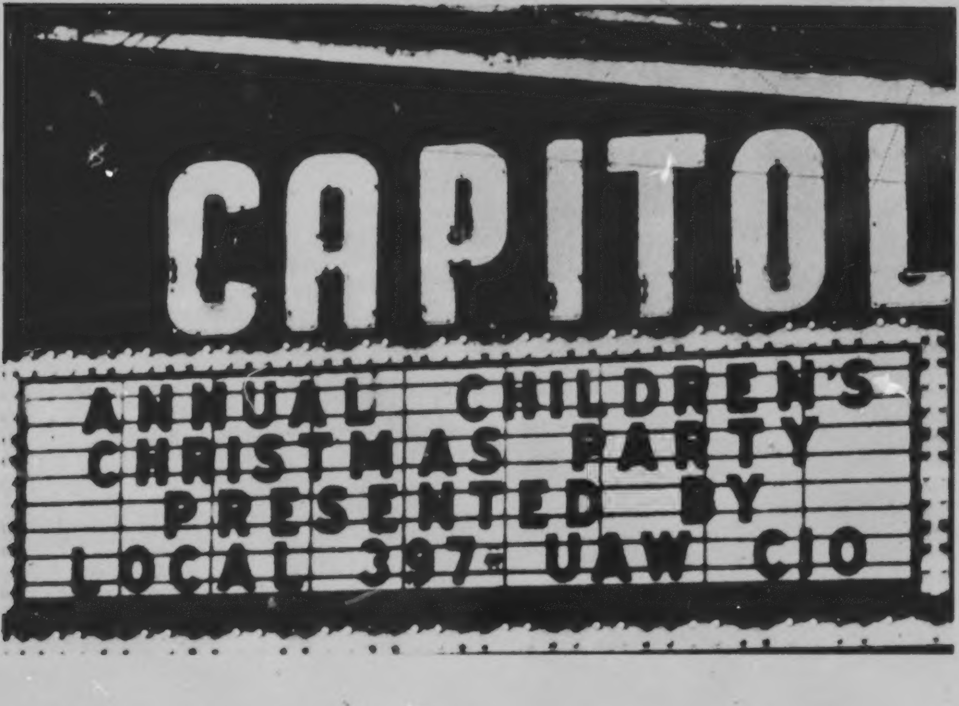
Union Membership by Congress Affiliation, 1973

Congress Affiliation	No. of Locals	Membership	
		Number	Per cent
CLC	6,820	1,847,064	72.3
AFL-CIO/CLC	4,445	1,230,735	48.2
CLC only	2,375	616,329	24.1
CNTU	980	164,492	6.4
CSD	233	41,000	1.6
CCU	43	17,455	0.7
AFL-CIO only	8	619	*
Unaffiliated International Unions	139	72,411	2.8
Unaffiliated National Unions	1,677	361,624	14.2
Independent Local Organizations	158	51,571	2.0
TOTAL	10,058	2,556,236	100.0

* Less than 0.1 per cent

Source: Economics and Research Branch
Canada Department of Labour.


LOCAL 555
IUE-AFL-CIO-CLC
ON STRIKE
AT
WESTINGHOUSE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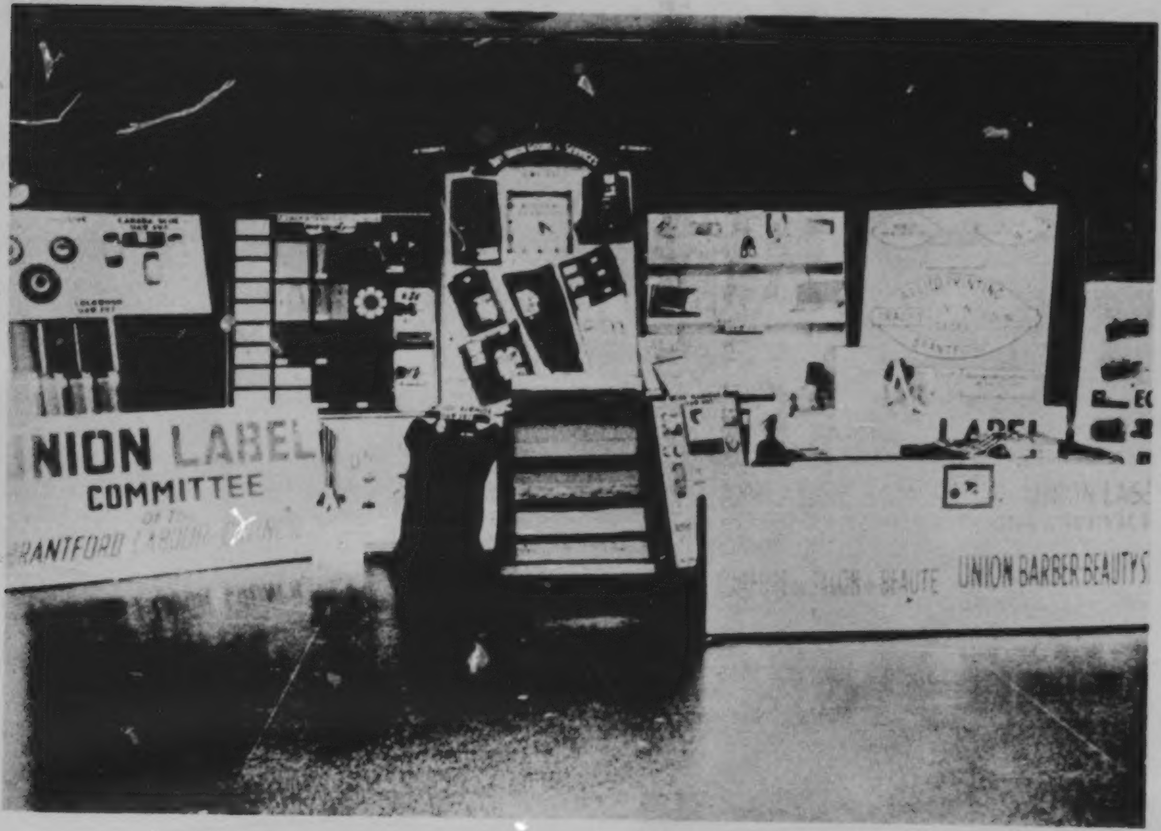
PICTURES FOR UNIT 1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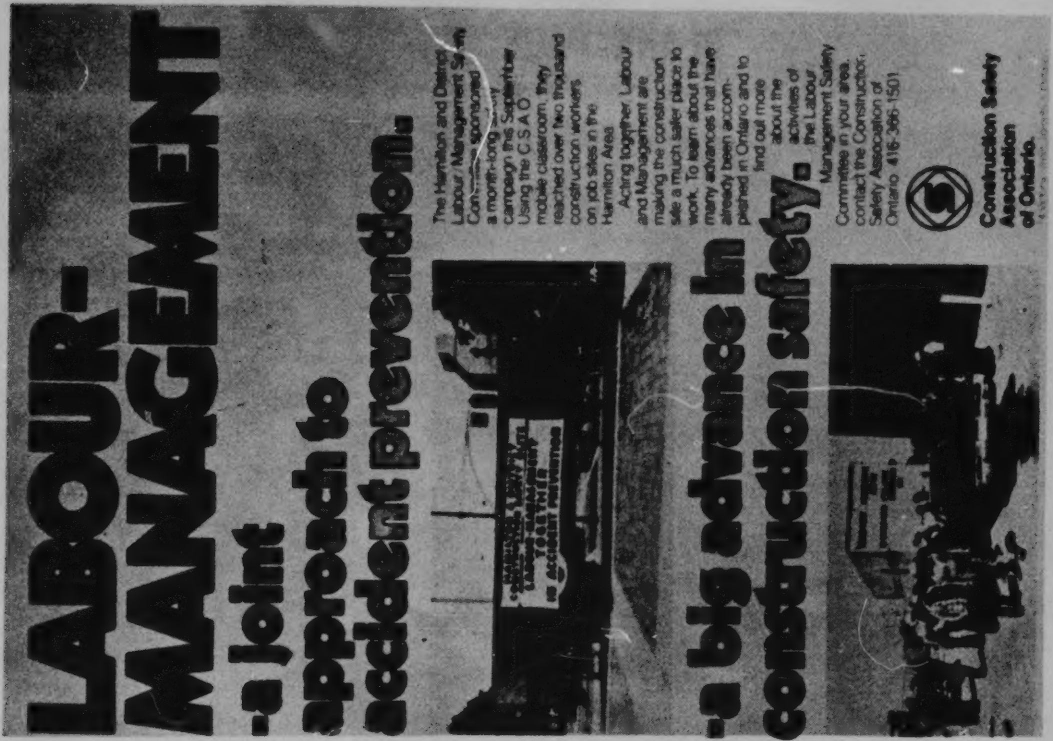

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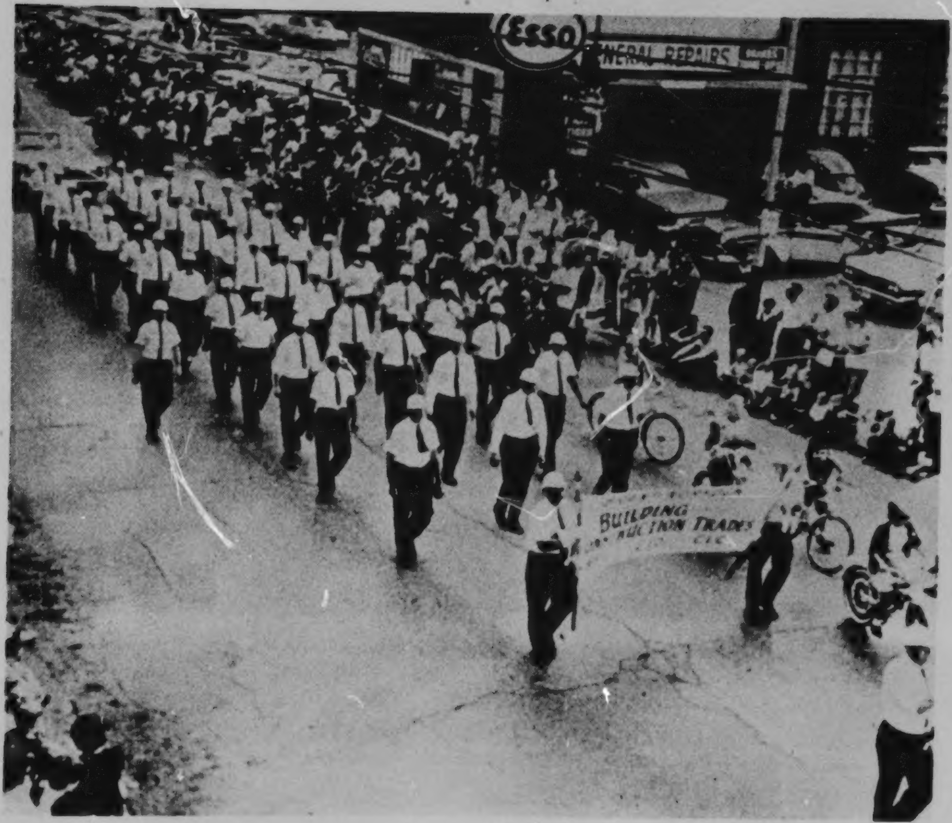

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NERAL REPAIRS
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UCTION TRADES

LABOUR STUDIES UNITS

prepared for the

ONTARIO FEDERATION OF LABOUR

by

ERIC HOLMES - BRANTFORD COLLEGIATE
NEIL McKINNELL - BRANTFORD COLLEGIATE
GREG MURTAGH - ONTARIO FEDERATION OF LABOUR

February 1976

Unit 2 of 9 Units

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Unit #2: Origins of Canadian Labour

Theme: Process of Change in a Community and the Responses to it.

UNIT RATIONALE:

By itself the statement that "to every change there are responses to it" may appear to be a truism, but to a student in years I and II of the Secondary level the perception of change and its responses are limited to, for example, the immediate world about them and physical change. The wider, more complex and ongoing issues of community change, social change and national change remain outside their knowledge framework. It is, therefore, imperative that the student obtain an understanding of this process and its effects as early as possible in her/his secondary school career.

The abovementioned process is very much a part of Canadian life and nowhere is the process more clearly or dramatically manifested than in the story of Canadian working people, their trials and their ultimate emergence as a major force in Canadian life. This unit is not simply a history of Labour Unions and their development, rather it is a social history of working people caught in the process of dramatic economic and social change, and how they reacted to it. In this context, trade unionism was one of the responses which over time became the major response of working people.

In short, this Unit has two central objectives. First it attempts to expose the student to the phenomena of change, its process and how the process can be analysed and the impact of change. Secondly, it proposes to provide the student with much needed brief historical background of the single largest component of the Canadian mosaic -- working people.

N.B.: This Unit can be used in conjunction with a multi-cultural heritage Unit on the development of industrial Britain or as a self-contained independent Unit.

CONTENTS	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES & SKILLS
Survival in the City An analysis of the qualities which students perceive as necessary to survive in an urban setting. These qualities could be divided into categories. e.g. -- mental -- physical -- economic -- social	The approach should be an inquiry into students' perceptions of their own communities and initially their reactions will probably reveal their own standard of living and background. To start, the students can write down the major qualities required to survive and give them a priority rating. Having completed the process, the class might be broken into smaller groups for discussion of the qualities and the formation of a tentative statement of the necessary qualities which they can test as they study the unit. This process could be repeated at the end of the unit, from a working man's point of view. Also the instructor should now direct questions towards why, how and when did the process of urbanization begin. At this point, the instructor can point out that the class will study earlier communities in attempt to determine what qualities they required and how they relate to the present day.	Select 5-10 pictures representing various facets of urban life. e.g. industry, a variety of residential areas, positive and negative social conditions. These can be obtained from magazines or possibly from slides and film strips in the department. Morden Lazarus, Years of Hard Labour, O.F.L. Publications, 1974.	Discussion skills a. Functions of a group leader. b. Functions of a group reporter.
Factors influencing Survival e.g. -- income levels -- dwelling location -- class -- access to power -- entertainment and leisure opportunities.			Formation of an hypothesis to be tested by detailed study Understanding how people adjust to conditions and the need for adjustment.

CONTENTS	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES & SKIL
C. Strategies for change: How can change be brought about?	Discuss various strategies for change and see if students can reach a consensus ranking.		
II. Phenomena of Urbanization: Process of change. A. Patterns of settlement 1. Early 19th Century -- rural -- agriculture 2. Populating the West at the turn of the Century. 3. Population growth of urban areas, placing emphasis on Ontario: a. Toronto b. Ottawa c. London d. Hamilton e. Brantford f. Windsor g. Kitchener h. Montreal	Basically this segment should be a brief study of the growth of population and its location. Statistical tables from which students could write brief descriptions of the growth of communities. The conclusions to be drawn from the data should be arrived at by group discussion which would allow for the introduction of conflicting interpretations of the data. The instructor can be working with various groups illustrating how data can be brought together to create a picture of growth, etc. In each case, students should be analyzing why change took place and see the effects of this change.	Appendix II- A Appendix II- B Appendix II- C Appendix II- D	Value of statist and their problems Drawing conclusion from source (prima material. Understanding of population movements.
4. Conclusions re Canadian population growth in the 19th Century and early 20th Century. A. Slow growth of Canadian population till the end of the 19th Century.	Once the conclusions have been developed, each group can present its findings to the class via ditto or oral report. Doubtless, conflicting conclusions will emerge and the instructor can encourage debate, analysis of the material in order to verify viewpoints and to point out to students where they	Jacob Spelt, *Urban Development in South-Central Ontario*. R.C. Langman, *The Shifting Pattern of Settlement*.	Group discussion techniques.

CONTENTS	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES & SKILLS
b. Displaced farmers Britain looking for land and independence. c. Disbanded soldiers d. Character and values of these people. -- thrifty -- individualistic -- homogeneous population -- rural orientation -- desire for land ownership.		Appendix II-E Appendix II-F Appendix II-G Appendix II-H Appendix II-I Appendix II-J Appendix II-K Appendix II-L Appendix II-M David M. Williams, Early Days in Upper Canada, Gage, 1972	Determination of values.
Late 19th and Early 20th Century Migration. a. External migration. -- continued Western immigration and notably from the British Isles. -- Eastern European migration at the end of the century adds a new element to the Canadian mosaic: the search for land and freedom. -- values of the new migrants; are they the same as natural born Canadians or different?	This segment of the unit might begin by having students do a survey of family backgrounds to determine origin of families, date of arrival, settlement area and ethnic background. Given the diversity of Ontario classrooms, it would be wise to do this now rather than at the beginning of the Early Migration segment in order to involve the entire class. Key points that should be developed in this segment are: shifting populations, new values and their impact on an existing community.	Appendix II-N Appendix II-O Appendix II-P For excellent pictures of immigrants, see: A.B. Hodgetts, Decisive Decades revised edition, Chapter 2. Rosemary Neering, Settlement of the West, Fitzhenry & Whitside, 1974.	Develop the concept of the Canadian mosaic. Cultural transmission.

CONTENTS	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES & SKILLS
	made mistakes and where their analysis is strong. Towards the end of the discussion the instructor should direct students to raising new questions concerning the people in the community, their origins and their values.		
b. Urban areas grew frequently in response to rural needs e.g. plows and agricultural implements.	e.g. why did urban development take place in these particular areas?		Concept of Economic Interdependence.
c. Ontario towns received much of the urban increase.			
d. Concentration of population in: -- Eastern Canada -- in Ontario along the Great Lakes and Southern Ontario in general. -- the frontier areas as agricultural or raw resources bases.			
B. Sources of immigration: 1. Early Settlement in Canada a. Origins in the British Isles.	What qualities did these people need to survive in early Ontario? Were these immigrants suited to survival on the frontier? Why?	Data on the settlement of Perth, Ontario, but should data for a particular area be available, this could be substituted or added. See appendices.	Population movements and their impact on a community.

CONTENTS	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES & SKILLS
b. Internal migration: the city as a magnet: Why? Economic Factors: -- harbour facilities -- roads leading to urban area -- railroads	Map study showing the spread of agriculture in 19th Century and the relationship to larger urban areas. Note that the reasons for Europeans moving to cities may be the same as for the native born.	See Langman, Settlement In Ontario, McClelland & Stewart.	Multiple causation and the relationship of one cause to another.
Social Factors: -- end to the availability of land in Ontario -- Dissatisfaction with loneliness of life on the farm -- hope of better income -- second sons could not obtain land	A possible approach would be for students to interview farmers as to their dissatisfactions with farming and possibly to interview people who left the farm for their motives. These might then be offered as possible explanations for the movement to the city. The instructor could now point out that a detailed study of life in the city will be undertaken in the next section allowing the student to apply his conclusions.		Application of results from a modern context to an historical situation.
. The Challenge of Change: the Impact of Urbanization		For Rural life refer again to data used in II B. 1	Concept of chance as a constant e.g. value changes and conflicts
Life on Farm and in the City 1. Working conditions 2. Housing 3. Food and dietary standards 4. Wages and income 5. Education 6. Qualities needed to survive	The class can again be divided into groups representing farmers and urban workers to research and report to other members on each of these points. Activities might include computing a worker's income or a family budget. The class might set up a museum of a working man's home to be placed on display.	For urban life see Appendices II-Q, II-R, II-S, II-T, II-U, II-V, II-W, II-X, II-Y, II-Z, II-AA, II-BB, II-CC, II-DD, II-EE, II-FF, II-GG, II-HH, II-II, II-JJ, II-LL. For additional picture information, see: Films: 1) Pioneer Children Go to School 2) Pioneer Education & Recreation	Evaluating documents in a cultural settin

CONTENTS	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES & SKILLS
		3) Pioneer Life - Farming 4) Pioneer Life - Home Crafts 5) Pioneer Life - The Home.	
B. Who was better off? Factors to be developed in the process of discussion: 1. Loneliness 2. Alienation 3. Impact of each way of life on the family 4. Health as a determinate of values 5. Individualism vs. collectivism	At this point the class can validly debate the issue of the quality of life for the farmer and urban dweller. Comparisons to our own age could also be developed.	A.B. Hodgetts, Decisive Decades, Revised Edition, Chapters 3 & 4 Several excellent photographs of urban conditions may be found in K. McNaught & David J. Bercuson, The Winnipeg Strike, 1919, Longman's, 1975	Factors which determine values, e.g. present vs Past Identifying Bias
V. Labour's reaction : early unions 1. Unionization --Knights of Labour --Printers --Toronto Trades Assembly Activities 2. Labour activities --pressure groups --electing representatives --legislation --strikes 3. Problems faced by early unions a. Employer hostility b. Depression c. Lack of protection in law d. Public hostility e. Lack of money f. Internal divisions within labour.	A useful approach would be to centre this segment about the issue: what did early labour want? How did unions attempt to achieve this? Was it successful--why? Perhaps the students might be divided into labour and management in the late 19th Century and asked to negotiate a contract centering on working conditions, wages and union recognition. The scenario should be set in a period of economic slowdown or recession in order to encourage hard bargaining and in order to develop attitudes and principles held by each side. The instructor should attempt to develop the viewpoint that labour attempted to improve its position by negotiations and political action. Only occasionally was there recourse	Edmund Bradwen, The Bunkhouse Man, University of Toronto Press, 1972 Appendix II-MM, Appendix II-NN, Appendix II-OO, Appendix II-PP, Appendix II-QQ, Appendix II-RR, Appendix II-SS, Appendix II-TT, Appendix II-UU, Appendix II-VV, Appendix II-WW, Appendix II-XX, Appendix II-YY, Appendix II-ZZ	Activity determined as a response to stimulus Group roles in history

CONTENTS	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES & SKILLS
V. How have conditions changed since the beginning of the Century? How do we account for the changes? Do the conditions for survival remain the same? Why?	Discussions in groups. Return to the issues discussed at the beginning of the unit.		

APPENDIX II- A

POPULATION OF CANADA, 1867 to 1961 (thousands)

Year	Total Population	Year	Total Population	Year	Total Population
1912	7,389	1895	5,026	1880	4,255
1911	7,207	1894	4,979	1879	4,185
		1893	4,931	1878	4,120
1910	6,988	1892	4,883	1877	4,064
1909	6,800	1891	4,833	1876	4,009
1908	6,625				
1907	6,411	1890	4,779	1875	3,954
1906	6,097	1889	4,729	1874	3,895
		1888	4,678	1873	3,826
1905	6,002	1887	4,626	1872	3,754
1904	5,827	1886	4,580	1871	3,689
1903	5,651				
1902	5,494	1885	4,537	1870	3,625
1901	5,371	1884	4,487	1869	3,565
		1883	4,430	1868	3,511
1900	5,301	1882	4,375	1867	3,463
1899	5,235	1881	4,325	-	-
1898	5,175			-	-
1897	5,122				
1896	5,074				

APPENDIX II - A

Population of Canada by province, 1851 to 1921

ar	Canada	Newfound-land	Prince Edward Island	Nova Scotia	New Brunswick	Quebec	Ontario	Manitoba	Saskat-chewan	Alberta	British Columbia	Yukon	North-west Territ ories
21	8,787,949	-	88,615	523,837	387,876	2,360,510	2,933,662	610,118	757,510	588,454	524,582	4,157	8,143
11	7,206,643	-	93,728	492,338	351,889	2,005,776	2,527,292	461,394	492,432	374,295	392,480	8,512	6,507
01	5,371,315	-	103,259	459,574	331,120	1,648,898	2,182,947	255,211	91,279	73,022	178,657	27,219	20,129
91	4,833,239	-	109,078	450,396	321,263	1,488,535	2,114,321	152,506	-	-	98,173	-	98,967
81	4,324,810	-	108,891	440,572	321,233	1,359,027	1,926,922	62,260	-	-	49,459	-	56,446
71	3,689,257	-	94,021	387,800	285,594	1,191,516	1,620,851	25,228	-	-	36,247	-	48,000
61	3,229,633	-	80,857	330,857	252,047	1,111,566	1,396,091	-	-	-	51,524	-	6,691
51	2,436,297	-	62,678	276,854	193,800	890,261	952,004	-	-	-	55,000	-	5,700

APPENDIX II - B

PERTH - TOWN STATISTICS

Population by Origin, 1871 - 1961

Origin	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
English	359	427	Not available	672	677	1,281	800	1,076	4,564	4,758
Irish	1,213	1,096		1,672	1,678	1,411	1,849	1,871		
Scottish	695	799		1,025	905	873	1,082	1,129		
Welsh	23	31		14	18	7	25	23		
French	71	62		142	130	92	147	177	192	216
German	3	28		22	35	21	58	42	59	114
Italian	-	-		1	35	9	31	22	26	44
Netherlands	2	19		9	6	6	11	30	69	86
Scandinavian	-	-		-	1	6	10	3	12	26
Other	9	5		31	103	84	86	85	112	116

APPENDIX II- C

Population of Canada, rural and urban, 1871 - 1921 Census Date

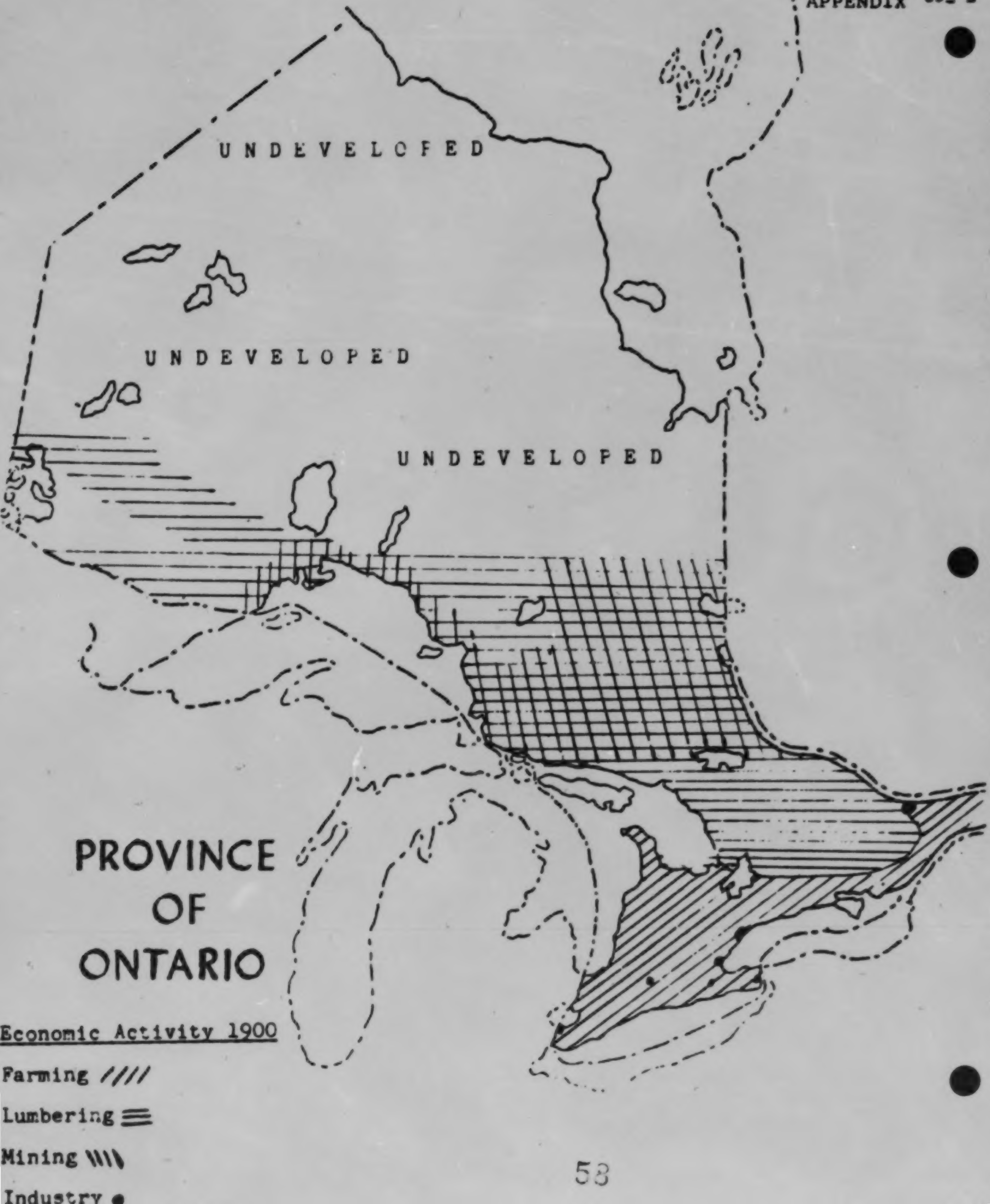
Year	Total population	Urban	Rural
	15	16	17
1921	8,787,949	4,257,443	4,530,506
1911	7,206,643	3,147,297	4,059,346
1901	5,371,315	1,990,162	3,381,153
1891	4,833,239	-	-
1881	4,324,810	-	-
1871	3,689,257	-	-

APPENDIX II- D

7

Populations of Selected Ontario Towns

	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921
Toronto	59,000	96,196	181,215	209,892	381,833	521,893
Hamilton	26,880	36,661	48,959	52,634	81,969	114,151
Ottawa	24,141	31,307	44,154	59,928	87,062	107,843
Windsor	4,253	6,561	10,322	12,153	17,829	38,591
London	18,000	27,867	31,977	37,976	46,300	60,959
Kitchener	2,743	4,054	7,425	9,747	15,196	21,763
Brantford	8,107	9,616	12,753	16,619	23,132	29,440
Fort William	-	690	2,176	3,633	16,499	20,541
Kingston	12,407	14,091	19,263	17,961	18,874	21,753
Oshawa	3,185	3,992	4,066	4,394	7,436	11,940
Sault Ste. Marie	879	780	2,414	7,169	14,920	21,092
Peterborough	4,611	6,812	9,717	12,886	18,360	20,994
Guelph	6,878	9,890	10,537	11,496	15,175	18,128
Niagara Falls	1,610	2,347	3,349	5,702	9,248	14,764
Sudbury	-	-	-	2,027	4,150	8,621
Sarnia	2,929	3,874	6,692	8,176	9,947	14,877
Stratford	4,318	8,239	9,500	9,959	12,946	16,094
North Bay	-		1,848	2,530	7,737	10,692
St. Thomas	2,197	8,367	10,366	11,485	14,054	16,026
Galt	3,827	5,187	7,535	7,866	10,299	13,216
Owen Sound	3,369	4,426	7,497	8,776	12,558	12,190
Cornwall	2,033	4,468	6,805	6,704	6,598	7,419
Welland	1,110	1,870	2,035	1,863	5,318	8,654
Pembroke	1,508	2,820	4,401	5,156	5,626	7,875
Orillia	1,322	2,910	4,752	4,907	6,828	7,631
Kenora	-	-	1,806	5,202	6,158	5,407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UNDEVELOPED
Farming ////
Lumbering ≡
Mining \\\\
Industry ●

PROVINCE
OF
ONTARIO

Economic Activity 1900

The First Habitation

BY

THE REV. WILLIAM BELL, M.A.

Having selected a proper situation, he must, first of all, proceed to erect a dwelling-house. He will cut a number of straight logs, at the length required, and when he has cut a sufficient number, he will get them drawn to the spot with oxen, or be assisted by his neighbours to carry them in. He will next raise what is called a bee, that is, a collection of his neighbours, to assist him in raising his house. Whenever a person needs help, he gets all his neighbours to assist him, and repays the favour, by giving them his assistance when they need it. The house is built, by laying the logs across one another at the corners, and notching them about half through, so that they are let down close to each other, and hold one another firm in their places. The next step is to get a roof put upon it, and this is done in the following manner: Baswood logs are cut as long as the house is broad; these are split in two, and hollowed out in the middle, and laid close, side by side, with the hollow sides uppermost, across the house, the front of which is made rather higher than the back. Others with the round side uppermost are laid upon these, so as to cover the seams between them, and thus not only a strong, but a completely watertight roof is formed. A hole is next cut through the logs for a door, and a door hung in it; windows are seldom or never thought of at first in the woods. Some stones are built up against one of the walls to burn the fire against, and to keep it off the logs, and a chimney to carry off the smoke, is made of boards, or wicker work, and plastered over with clay. The fires in this country are all burnt on the hearth, at least on iron or stones only so far raised off it as to admit the air below the wood. A floor of split planks is then laid, the interstices of the logs in the wall are filled with moss or clay, and thus is completed, what is called by new settlers a shanty. There ought not to be much labour spent on these, more than merely to make them comfortable, as after a few acres have been cleared, some more eligible situation for building may be discovered, and then, too, there will be more leisure for attending to the building of a good house.

(From Hints to Emigrants, Edin. 1824)

Early Domestic Conditions in the Perth Settlement

BY

MARY A. B. CAMPBELL

The life of the early settlers was of necessity a very simple and frugal one, no luxuries were theirs.

The cooking in those early days was rather an arduous undertaking before the use of the crane. The dinner had to be cooked on the top in the kitchen fireplace, a contrivance often very annoying. Sometimes a large potful of food, nicely posed on the burning top, would be just ready to be taken off, when suddenly down would go the pot and its contents into the ashes, some of the wood underneath having given way. The use of the crane simplified matters. The first of these consisted simply of a pole running from the ground to the roof, having fastened or hinged to it, the wooden rod on which hung the pots, some of these hooks being suspended from chains. Very soon iron cranes came into use. These could all be swung directly over the fire. The earliest baking had to be done in an iron pot, with embers placed underneath and on the lid, and set in front of the fireplace. This required frequent turning so that all sides would in turn come in contact with the fire. Scones of cornmeal and suppone were made in frying pans, or griddles which were hung over the fire. Very shortly after this tin bake kettles and ovens came into general use, the coals being employed in much the same manner.

All whose means would admit of it, had brought from the Old Land a good supply of warm comfortable clothing, suited to the climate and the rough work to be undertaken, but when this gave out they had to depend on the resources of the new country. As soon as sufficient land was cleared to enable them to have pasturage, sheep were procured, and when the time came for their fleeces to be shorn, the wool thus obtained was washed, picked, carded and spun by the good wives on their little wheels, many of which had been brought out from their old homes. This wool was then woven into durable homespun by some of the emigrants, who had been weavers in Scotland and had brought their looms with them. The men wore gray homespun for rough working suits, with brown for gala days, while the women and girls had gray flannel gowns and skirts with ones of checked woollen goods woven into tasteful patterns, for better occasions. The dyeing materials used were most of Nature's providing, golden-rod making a fast yellow, and this redipped in indigo, a gold green, while hemlock boughs made a pretty brown and sumach a soft gray. The men wore linen shirts of home spinning, sometimes checked blue and white ones for working. All the better suits were made by a tailor who went from house to house to apply his trade, the commoner ones being cut by him and made by the female members of the household.

Hats were plaited of fine straw and made up by the women for the different members of the family.

A shoemaker always came once a year to every house, going from house to house, carrying the necessary tools and implements with him, the father of the household, as a rule, providing the leather. This shoemaker stayed till the whole family was provided with new foot wear, each grown person or child usually getting one new pair of shoes each fall.

The first furniture was made by the settlers themselves, rude tables and benches being constructed of boards, with rough posts for legs. Chests were used for dining tables before any of the latter were made. Poles were laid across stakes that had been driven into the ground, and on this foundation was placed the bed; made at first of wild hay, then of chaff and straw, and in later years these again surmounted by a bed of feathers. The daughters, on getting married, usually received a feather bed along with a plentiful supply of linen and blankets, much of it their own spinning. In these times there were no easy chairs, the nearest approach being wooden ones with arms, and if desired to be very luxurious a thin cushion was placed on the seat. Later on came the wooden rocking chairs, with their high back, of our grandmothers' days. Infants, in the country districts, during the first few years were not treated to the luxury of cradles, but were rocked in a basket, or more often in a sugar trough. The early settlers who brought any furniture out from the Old Land had, as a rule, left it in Brockville, or later, in some house in the village till their own dwelling should be completed. Very often a chest of drawers — of all articles of furniture that was most often brought from across the seas — had to be carried on a man's back, across miles of swamp and bush to its final resting place in the new and palatial house of logs. The grandfathers' clocks seemed another favorite with these early settlers, quite a number of families bringing these out with them, clocks that had frequently been in these same families for several generations.

At this time any of the settlers in the different parts of the District outside the village, who owned clocks, used to ride into Town, perhaps once in two years, to get the watchmaker to repair them. He would take the horse, ride out to the country and repair the clock and return to Town, the owner meanwhile remaining there to take his horse home. The usual charge for this was $1.00.

Dwellings were heated by the large fireplaces, usually there being first one in the kitchen, the other rooms being heated from it, or occasionally, if it were an especially cold night, or the rooms needed airing, a cooler of hot coals might be lifted into them for a short time, till the temperature became somewhat higher. At night the only way to keep warm was by using quantities of bed coverings.

In these early times, light from the fireplace was considered amply sufficient for lighting purposes. Pine knots were gathered and stored away for use in the evenings, these containing so much resin and gum that they cast a much stronger glow than the ordinary wood. Candles were made of resin, then of tallow and later on of wax. In making tallow candles, the wicks were dipped in the hot tallow till enough had adhered to have them sufficiently thick. In time moulds were used, but however done, their making was quite an operation, and one requiring skill and care.

November 12, 1897.

Clearing the Land

BY

THE REV. WILLIAM BELL, M.A.

As soon as the emigrant has got a place to live in, he must begin to clear land for crop; and the first he clears should be round the house, so that there may be no danger of any trees being blown down upon it. The clearing of land is done in the following manner: In the first place, the underbrush, and all the small trees, less than four or five inches thick, are cut close by the ground, cut into pieces, and thrown into heaps. There is always a great quantity of timber lying on the ground, which has been blown down by the wind, and which must be cut up. The next step is to cut down the large trees which is done by making a cut half through the tree, about three feet from the ground on the side to which it leans, and then cutting it on the other side till it falls. It should be so cut as to fall clear through between the other trees, for if it should lodge upon another, it will be dangerous cutting that one down for fear of the other one falling. People who are very careless often get themselves hurt, and some are even killed this way. As soon as a tree is cut down, it is cut into logs twelve feet long, and its branches are thrown into heaps. In this manner, the whole of the piece intended to be cleared is gone over, and not a tree must be left. Some have recommended cutting only the underbrush and girding the large trees, that is, cutting a notch all around them so that they die, as the best way for new settlers to do; as they say that they will get most crop in and which will cost them least labour. But this is a very bad plan, because the trees in this country, from being so closely crowded together, grow to an immense height, and, of course, when they are left exposed to the wind, and are notched in a piece at the root, they are apt to be blown down, and, besides spoiling the crop, they may, in their fall, kill cattle, or perhaps people themselves. The crop is much inferior, both in quantity and quality, to that raised in an open clearing, and then, after all, the trees will have to be cut some time or other. Those of the logs that are most easily split, generally baswood, are split into rails and drawn off. The remainder of the wood, when sufficiently dry, is set fire to. All the brush and small stuff is clean burnt off, and the large logs are then rolled together, or drawn together with oxen, and piled up in heaps and burnt. The decayed leaves, and the remaining rubbish, is raked into heaps and clean burnt off. A fence between five and six feet high is put up about the field, and it is then ready for crop.

A good workman will cut down and prepare for burning the timber upon an acre in a week, but most new settlers, when they first come, take a month. Taking men as we generally find them, a fortnight is a fair average. When the timber is all chopped upon new land, the work of clearing is considered half done. The putting of the logs in heaps, burning them off, and making the land ready for the seed, takes as much labour as the chopping, and is a very dirty employment. The fencing takes about one half the labour of any of the other parts. . . .

A piece of new land, when ready for crop, is very different, both in its nature and appearance from the land in Britain. The first thing that strikes a person who looks over a new cleared field is the appearance and the number of the stumps. As it would cost too much labour and time to take out the trees by the roots at first when they are fresh, they are cut off about three feet from the ground, and the stumps are left standing till they rot. Hardwood stumps become so rotten in the course of seven or eight years, that they can easily be taken out, but the stumps of pines, hemlock, and all the other species of fir, stand quite fresh for thirty or forty years. The next thing that strikes the attention is the unevenness of the surface. There are, of course, natural inequalities in the surface, but the principal cause of it is the rooting up of trees by the wind, and which tear up a large lump of earth with them. Some of these trees have fallen such a long time ago, that they are entirely rotten away, not a vestige of them is to be seen, and nothing remains but a hillock of earth, and a hole by the side of it. The soil, of whatever kind it is, is covered with a stratum of rich black mould, four or five inches thick, composed of the decayed leaves and other parts of vegetables. This forms an excellent manure for the land, which needs no other for several years. From the number of roots which the ground contains, the distance they run in the ground, and their immensely numerous ramifications, the surface of the ground is completely matted like a turf, but after it has been once cultivated, it is entirely loosened. Rough as the ground at first seems, new settlers are very glad to get it that length.

(From Hints to Emigrants, Edin. 1824)

A Settler's Story

"Yes Sir, I am comfortable and happy, and well provided for — just as happy as a man can be on this earth; that is so. Aye, I am Scotch; we are mostly all Scotch in Lanark and Renfrew counties, leastways in Drummond, and Dalhousie and Ramsay townships. I am a native of Argyleshire in Scotland, but was brought up in Paisley to the loom. It was in 1820 and 1821 we came to Canada — four thousand of us in all so they said, including men, women and weans. I came out in the ship George Canning from Greenock. Quebec was our first port; next Montreal. There we lay in military barracks three weeks, and then came to Prescott, and through the wilderness of swamp and bush to Perth. Government advanced £10 for each person, young and old to be repaid before the deeds of our land were delivered.

I drew Lot 20, Second Concession, Third Line, one hundred acres. Besides the £10 advanced by Government to each of the family, we got one blanket for every two persons. Every family got one saw, one axe, a hammer, two chisels and six pounds of nails; one grind-stone and one cross-cut saw between four men; also each man had one augur, to bore with, and each family a pot and kettle. Several other things were mentioned in the conditions of emigration but we did not get them. The saws were bad and the axes worth nothing but we had the name of them and they were trash — all English made for Government contracts. We never had axes that would fell trees, till we got them Canadian made. Yes Sir, that is so.

As long as the money lasted, sleighs came with meal and flour to us, all the way from the front of Elizabeth, that is Brockville or thereabouts. Flour was 10 to 12 dollars a barrel. When the money was done, supplies were gone, nobody would trust us a chew of tobacco. We cut trees down and rolled logs, women and children rolling with all the might they had, and hardly a rag of clothes left on their backs or on the men's either. There was no market for ashes then like as now — You would have seen decent men — fathers of families, travelling five or six or eight miles after their hard toil to hold a prayer-meeting, and scrambling all the way through the bush barefooted. — Decent men barefooted and bleeding. Yes Sir, that was so.

In the second and third year, that was in 1823, we heard of the Oswego canal being made in the State of New York, and most of we men-folk went to work at it, leaving our women and children in the wilds of Canada, without one penny of money, they to plant the potatoes in the spring, and sow any little clear spot they had with fresh grain as they might have for seed; we went to work to bring home some American cash. We thought much of the free country — of America before we went to it, and little of Canada, in which we saw what we called a tyrannical Royal Government. Alack! for our mistake. At the Oswego canal we were defrauded in every way. They kept us months and months without pay. No Court of law to protect our lives. When we would have returned to our wives and little ones in the backwoods of Canada we could not, but by long travel without money and food — sacrificing the money we had worked for. Some took one-third or one-fourth of their arrears to get away. — When I reached home at lot twenty, second Concession, third line of Ramsay, the wife and weans had eaten up the last mouthful of meal the day before, and knew not where to look for more. The potatoes were in the ground only half-grown. They had looked to heaven for help and the Lord directed me home even with a third of my lawfully earned wages. Yes Sir, that was so. They were hard times then.

And letters from Scotland cost three shillings and sixpence of postage. Anxious as we were to hear from dear friends at home we durst not write to them because of the postage of the letters we desired to receive. — We felt ourselves to be exiles from our native land and all civilization. But we got a kirk built. Mr. Robertson, of Lanark, in Scotland, raised £300 for it. The Rev. Mr. Fraser £112 which, with other sums, gave us both a kirk and a bell. And when the bell rang through the primeval forests and was echoed from the rocks, I like the Psalmist of old, 'Joyed when to the House of God, go up it said to me.' The postage of a letter was sixpence more than we got for a bushel of wheat, after the wheat was carried forty miles to Brockville market. We took a week to go to Brockville and back. We had three rivers to cross and many swamps. We had to make our own rafts to cross upon, except when the frost was very hard. Our wheat was sold for three shillings a bushel, one half of which was paid in cash. At that time there was no market for ashes as there is now. We could only sell a horned beast for its skin, and the price of skin went for taxes. If we reared a colt, there was nobody to buy it. We raised a few sheep for their wool. We began to have possession of a rough plenty, so plentiful that when we killed a horned beast to sell its hide for taxes, we did not know what to do with its flesh; it could not be sold. Yes sir, that was so.

In the hard times many men lost heart, and left before they had cleared their lots. — Some went to the United States, panting for liberty and a Republican Government, but most of these when they had, through years of new sufferings and trials, scraped together their passage money, went home to Paisley or Glasgow. It was a good thing for all of us who remained, though we did not think so, that Government refused us our title deeds. We could not repay the money advanced in 1820 and 1821, and the authorities not intending to enforce payment, we deemed it cruel of them to withold the deeds which would make us freeholders of the soil. But their policy was to our present advantage. — With the deeds in our possession before the good time came, nearly every man of us, who had gone into some other way of trade, would have sold off at any price and departed for the States or for home. But now things are changed. Yes, Sir, that is so; the times with us are changed.

My son with such help as he may hire, now works my lot. I confine myself to gardening in summer. In the winter I read books, or hitch the horse to my cutter and scour over the ice, career over the snow, wrapped in my skins and plaids visiting my neighbors to talk of old times and of hardships now happily gone by. Yes, Sir, I have no want that the Lord has not bountifully supplied."

(From The Perth Courier, March 15, 1861.)

APPENDIX II- I

Lumbering

BY
ELEANOR MARY SENKLER

Perth was very favorably situated for getting out good timber. There was a magnificent belt of oak near the first toll-gate on the Lanark road, and another where the C.P.R. station now stands. All the timber that went down the Tay was cut within fifteen miles of Perth. Often the Perth Basin has been full of very fine square timber, almost altogether oak. All other timbers can be rafted together, but oak, being heavy, must be floated by some lighter kind. In 1835 or 1837, a beautiful raft of black oak belonging to Mr. Gemmell left the Basin for Quebec. In Lake St. Peter it met a heavy gale which broke the cribs and the oak sank, causing a great loss.

The life of the early workers in the shanties was by no means easy. The bunks were built like shelves, one above another on all sides of the house. Their bedding consisted of small boughs, preferably hemlock, and blankets. The caboose, where the cook, generally a French Canadian, did his share of the work, was a square of about ten feet in the middle of the floor, and raised a foot on stones, the crevices filled up with earth and about six inches of sand spread smoothly on the top, on which the fire was built. The cook's only kitchen utensils were a pot for the boiling of the pork, and ovens, i.e., rounds of iron about eighteen inches in diameter with close fitting covers and feet to bake the bread in. A crane of wood to swing the pot, was cut from the bush just outside the door.

Sunday was the day for washing and mending (each man doing his own clothes), story telling, bed making and hunting. The bears, and especially the wolves troubled them greatly. On this day their usual bill-of-fare was always garnished with doughnuts. About 1846, they had peas and beans with the pork and molasses to sweeten the tea, and later still, all sorts of canned goods.

In felling a tree there are a good many things to be considered, particularly the "lean" of it. The man who decided which trees were to be felled, went first through the bush and marked them. Then, judging from the "lean" of the tree, a bed is cut for it, i.e., boughs are cut and roughly piled where it will fall. This bed is intended to aid in turning it over more readily for the liners and scorers to work. When a tree has been felled and all the branches lopped off, it is notched, i.e., a line of notches is cut on two sides of it. Then the "liner" lines it to make it square, say it is to be 16 x 17 inches, or 16 x 18 inches, or whatever it may be. Then the scorer comes and with his axe takes off all the bark and makes it ready for the hewer. A first class hewer can make a tree as smooth as if it had been planed.

The fellers, liners and scorers work until dinner time; then they begin where they had begun in the morning, turn every tree over and get the other two sides ready for the hewer. By working a little in advance of him, a hewer can keep four men busy. These five men for a season, that is from September until spring, could finish 1200 pieces of 100 feet.

After a tree has passed through the hewer's hands the ox team (oxen were always used for this work) come and haul it out to the road, where horses, harnessed to the fore part of a "bob" sleigh, with two chains, one of 15 feet and one of 6 feet, draw it to a suitable site to roll it into the river when the ice breaks up.

Long ago, when the lumberers were not rich enough to pay for their own supplies, it was customary for some man in Perth to give them what they required and take the season's cut of timber as security. When it was sold, first of all the man in Town was recouped, then the shanty men were paid, and whatever was left over went to the lumberman himself.

(March 12, 1897)

APPENDIX II - K

The man who resides in Upper Canada must, in a great measure, depend upon himself for recreation and amusement, the small portion of society which the Province affords being so scattered, that the people who compose it cannot meet together, and minister to each other's pleasures, so often as would be desirable. However, the forests and waters are at all times open to those who enjoy the sports of the field. Hunting, of course, cannot be practised on account of the woods; but there is excellent partridge, duck, and snipe shooting, at different seasons of the year; and many of the streams abound with good fish of various kinds. Those who love equestrian exercises, and take delight in rearing horses, will be able to indulge in these amusements at comparatively little expense. It costs very little to keep a horse in Upper Canada; and one may ride, work, or drive him in a gig, without having a tax-gatherer at his elbow twice a year, as is the case in Britain. The climate and soil of the western parts of the Province are well adapted for the culture of flowers and fine fruits; and he who loves gardening may spend his leisure hours, in a way very agreeable to himself, and useful to the public; for the Canadians have as yet paid very little attention to any of the branches of horticultural science.

During winter, the amusements I have just mentioned cannot be resorted to; but then they are less necessary, as the state of the roads permits a free communication between all parts of the country, and as a social intercourse takes place among its inhabitants. When the snow is on the ground, a great deal of visiting goes on, and balls, *pic-nics*, and card parties, very frequently occur. The Canadians, in general, partake largely of the sanguine temperament, as they are lively, inclined to hospitality, and extremely fond of pleasure. The climate they live under is indeed well adapted to excite constitutional gayety, the atmosphere of Upper Canada not being overcast by those depressing and dreary mists that often prevail for days together in Great Britain. Some of the Canadian ladies are extremely pretty; but their chief attractions lie in the *naivete* of their manners, and in their beautifully dark and sparkling eyes. They lose their teeth and good looks eight or ten years sooner than the females of Europe; but I am unable to account for this early constitutional failure.

In Upper Canada the winter is the farmer's idle season, the depth of the snow, and the severity of the cold, alike putting a stop to agricultural operations. But still there are several things which require attention, and particularly the live stock, which ought to be regularly fed. The farmer must, indeed, be careful in this respect, both in summer and in winter. As there is no grass in the woods, and as new settlers cannot raise fodder for their cattle immediately, they are obliged to buy either hay or straw, or pumpkins, to feed them, or to cut down trees for them to browse upon. Oxen and young cows thrive well enough on the tender shoots of the birch, maple, &c.; but sheep must have hay or turnips, and ought to be secured from the wolves every night. Every settler should, in the course of the winter, haul a quantity of fire-wood sufficient to supply him the whole year; and the goodness of the roads will enable him to do this without much difficulty. When the weather is bad he may employ his time within doors, in improving the interior of his dwelling-house, or amusing himself by the fire, which can always be made a warm and cheerful one, from the profusion of fuel that the poorest person has continually at command. Those who delight in field-sports may go into the woods in search of deer, which usually abound in the vicinity of new settlements. In Canada, the privilege of shooting them, and all other game, belongs equally to the lord and the peasant.

The emigrant must not expect to live very comfortably at first. Pork, bread, and what vegetables he may raise, will form the chief part of his diet for perhaps two years. To these articles, however, he may occasionally add venison, if he is a tolerable sportsman. The various kinds of grain which farmers raise, enable them to enjoy a great many sorts of bread that are not known in Britain. Buck-wheat, rye, and Indian corn, make excellent cakes; and they have several ways of using flour, besides that of baking it into loaves. All the above-mentioned articles, conjoined with vegetables, poultry, and milk, which every settler can have in the course of time without much trouble or expense, afford sufficient materials for the support of an abundant and comfortable table. In Upper Canada, the people live much better than persons of a similar class in Britain; and to have proof of this, it is only necessary to visit almost any hut in the back woods. The interior of it seldom fails to display many substantial comforts, such as immense loaves of beautiful bread, entire pigs hanging round the chimney, dried venison, trenchers of milk, and bags of Indian corn. Many of the farmers indeed live in a coarse and dirty manner; but this arises from their own ignorance, not from a want of those things that are essential to comfort and neatness.

Some of them contain more than one hundred and fifty acres of cleared land, the fields of which have become smooth and level from frequent ploughing, and are not disfigured by stumps or decayed timber. A great majority of the individuals who are owners of these farms, came to the Province twenty or thirty years ago in the character of needy adventurers, and either received the then unimproved land from government, or purchased it for a trifle. At first they had many difficulties to contend with; but these have now disappeared, and they reap the full produce of their labour, being neither burdened by rents, nor encumbered with taxes. Many of them possess thirty or forty head of cattle, and annually store up two or three thousand bushels of grain in their barns; but this amelioration in their condition, unfortunately, has not produced a corresponding effect upon their manners, character, or mode of life. They are still the same untutored incorrigible beings that they probably were, when, the ruffian remnant of a disbanded regiment, or the outlawed refuse of some European nation, they sought refuge in the wilds of Upper Canada, aware that they would neither find means of subsistence, nor be countenanced in any civilized country. Their original depravity has been confirmed and increased by the circumstances in which they are now placed. Possessing farms which render them independent of the better classes of society, they can, within certain limits, be as bold, unconstrained, and obtrusive, as they please, in their behaviour towards their superiors; for they neither look to them for subsistence, nor for any thing else. They now consider themselves on an equality with those to whom, in former times, the hope of gain would have made them crouch like slaves; and tacitly avow their contempt of the better part of society, by avoiding the slightest approximation towards them, so far as regards habits, appearance, or mode of life.

" EQUALITY IN EARLY UPPER CANADA "

COMMODITY *Prices* 1841-1900

Articles	1840s	1850s	1860s	1870s	1880s	1890s
Bacon (lb.)	14 cents			12–14 cents		18–20 cents
Barley (bshl.)	$1 (N.B.)			60 cents–$2	60 cents	
Beans (bshl.)	$2.25 (N.B.)					
Beef (lb.)	4½ cents	5 cents	5–6 cents	5–15 cents	20–25 cents	7–12 cents
Beer (gal.)	44 cents			30 cents	40 cents	45 cents
Blankets (pair)				$2–$3	$4.50	$3.50
Bread (4 lb.)			10 cents	4½ cents	10–20 cents	15 cents for 6 lb.
Butter (lb.)	20 cents		12 cents	7–25 cents	10 cents	25 cents
Candles (lb.)					15 cents	30 cents
Cart	$36 (N.B.)			$12–$16	$12–$16	
Cheese (lb.)	14 cents		9–16 cents	12 cents	20 cents	
Chicken (pair)					75 cents–$1	
Cloth (yard)					70 cents	$1.25
Coffee (lb.)	20 cents				25 cents	40 cents
Cow	$26 (N.B.)			$25–$30	$30–	$16.90 (Man.)
Ducks (pair)					75 cents	
Eggs (doz.)	15–18 cents	30 cents	15–20 cents	25 cents	15 cents	35 cents
Fish (100 lb.)	$3.75				$3.50	$7
Flannel (yard)	44 cents				20 cents	50 cents
Flour (100 lb.)	$3.50		$3	$2–$5	$4	$6
Fowls (pair)	44 cents				30 cents	40 cents
Goose					$1.50	$2
Harrow	$9 (N.B.)				$17–$20 (Man.)	
Horses (pair)					$400–$600 (man.)	
Jackets					$4.50–$10	
Milk (qt.)	7 cents		6 cents	6 cents	6–10 cents	
Mowers					$50	$100
Mutton (lb.)	9 cents			3–6 cents	7 cents	25 cents
Oats (bshl.)	27–50 cents	37–60 cents	30–50 cents	36 cents–$1	25–65 cents	40 cents
Oatmeal (100 lbs.)	$4.50	$3.50	$2.50–$6			
Overcoat					$5	$15
Oxen (yoke)	$90 (N.B.)			$180–$200	$104–$130	
Peas (bshl.)	75 cents–$1	65–85 cents	75–90 cents			
Plough	$13			$14	$25	
Pork (lb.)	5½ cents		5 cents	7–20 cents	15–20 cents	
Potatoes (bshl.)	40–60 cents	40 cents–$1	50–80 cents	50–75 cents	25–50 cents	30–60 cents
Reapers					$325 (Man.)	
Rice (lb.)	6 cents	8 cents			8–16 cents	10 cents
Salt (bshl.)					30 cents	75 cents
Shirts	80 cents				50 cents .	$2.50
Shoes (men)	$2.25			$2–$3	$2.25	$4
Soap (lb.)	5½ cents				4 cents	10 cents
Socks (men)					10 cents	25 cents
Sugar (white)	15 cents			5–10 cents	5 cents	5 cents
Suits (men)				$10	$15	
Tea (lb.)	80–$1	80 cents		50–75 cents	25 cents	75 cents
Tobacco (lb.)	18 cents			25–50 cents	20 cents	75 cents
Turkey (each)					80 cents	$1
Veal (lb.)	3½ cents			3–6 cents	7 cents	25 cents
Wagon	$43			$75		$95
Wheat (bshl.)	80 cents	$1.50		50 cents–$1.75	40 cents	75 cents
Wood (cord)	$2.50				$2	$6

APPENDIX II- O

IMMIGRATION TO CANADA, 1852 - 1915

Year	Numbers	Year	Numbers
1915	36,665	1880	38,505
1914	150,484	1879	40,492
1913	400,870	1878	29,807
1912	375,756	1877	27,082
1911	331,288	1876	25,633
1910	286,839	1875	27,382
1909	173,694	1874	39,373
1908	143,326	1873	50,050
1907	272,409	1872	36,578
1906	211,653	1871	27,773
1905	141,465	1870	24,706
1904	131,252	1869	18,630
1903	138,660	1868	12,765
1902	89,102	1867	10,666
1901	55,747	1866	11,427
1900	41,681	1865	18,958
1899	44,543	1864	24,779
1898	31,900	1863	21,000
1897	21,716	1862	18,294
1896	16,835	1861	13,589
1895	18,790	1860	6,276
1894	20,829	1859	6,300
1893	29,633	1858	12,339
1892	30,996	1857	33,854
1891	82,165	1856	22,544
1890	75,067	1855	25,296
1889	91,600	1854	37,263
1888	88,766	1853	29,464
1887	84,526	1852	29,307
1886	69,152	-	-
1885	79,169	-	-
1884	103,824	-	-
1883	133,624	-	-
1882	112,458	-	-
1881	47,991	-	-
		-	-
		-	-
		-	-
		-	-
		-	-

APPENDIX II - P

ETHNIC ORIGIN OF IMMIGRANTS TO CANADA FROM SELECTED COUNTRIES, 1901-1920

Year	English	Scottish	Irish	Welsh	French	Belgian and Dutch	Scandin-avian	German and Austrian	Balkan States	Czechos-lovakian & Swiss	Russian	Polish
1920	49,248	19,486	6,122	951	984	2,766	1,585	153	801	487	1,441	3,544
1919	43,973	10,148	2,506	624	1,486	1,005	563	30	22	86	44	24
1918	3,614	659	155	56	136	97	215	-	1	9	45	2
1917	1,987	406	199	40	130	141	470	1	-	14	32	-
1916	5,411	2,139	947	99	192	250	894	18	9	29	27	15
1915	6,672	1,952	865	117	191	406	526	48	10	49	43	7
1914	35,801	9,430	3,942	706	1,568	2,230	2,622	3,632	6,173	412	13,110	2,373
1913	113,004	31,426	10,542	2,012	2,668	4,476	5,543	8,942	7,660	738	47,665	13,339
1912	104,226	30,413	9,242	1,978	2,673	3,028	5,191	6,256	10,715	573	35,065	10,077
1911	99,200	34,696	8,419	1,771	2,169	2,785	5,239	9,284	3,792	517	18,661	6,028
1910	76,976	27,938	6,432	1,292	1,980	2,341	5,804	10,963	3,305	521	9,610	5,454
1909	35,087	13,010	3,647	600	1,633	1,464	3,529	4,742	2,354	288	4,405	4,092
1908	39,805	11,676	3,718	528	1,944	1,255	1,848	3,144	2,592	180	3,649	7,346
1908	90,830	22,223	6,547	1,032	2,671	2,426	4,073	4,262	6,978	195	7,193	15,861
1907	41,156	10,729	3,404	502	1,314	1,044	2,296	2,451	1,342	112	2,230	2,685
1906	65,135	15,846	797	5,018	1,648	1,495	3,859	3,120	2,580	172	3,418	6,381
1905	48,847	11,744	770	3,998	1,743	1,077	4,118	3,596	2,383	150	1,914	7,671
1904	36,003	10,552	691	3,128	1,534	1,027	4,203	3,501	3,312	128	1,955	8,398
1903	32,087	7,046	423	2,236	937	526	5,448	2,668	4,273	73	5,505	8,656
1902	12,783	2,853	312	1,311	431	258	2,451	1,368	1,600	17	2,479	6,550
1901	9,331	1,476	70	933	360	157	1,750	1,212	721	30	1,044	4,702

APPENDIX I F Q

IMMIGRATION TO CANADA BY SELECTED OCCUPATIONS (1904 - 1915)

Year	Farming	Mining	Trading	Skilled Mechanics	Unskilled Labour	Female Domesti
1904	25,514	2,570	4,015	15,605	17,650	4,422
1905	27,582	1,652	4,270	21,632	17,326	5,313
1906	32,275	3,150	7,890	32,663	33,585	7,381
1907	36,724	8,583	13,550	46,207	62,583	10,755
1908	20,779	1,861	6,999	15,475	16,666	6,711
1909	24,320	4,480	5,547	13,973	17,193	7,705
1910	55,233	4,343	10,232	26,035	28,694	14,217
1911	58,186	3,225	12,486	16,808	50,411	18,410
1912	60,515	3,806	14,978	34,132	63,743	20,447
1913	53,756	3,603	16,534	42,079	101,065	22,748
1914	17,809	1,398	4,050	10,545	30,638	9,474
1915	1,938	101	553	932	695	1,766

APPENDIX II- R

Average Weekly Hours & Wages for Males over 16 Years of Age, Selected Occupations, Ontario, 1884 to 1889

					TEXTILE							
	Butcher		Carpenter		Carder		Loom Fixer		Spinner		Labourer	
Year	Hours	Dollars	Hours	Dollars	Hours	Dollars	Hours	Dollars	Hours	Dollars	Hours	Dollars
1889	65.81	9.03	56.88	10.37	60.00	13.48	60.74	10.67	60.28	9.71	59.49	7.25
1888	66.20	8.55	55.52	10.35	60.00	6.63	60.00	10.07	57.65	7.68	58.12	7.20
1887	65.45	7.23	52.87	9.82	60.00	7.50	60.25	11.38	60.23	8.34	58.99	7.18
1886	62.78	9.04	57.38	9.61	60.94	6.81	60.00	11.00	60.20	6.22	58.45	7.18
1885	63.62	9.00	58.98	9.97	58.75	6.30	61.03	8.57	54.94	6.19	60.81	7.05
1884	58.42	10.00	59.08	9.85	59.55	8.26	59.46	10.71	59.45	7.69	58.56	6.79

	Machinist		Millwright		Paper Mill Machine Tender		Plumber		Printer	
Year	Hours	Dollars	Hours	Dollars	Hours	Dollars	Hours	Dollars	Hours	Dollars
1889	58.17	10.80	59.22	12.14	62.28	10.07	60.89	11.84	56.74	9.09
1888	58.42	10.47	61.95	12.76	66.25	9.85	53.88	12.31	57.61	9.05
1887	56.93	9.65	73.83	11.57	57.00	8.00	55.64	11.45	54.97	10.03
1886	59.62	9.83	58.96	13.52	63.58	9.89	55.42	12.18	57.37	9.98
1885	59.14	10.16	60.81	11.30	60.00	10.46	59.95	10.91	55.95	8.51
1884	59.25	9.96	60.17	12.22	59.00	12.06	60.00	10.84	58.33	9.37

Annual earnings, hours per week & days employed in year for males, in Ontario.

	Butcher			Carpenter			Cotton mill operative			Labourer		
ear	Hours per wk.	Days in year	Annual earnings $	Hours per wk.	Days in year	Annual earnings $	Hours per wk.	Days in year	Annual earnings $	Hours per wk.	Days in year	Annual earnings $
889	70	286	378.	57	255	418.	59	288	358.	55	205	297.
888	66	284	395.	54	267	452.	59	247	321.	53	217	320.
887	64	308	369.	53	240	411.	60	282	385.	59	221	270.
886	61	308	374.	56	263	395.	60	250	370.	55	224	295.
885	60	301	438.	56	250	444.	59	202	259.	58	249	290.
884	58	262	426.	57	249	396.	60	233	399.	59	253	300.

	Machinist			Millwright			Plumber			Printer		
ear	Hours per wk.	Days in year	Annual earnings $	Hours per wk.	Days in year	Annual earnings $	Hours per wk.	Days in year	Annual earnings $	Hours per wk.	Days in year	Annual earnings $
889	57	276	467.	59	292	485.	55	276	484.	58	285	437.
888	57	276	474.	-	-	-	56	269	501.	57	291	455.
887	57	267	432.	73	228	420.	56	240	458.	54	255	424.
886	58	270	449.	59	278	545.	57	256	541.	58	281	425.
884	57	259	419.	60	276	578.	57	274	428.	55	272	439.
885	58	241	394.	60	253	599.	59	252	374.	56	274	423.

Range of Wages Paid in Selected Occupations for Ontario Areas, 1885 - 1890

Year	City	Farm Labourers one day without board		Carpenters one day without board		Domestics one month with board		Lumbermen one month with board		Labourers one day without board		Millhands one day without bd.	
		from:	to:	from:	to:	from:	to:	from:	to:	from:	to:	from:	to:
1885	Ottawa	-	-	-	1.75	6.00	8.00	12.00	25.00	-	1.25	1.00	1.50
	Kingston	1.00	1.50	1.25	1.75	5.00	9.00	-	-	1.00	1.25	1.00	1.50
	Toronto	1.00	1.25	1.75	2.00	6.00	8.00	15.00	20.00	1.25	1.50	1.00	2.00
	Hamilton	1.00	1.25	1.50	2.00	7.00	10.00	15.00	25.00	1.00	1.25	1.25	1.50
	London	1.00	1.50	1.25	1.75	7.00	9.00	-	-	1.00	1.37	-	-
	Port Arthur	1.50	-	2.00	2.75	12.00	16.00	18.00	30.00	1.50	1.75	1.50	2.50
1886	Kingston	1.00	1.25	1.50	2.00	6.00	9.00	14.00	25.00	1.00	1.25	1.00	1.50
	Hamilton	1.00	1.25	1.50	2.00	7.00	10.00	15.00	25.00	1.00	1.25	1.25	1.50
	Port Arthur	1.50	1.75	2.50	3.00	12.00	18.00	18.00	30.00	1.50	2.00	1.75	2.50
1887	Ottawa	-	-	1.75	2.25	5.00	10.00	-	-	1.25	1.40	-	-
	Kingston	1.00	1.25	1.50	2.00	5.00	9.00	12.00	25.00	1.00	1.25	1.00	1.50
	Hamilton	1.25	1.25	2.00	2.25	7.00	10.00	15.00	25.00	1.12	1.50	1.25	1.50
1888	Ottawa	-	-	1.25	2.00	6.00	8.00	-	-	1.25	-	-	-
	Kingston	1.00	1.25	1.50	2.25	5.00	9.00	12.00	25.00	1.00	1.30	1.00	1.25
	Toronto	1.00	1.25	2.00	2.25	6.00	9.00	12.00	18.00	1.15	1.50	1.25	1.50
	Hamilton	1.25	1.25	2.00	2.25	7.00	10.00	-	-	1.25	1.50	1.25	1.50
	Port Arthur	1.50	1.75	2.00	3.00	10.00	16.00	-	-	1.50	2.00	1.75	2.50
1889	Ottawa	-	-	1.25	2.25	6.00	8.00	-	-	1.00	1.40	-	-
	Kingston	1.00	1.25	1.50	2.50	6.00	9.00	-	-	1.00	1.25	1.25	1.50
	Toronto	-	1.00	2.00	2.50	6.00	10.00	1.25	2.00	1.25	1.60	-	-
	Hamilton	-	1.25	2.00	2.25	8.00	12.00	-	-	1.25	1.50	.50	3.00
	Port Arthur	1.25	1.50	2.00	3.00	10.00	16.00	1.25	1.75	1.25	1.75	1.75	2.50

APPENDIX II-S
(cont'd)

ear	City	Farm Labourers one day without board		Carpenters one day without board		Domestics one month with board		Lumbermen one month with board		Labourers one day without board		Millhands one day without board	
890	Ottawa	-	-	1.25	2.25	7.00	9.00	-	-	1.25	1.50	-	-
	Kingston	1.00	1.30	1.50	2.25	6.00	9.00	-	-	1.00	1.40	1.25	1.50
	Toronto	1.00	1.25	2.00	2.25	6.00	9.00	12.00	15.00	1.25	1.40	-	-
	Hamilton	-	1.25	2.00	2.50	8.00	12.00	-	-	1.25	1.50	.50	3.00
	Port Arthur	1.50	1.75	2.50	3.00	10.00	16.00	1.50	2.00	1.50	1.75	1.75	2.50

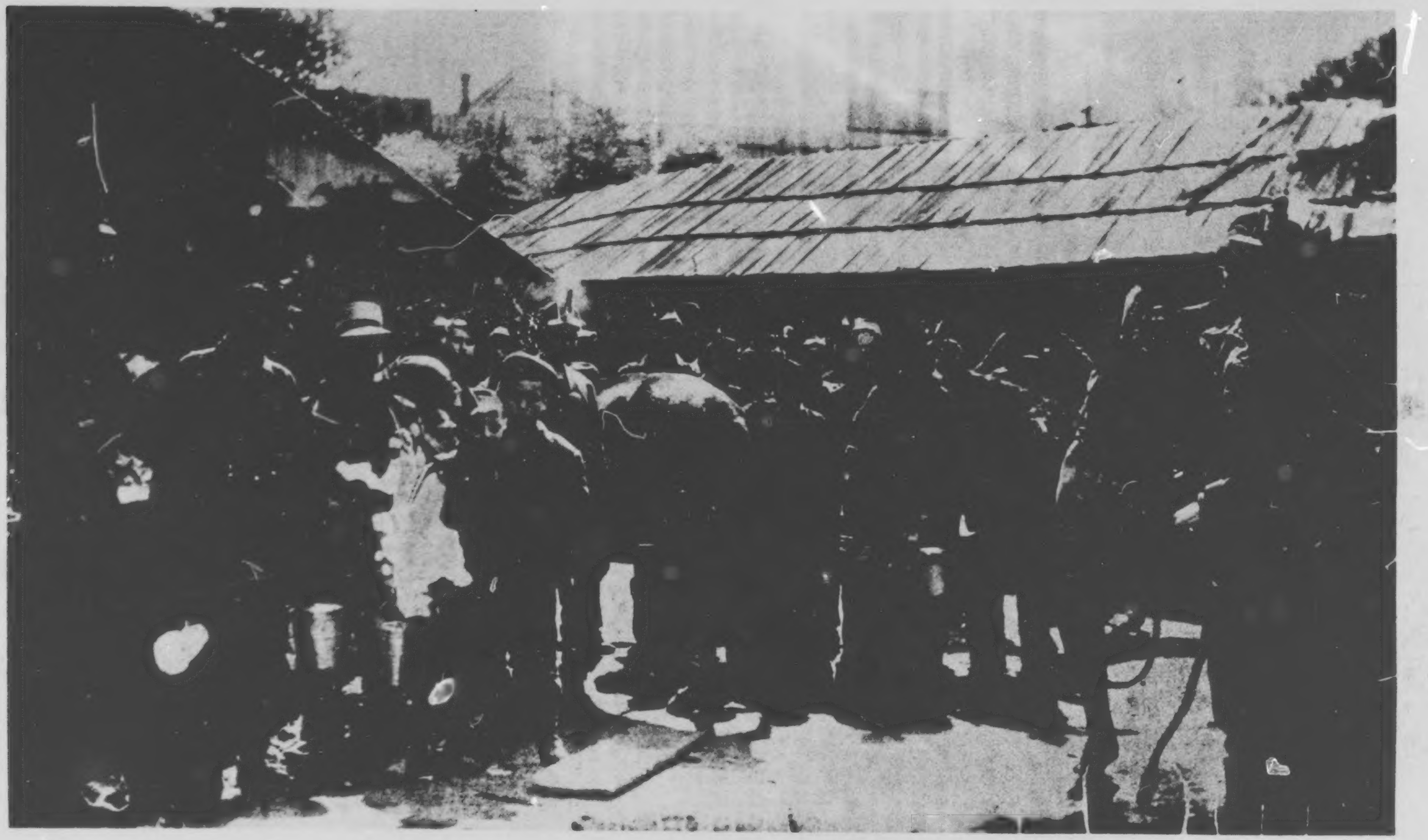
Accommodation Costs for Selected Cities, November, 1901 (Dollars) (Month)

	Apartments		HOUSES		
City	Four Rooms	Six Rooms	Four Rooms	Six Rooms	Eight Rooms
Toronto	$10.00	$12.00	$7.00 - 10.00	$9.00 - 12.50	$12.00 - 15.00
Ottawa	$8.00 - 12.00	$12.00 - 18.00	$6.00 - 4.00	$10.00 - 14.00	$15.00
Belleville	$3.00	$4.00	$3.00	$4.00	$ 6.00

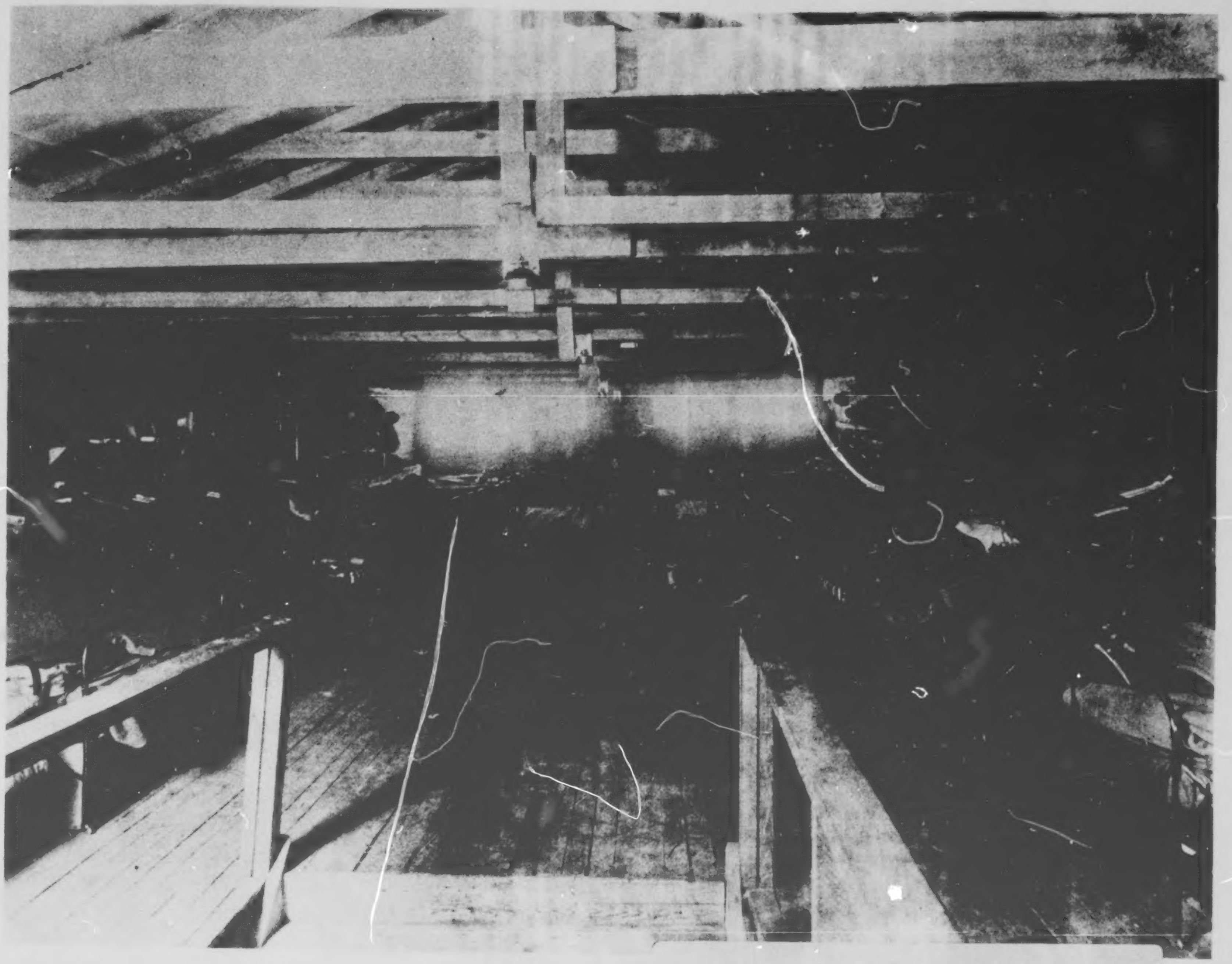
Source: Labour Gazette

Food Prices for Selected Cities, November, 1901

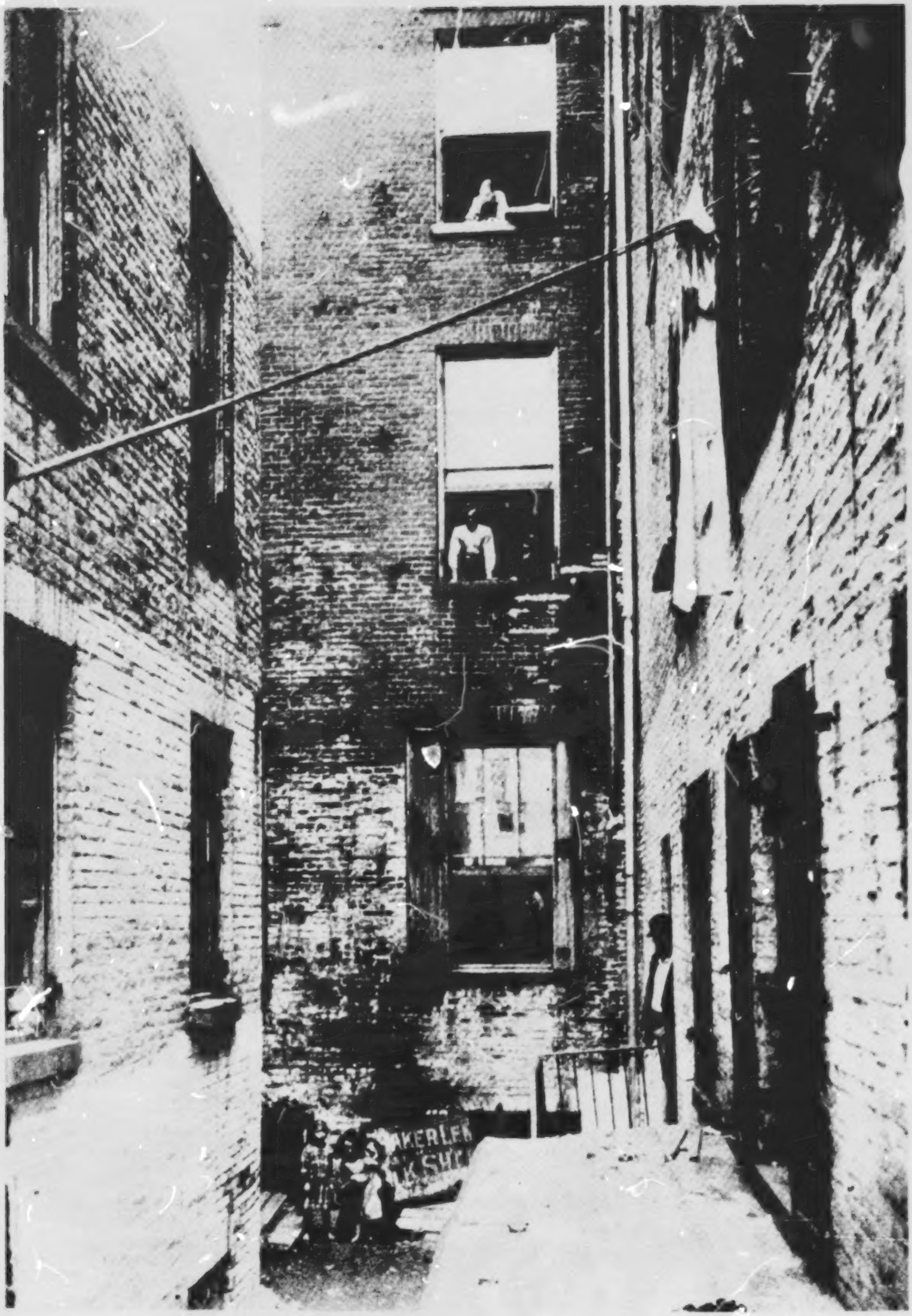
City	Bread 1 lb. ¢	Flour per 25 lb.bag ¢	Milk 1 qt. ¢	Cheese 1 lb. ¢	Eggs 1 doz. ¢	Potatoes 1½ Bush. ¢	Beef 1 lb. ¢	Pork 1 lb. ¢	Mutton 1 lb. ¢	Sugar 1 lb. ¢	Tea 1 lb. ¢	Coal Oil 1 Gallon ¢	Coal 1 Ton $ ¢
Toronto	2 - 2.5	50 - 60	6	12.5 - 14	20	75	12 - 16	14	15	5	20 - 75	20	6.25
Ottawa	2.5	65	5	12.5 - 14	20 - 25	80	10 - 15	10	10 - 12.5	5	25	20 - 35	7.00
Belleville	2.5	50	4-5	13 - 15	16	45	8 - 10	10	10	5	30 - 60	20	6.25



APPENDIX II-U - Children Working in Coal Mines.



APPENDIX II-V - Lumber Camp Bunkhouse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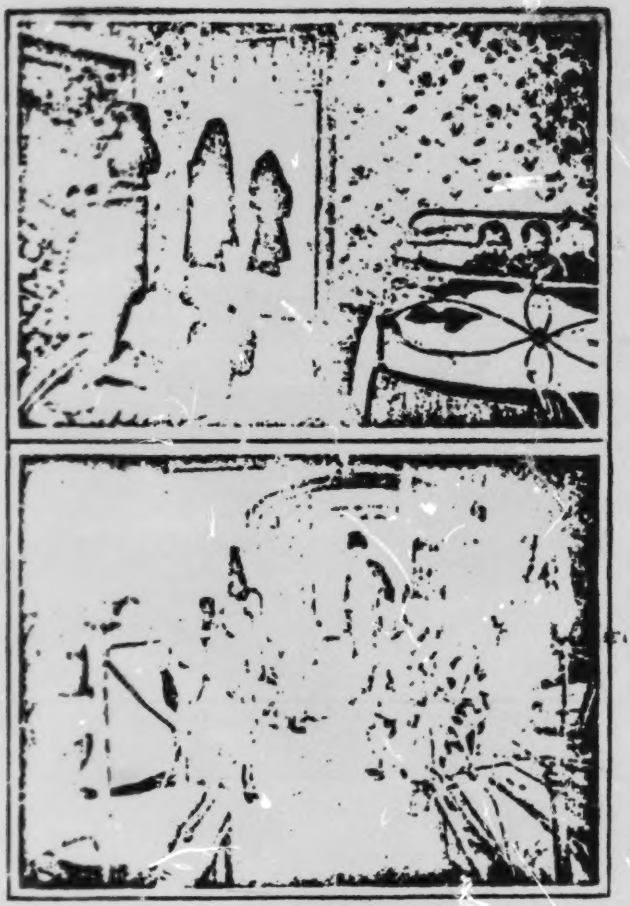
APPENDIX II-W - Housing in Toronto

APPENDIX IV



INTERIORS OF SOME "HOMES."

Bedroom, kitchen, yard, everything in one.
An example of overcrowding.

J. S. WOODSWORTH, MY NEIGHBOUR, 1911

dollars per month for these miserable rambling hovels that would not sell for fifty dollars apiece." -*Rev. H. S. Magee, in "Christian Guardian."*

"We are told that we have no slum district in Toronto and know nothing about the tenement house; but we do know that there is a great deal of overcrowding, and the effect on the children is something that we will realize better later on. I fear that Toronto is breeding a class of criminals that will keep it busy to take care of in the next few years, if nothing is done. The effect on children as regards their health is very bad. Our work is all among the poor, and only yesterday one of our workers went to a home where father, mother and five children were living in two rooms. One child was tubercular. They were sleeping four in one bed, and the sick child on a couch. These children sleep in the living-room. There was another case where a child was born in one of these homes. The mother was in an advanced stage of tuberculosis, and father, mother and four children slept in a room 10 ft. x 12 ft. The kitchen was a mite of a place only large enough for a stove, table and chairs. These people living in this huddled condition and with no precaution whatever taken against this disease, you can imagine what chance these children have. . . . . .

"Close to our mission there is a family of seven—three of these are grown-up girls—living in a tiny cottage, and they have a man boarder living with them. I don't know what chance there is for these girls, and next door to them is a family consisting of father, mother and two growing children. They have seventeen men boarders and only one accommodation.

"I know of another case where a girl and boy were adopted—not brother and sister—and as there were a number of other children in this house, they occupied the same room until the boy was 19 and the girl 16 or 17, and to-day she is one of the most difficult problems we have in our mission. She is bold and brazen, no soft spot in her. But what else could you expect! She was reared where a blessing was asked at table, but I ask you what chance had she to grow up virtuously in a crowded place like that. I leave it to your own imagination how horrible the conditions are where the father or mother drink, or perhaps both, huddled in these close quarters? Is it not natural that we should find many children practising vice? Our hearts ache for them but we are helpless. We have one family not far from our mission where the woman drinks and is thoroughly immoral. She has a little boy about ten years of age threatened with tuberculosis. He was in the hospital and they said his only chance was good nourishment, the best of care and lots of fresh air, but in this place there is no possible ventilation. They live in two little rooms, and there are two or three women of disreputable character who have two other little boys. We come across so much of that kind of thing in our work, and yet people cannot believe that such a state of affairs exists in Toronto."—*Miss Charity Cook, Conference Charities and Correction, 1909.*

"Five-cent boarders don't bring in an awful lot of money, but when there is a crowd of them some return is shown. This fact explains why two overcrowding cases came up in the court this morning.

"Mrs. M. Chudek found that her rates were low, but when she secured a big bunch for her house at a time she found it was a paying proposition. Still she has to put an item of $20.00 and costs to her profit and loss account when she balances her books, for this was her fine in court this morning.

"The health inspector rudely paid a midnight visit to the place at 47 Austin street the other night, the place being where Mrs. Chudek runs her boarding-house.

"There he found thirty-two men living, where there should be seven, according to the laws of health. Scientists say that in a room where human beings live, there should be 400 cubic feet of air space to each man. In Mrs. Chudek's

ise it worked out at 91 cubic feet to each
upant, a fact which, not only being uncom-
table, was dangerous to the human health.
'There were four rooms and each filled liter-
y to the roof. The boarders were located in
oms as follows:—
'One room, 13 ft. by 8 ft. by 8 ft., 6 occupants;
uld be 2.
'One room, 12 ft. by 8 ft. by 8 ft., 6 occupants;
uld be 2.
'One room, 13 ft. by 9 ft. by 8 ft., 8 occupants;
uld be 2.
'One room, 13 ft. by 12 ft. by 7 ft, 12 occu-
nts; should be 2½
'Figured out, this means there are thirty-two
ople where there should be seven, and each gets
cubic feet of air, instead of 400.
'If these people had even kept the place decent
all, the case might not be quite so bad, but in
words of the health officer, it was 'filthy.'
e bedclothes, chairs and everything in the
oms were covered with dirt.
'In handling this case, the magistrate ad-
essed the woman and said: 'People are sup-
sed to live like human beings and not like
gs. In your house there was not space for a
g, let alone a man. Besides being overcrowded
place was abominably filthy and as a starter
fine you twenty dollars and costs.'
'Another case just as bad was that of M.

and P. Kozuchar, who conduct a boarding-house at 37 Austin street and who were following the example of the other defendant in packing their house like a box of sardines. In this case the rooms were allotted as follows:—

"1 room, 11x14x7, four men and two girls; should be two.

"1 room, 18½x15x7, twelve men; should be five.

"1 room, (in cellar) 15x14x6, seven men; should not be occupied.

"The worst of this case was that men and girls were sleeping in the same room and that the cellar was occupied as a living-room. In all there were twenty-five people where there should be only seven. The magistrate scored the defendant severely and said he was going to stop this sort of thing. He administered a fine of ten dollars and costs."—*Winnipeg "Telegram," Oct. 15th, 1909.*

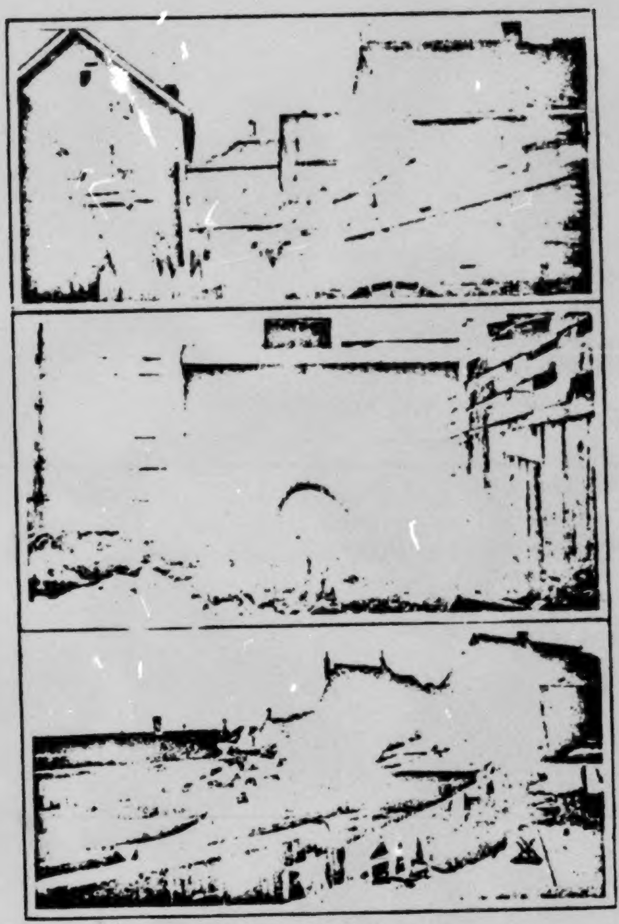
"The cells at police headquarters were filled to their utmost capacity last night, no less than seventy men, besides a number of women, finishing up their Thanksgiving celebrations behind the bars. A number of others were bailed by their friends, and judging from the number of battered and bleeding faces seen in the station duty office, there were others who ought to have been there and some of whom likely will be.

"A reporter who visited the cells at 3 o'clock

J. S. WOODSWORTH, MY NEIGHBOUR, 1911

One of the principals of the public schools states: "I have noted during the past five years that many children leave school to go to work long before they are physically fit or have any adequate preparation for their life work. Very few children in our district complete the eighth grade in school (*i.e.*, the public school course). They go to work in stores, box factories, breweries and as messenger and office boys. Many girls and boys are kept at home to mind younger children while the parents are out working. It is a sad fact, but it seems necessary that in order to maintain the existence of a family the mother must go out to work rather than care for her children. This is the source of much truancy and juvenile crime."

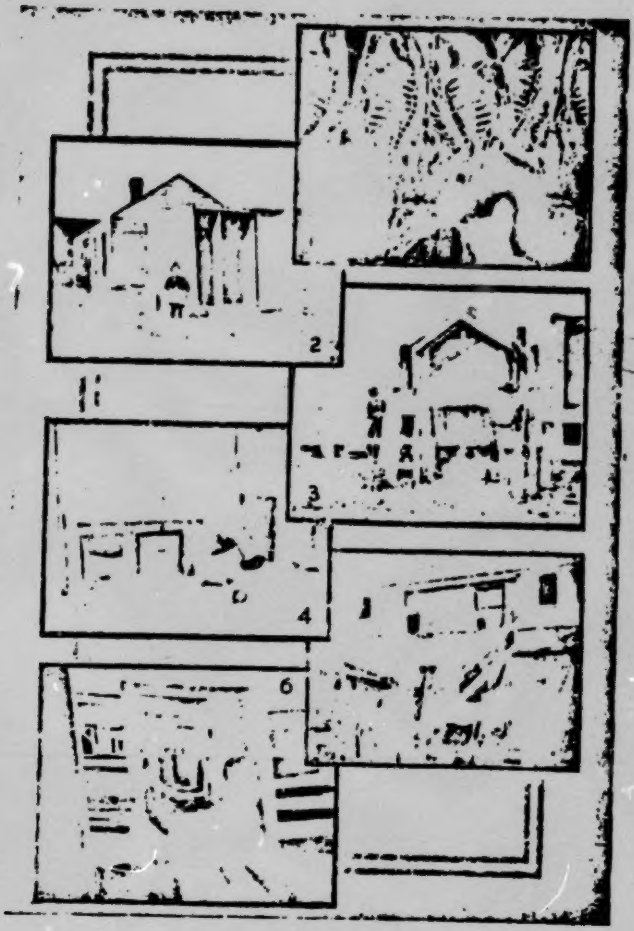
APPENDIX I-BB



CITY BACK-YARDS

The yard room to these houses is only a few square feet.
Unsanitary Slaughter House.
The first house has three flats; stairs on the outside give entrance to each.

APPENDIX I-IC



CONDITIONS FOR WHICH EVERY CITIZEN IS RESPONSIBLE.

1. Diseased meat, seized by Health Department.
2, 3, 4. Horribly unsanitary conditions existing in some sections of our cities.
5. A back yard—This stairway is the only entrance to one home.
6. A stable producing conditions illustrated in No. 1

EVIDENCE GIVEN BEFORE THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON THE RELATIONS OF CAPITAL & LABOUR, 1889

THÉOPHILE CHARRON, Journeyman Cigar-maker, aged 14, of Montreal, sworn.

By Mr. **HELBRONNER**:—

Q.—How old are you? A.—I was 14 on the 10th January last.

Q.—When you call yourself a cigar-maker, you mean that you have served your apprenticeship, do you not? A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—How long? A.—Three years.

Q.—You began working at 11 years? A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—What wages do you get now? Are you paid by the piece? A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—You receive the same wages as the workingmen? A.—Yes.

Q.—What wages did you get during your apprenticeship? A.—One dollar a week for the first year, $1.50 for the second year, and $2 for the third year. When I worked extra I got more. . . .

Q.—Did you have any fines to pay during your apprenticeship? A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—Many? A.—A good number.

Q.—Do you remember how many? A.—No.

Q.—Do you remember the most you paid in one week? A.—Twenty-five cents.

Q.—This is the highest you paid? A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—How many hours did you work a day? A.—Sometimes ten hours, other times eight hours. It was just as they wanted it.

Q.—Do you remember why you paid these fines? A.—Sometimes for talking too much; mostly for that.

Q.—You were never licked? A.—Yes; not licked so as any harm was done me, but sometimes they would come along, and if we happened to be cutting our leaf wrong, they would give us a crack across the head with the fist.

Q.—Was it usual to beat children like that? A.—Often.

Q.—Were you beaten during the first year of your apprenticeship? A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—That is, you were beaten at eleven years? A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—You were never sent before the Recorder? A.—No, sir.

Q.—How much do you make nowadays? A.—That depends. I have not yet made my full time since I am a journeyman.

Q.—Have you worked since the 10th January? A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—How much have you made a week, thereabouts, since the 10th January? Which was your best week? A.—$4.45.

Q.—Why did you not work more? Was it for lack of work? A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—Have you seen other children beaten? A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—Did you see them beaten worse than yourself? A.—No, sir.

Q.—Do you know of a factory where there is a blackhole? A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—Have you seen children put in that blackhole? A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—How old were these children? A.—I could not tell the age.

Q.—Younger than yourself. A.—No, sir.

Q.—Why were they put into the blackhole? A.—Because they lost time.

Q.—Who put them into the blackhole? A.—The man who kept the press.

Q.—Do you know whether this man wears a constable's medal? A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—Do the children cry out? A.—No, sir.

Q.—Were they taken to the blackhole brutally? A.—No, sir.

Q.—How long did they stop in the hole, as a general thing? A.—Some of them stopped there till seven o'clock.

Q.—When were they put in? A.—In the afternoon.

Q.—Was it seven o'clock in the evening or seven hours of time? A.—Seven o'clock in the evening. They put them in during the afternoon until seven in the evening.

Q.—At what time do the men leave the factory? A.—Generally at five o'clock and sometimes at six.

Q.—Do you mean to say that those children were kept in the blackhole after the men had left the factory? A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—Who let them out? The same that put them in? A.—Yes, sir, I think so, but I never saw him.

Q.—Was this blackhole heated? A.—I don't know, sir.

Q.—In what floor of the factory is this blackhole? A.—In the cellar.

Q.—Is there a furnace in the cellar? A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—Is the blackhole near the furnace? A.—No, sir.

Q.—Is there a window therein? A.—No.

Q.—When children were shut in there, you never heard them cry to get some one to let them out? A.—No, sir.

Q.—At what age did you quit school? A.—At ten years and a half.

Q.—Can you read and write? A.—A little.

CHILD AND FEMALE LABOR

At the time the Commission visited Ontario the law of that Province provided that boys under twelve and girls under fourteen years of age should not be employed in factories and the Education Act of the same Province provided that children between the ages of seven and thirteen must attend school at least one hundred days in each year.

In Quebec the Factory Act is substantially identical with that of Ontario, but at the time the Commission visited the Province it had not been enforced.

In New Brunswick and Nova Scotia there are no restrictions upon the employment of children in factories. In Nova Scotia the employment in mines of boys below ten years of age is not permitted, and boys between ten and twelve years of age may not be employed more than sixty hours in one week. The boys under twelve years are employed as trappers -- that is, in opening and closing doors for the passage of coal car -- and this is laborious work.

Still your Commission cannot approve of a system which permits the continuous employment of such young children, even if it could be shown that their bodily health will not suffer injury. It is very certain that children removed from school at the age of ten cannot acquire education sufficient to fit them for the duties of life in a civilized community.

The testimony taken in other Provinces disclosed a most regrettable state of affairs. Many children of tender age, some of them not more than nine years old, were employed in cotton, glass, tobacco and cigar factories, and in other places.

At one place in Ontario children, certainly less than eleven years of age, were employed around dangerous machinery. Some of them worked from six o'clock in the morning till six in the evening, with less than an hour for dinner, others worked from seven in the evening till six in the morning.

At Montreal boys were employed all night in the glass works. In the cotton factories the ordinary hours of labor were from 6.30 a.m. till noon, and from 12.45 till 6.15 p.m. - this for five days in the week. On Saturday the mills close at noon. Sometimes the afternoon work is continued till 7.15, without stopping for supper, and less frequently the machinery is in continuous operation from 12.45 till 9 p.m., making eight and a quarter hours of uninterrupted work, though it is in evidence that operatives are permitted to take a little lunch while the machinery is in motion.

The testimony respecting children employed in cigar and tobacco factories was of a very painful nature. Boys and girls, not more than ten years of age, were found in these places in considerable numbers, and some witnesses not older than fourteen had finished their apprenticeship at cigar-making and were working as journeymen.

The evil in these instances was accentuated by the evident fact that the tobacco had stunted the growth of the witnesses and poisoned their blood. They were undersized, sallow and listless, wholly without the bright vivacity and rosy hue of health which should animate and adorn children.

While we cannot undertake to say where the responsibility for these evils rests, whether the duty of wholly removing them falls upon the Dominion or upon the Provincial Legislature, we think the laws should be uniform throughout the Dominion, and we are firmly persuaded that the continuous employment of children under fourteen years of age should be forbidden.

Such prohibition we believe essential to proper physical development and the securing of an ordinary education. Further, medical testimony proves conclusively that girls, when approaching womanhood cannot be employed at severe or long-continued work without serious danger to their health, and the evil effects may follow them throughout their lives.

The employment of children is one of the most important subjects which can commend themselves to the attention of legislative bodies.

J. ALFRED CLARK

SOURCES: (D1) ROYAL COMMISSION APPOINTED TO ENQUIRE INTO THE WORKING OF MILLS AND FACTORIES OF THE DOMINION, AND THE LABOR EMPLOYED THEREIN. REPORT 1882 (TABLE 1, P.10) TABLE 2 (P.14)

(D2) ROYAL COMMISSION ON THE RELATIONS OF LABOUR AND CAPITAL IN CANADA. REPORT 1889. PP. 36-38, 87-89

HOURS OF LABOR

The rule for mechanics and others having regular employment in Canada is that ten hours constitute the working day; but there are many exceptions to this rule.

In Ontario the exceptions are, almost invariably, in the direction of shorter hours; in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick ten hours are seldom exceeded; in the Province of Quebec much evidence of long-continued labor came before the Commission. This is to be deplored in cases where children, especially very young children, are employed.

At some cotton mills, in which children not exceeding nine years of age are employed, the work is frequently continuous from 6.30 in the morning till noon, and from 12.45 till 7.30 in the afternoon, making thirteen hours of work, with only one intermission of three-quarters of an hour, and having an uninterrupted stretch of nearly seven hours. On rare occasions the machinery is kept in operation from 12.45 p.m. till 9 o'clock, without stopping, although some opportunity is given the operatives to snatch a bite of supper.

In nearly all cities throughout the Dominion conductors and drivers on street railway cars are required to work very long hours. Some of them are employed from 6 o'clock in the morning till 10 o'clock at night, though they are actually on the cars not more than twelve hours in a day.

The best retail shops of dry goods merchants in all cities are open only from 8 o'clock a.m. till 6 o'clock p.m.; but in many others the hours are very long, both for clerks and for other employees. At some shops in Montreal the clerks are employed from 5.30 a.m. till 10 or even 11 o'clock at night. Dressmakers and milliners are kept, during busy seasons, till even later hours. In October, November and December they are, in some places, kept at work from 8 in the morning till midnight, and on Saturday nights till far into the hours of Sunday morning. Children in the millinery rooms are at work from 6 in the morning till 9 at night, with brief intervals for meals.

While it is very much to be regretted that attention must be called to these discreditable facts, there are many instances in which the hours of labor have been shortened. In a number of trades nine hours constitute a working day; and such change as can be observed is in the direction of shorter hours. Many employers give their hands an hour or two on Saturday, and not a few close on Saturday at noon.

It is very evident that the substitution of machine work for hand labor greatly increases production. The beneficial results are: a greater supply of necessaries, comforts and luxuries; a lowering of prices, and a shortening of the hours of labor.

Almost the universal opinion among workingmen is that the shortening of the hours of labor benefits working people, and it cannot be doubted that good use will be made of leisure time wrung from the working day. At all events, the patriarchal age has passed away, and however weighty other arguments in favor of long hours may be, it cannot be conceived to be the duty of either Legislatures or employers to prolong the hours of toil lest operatives should fail to make proper use of their leisure moments.

It will not do to make the bald assertion that a man can accomplish more in a short day than in a long day; but the opinion of the most intelligent witnesses examined was that the man whose daily task is easily within his strength will accomplish more in a series of years than he whose energies are overtasked by excessive hours of severe toil. Many witnesses were firmly persuaded that the over-wearied laborer is more inclined to seek renewal of energy in intoxicating liquor than the man who quits work before his energies are exhausted.

It is unnecessary to direct special attention to every instance of long hours of labor brought before the Commission; but reference may be made to illustrative cases.

Firemen in Montreal are compelled to remain on duty almost without relief. Each man receives permission to absent himself from the engine-house only once a week, and then he may be absent only four hours. Surely the necessities of the department are not so great as to compel a man to separate himself from his family for 164 out of each 168 hours.

OUR FACTORY SYSTEM

Factories of various kinds having been in existence in Canada for many years, but it was not until the impetus given by the protective tariff of 1879 had been fully felt that they became an important feature of the wealth and prosperity of the Dominion.

With us the factory system has not grown slowly; it sprang into existence almost at one bound, and was the creature of the legislation adopted ten years ago. That a vast amount of good has been accomplished in promoting the material prosperity of the country by the large industrial establishments thus called into being is undeniable. To them the growth and consequent prosperity of our towns and cities is largely attributable.

As it is impossible for all minds to think alike, so it is equally impossible to build up a country upon one industry alone. Some are attracted to the independent life of the farm, and are happy in its pastoral calm, while others prefer the rattle of the shuttle and whirr of the spindle.

That land is best off which offers to its people a diversity of employment, so that all may find avocations suitable to their inclinations. Nothing can be more certain than that the money which would have been sent out of the country to pay for the manufactured goods, had we continued to import them, would be followed by that class of our citizens who are attracted to the life of the factory operative.

In this way both money and population would be sent out of the Dominion, neither of which could be spared, and to the manifest detriment of those who remained to till the soil. By encouraging the growth of industries in our midst we have become practically a self-contained people, able to produce for ourselves all that is necessary to support life in comfort, and even in some degree of luxury.

But it has also to be pointed out that in acquiring the industries at one bound we have also become possessed, just as quickly, of the evils which accompany the factory system, and which, in other lands, were creatures of a gradual growth. These evils have engaged the serious and special attention of the legislators of the motherland for generations. They sprang from the desire to acquire vast fortunes in the shortest possible interval of time, regardless of the suffering which might be caused to the individual or the bad effect upon the State.

There seems to be no idea of any obligation existing between the employer and his operatives, any more than the mere payment of wages. To obtain a very large percentage of work with the smallest possible outlay of wages appears to be the one fixed and dominant idea. There is no bond of sympathy existing between the capitalist of the large mill and his employees, such as prevailed when smaller works were the rule, and an intimate personal acquaintance existed between the employer and the workman.

To arrive at the greatest results for the smallest expenditure the mills and factories are filled with women and children, to the practical exclusion of adult males. The reason for this is obvious. Females and children may be counted upon to work for small wages, to submit to petty and exasperating exactions, and to work uncomplainingly for long hours. These are the inducements to employ this class of labor and why it is being utilized so largely.

It would be wrong to blame any individual mill-owner or corporation for this state of affairs. It is entirely due to the system which all alike work by. So long as one employer is permitted to fill up his factory with this cheap labor, without any restrictions, the others are compelled to do likewise, or suffer the consequences of being undersold in the general market.

There are, however, excrescences upon the system for which individuals are altogether responsible, and for which there ought to be some way of holding them to strict account.

One such presented itself in Montreal, where the conduct of a cigar manufacturer, in a large way of business, was under examination. The evidence in connection with this matter will well repay a careful perusal.

It is almost impossible to believe that such things should be done in the latter part of the nineteenth century, and yet it is very clearly proved that in this factory apprentices were imprisoned in a "black hole" for hours at a time. Occasionally the incarceration would stretch beyond the working hours and a special visit would be made to the factory to release the poor little fellows.

A special constable, who still wore his constable's badge, was employed to overawe and strike terror into the hearts of the juvenile offenders, and to carry out the punishment awarded by the proprietor and his foreman.

Occasionally this Oriental despot would himself be the executioner of his own decrees, and did, upon one occasion, personally chastise, in a flagrantly indecent manner a girl eighteen years of age. And for all this the law provides no remedy -- nay, incredible as it may appear, law, in the person of the Recorder of Montreal, expressly authorized the punishment inflicted.

This gentleman, on being examined, stated that he had authorized employers to chastise their operatives at their discretion, so long as no permanent injury was inflicted; and this evidence was given in the Year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eighty-eight, much as it might be wished that it referred to some period of the dark ages, when servants had no rights which their masters were bound to respect.

The evidence (of both Mr. Fortier and the Recorder -- pages 123 and 388, Que.) describes a state of affairs which is simply astounding. So vicious was it that a boy who was one of the witnesses before this Commission asked to be sent to the reformatory as a means of escape from the treatment he received.

The cigar manufacturer, when detailing his actions in the case of the young girl whom he so shamefully treated, seemed to think it a matter of very small consequence -- a matter-of-fact, every-day occurrence, which it was not worth while making any ado about; and the Recorder was equally complacent when stating that he had empowered employers of labor to chastise their apprentices, because, in his opinion, it was "in accordance with common sense, which is the natural law, and conforms with positive Divine law and the civil law."

Comment on such evidence would be superfluous. But it may be said that if there is any civil law in existence which authorizes the infliction of corporal punishment, as stated by the Recorder, it ought at once to be repealed; for so long as it remains upon the Statute Book Canada has no right to class herself with the civilized nations of the earth.

Other cases of brute force being resorted to by employers came before the Commission, but none of so flagrant a character as that referred to above.

What is imperatively required to meet such cases, and what we are convinced the public demand, is a stringent factory law, requiring frequent inspection by officers who will prosecute to the utmost limit men who are so completely regardless of the usages of civilization as to act toward their employees in this way.

A very common rule, one to be found in most factories, is that which requires a certain notice to be given before leaving the employment, under the penalty of forfeiture of wages earned. If this rule were a reciprocal one not much objection could be taken to it, but where, as is most frequently the case, employers hold themselves free to discharge employees without any notice, the rule is an unjust one.

So unfair is it deemed to be that in the State of New Jersey an Act has been passed which provides that manufacturers who require from employees, under forfeiture of wages, notice of intention to quit, shall be liable to like forfeiture if they discharge employees without similar notice, unless in case of a general suspension of business.

The general hours of labor are ten per day, but in some instances longer time is worked, and it is particularly noticeable that where this is the case it is in factories where females and children constitute the greater part of the help.

The sanitary conditions of many of the large factories are good, but there is in nearly all the small mills, and in some of the large ones, vast room for improvement in this respect. Cases are frequent where no separate conveniences exist for the use of the two sexes, and cleanliness in flushing closets, etc., is not locked after as closely as the health of the employees require.

The locking of doors, which might entail great loss in life in case of a fire panic, is a very common rule, and cases where adequate outside means of escape in case of fire are provided are remarkably scarce.

There is very little attention paid to the safety of hoists, and accidents by falling down the well, or defective machinery for the working of these, are far too frequent.

There are very few cases met with in which suction fans are used to carry off dust in works where a considerable quantity is generated. Machinery in the larger mills is fairly well guarded to prevent accidents, and this is due to the fact that a large part of the machinery is made in Great Britain, where such guarding is compulsory, and the protection forms part of the machine.

In the case of machinery made in our own country, and in mills and workshops where such machinery is used, there might be considerable improvement made in this respect.

It is very unfortunate that the question of jurisdiction should have been raised in the case of factory laws. While acts bearing upon this subject, and which, if properly enforced, would remedy many of the evils of factory life, have been passed in the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec, it is notorious that they have so far accomplished little or no good.

The Ontario Act was passed some two years before the inspectors provided for by it were appointed. Nearly another two years have elapsed since the appointment of these officers and during the whole of that time, up to the close of this enquiry, only one case had been brought before the courts. This inactivity cannot be for want of material to work upon.

The Act does not include places where less than twenty people work and it is notoriously winked at by employers of labor. Just as long as there is manifested a reluctance to enforce its provisions by process of law it will remain a delusion and a farce upon legislation. It would be better to discard it altogether than to retain it, and yet make no proper effort towards its enforcement.

The same remarks, to a limited extent, would also apply to the Quebec Act. It had been passed two years and no inspectors had been appointed until the lamentable state of affairs prevailing in Montreal had been brought to light by evidence given before this Commission. In none of the other Provinces are there any laws regulating factory labor.

The utter uselessness of a provincial law on a matter like this, where all the Provinces are alike interested, has been made clearly apparent. Where a law has been passed by one Province, imposing restrictions upon the number of hours to be worked, or the ages of children who may be employed, and the adjoining Province refuses or neglects to do so, there is a great temptation on the part of the former not to put the law in motion for fear of embarrassing the manufacturers.

It is apt to be considered, and rightly considered, that no restrictions should be placed upon one industry that do not apply equally to all who are in the same business. The protection which is given to manufacturers against outside competition proceeds from the Federal Government, and is enjoyed by all in common, and equally all should be placed on the same footing in the matter of restrictions.

There is, too, a keen competition between different localities for the securing of these industrial establishments, and as the capitalist will naturally locate his mill at a point where there are no restrictions as to the hours of labor or class of help to be employed in preference to another place, where these laws are in force, an unfair advantage is enjoyed by the Province which refuses to pass a fair, just, and reasonable measure of protection to the factory worker.

It must also be considered that the proper enforcement of factory legislation is too expensive for it to be resorted to by the smaller Provinces, which do not contain a large proportion of factory labor. These beneficial provisions would therefore, in all probability, be confined for a considerable period to a portion of the Dominion.

In view of all these circumstances we would strongly urge the desirability of a Dominion Factory Act, wherein uniformity of laws can be obtained. If there be a doubt as to the powers of the Federal Government in the premises there ought to be a way provided for removing that doubt.

Canada, Royal Commission on the Relations of Labor and Capital in Canada, 1889. Evidence

(Translation)

PIERRE PLEAU, Machinist, of the city of Montreal, sworn:

By Mr. HELBRONNER:—

Q.—Have you been employed in cotton factories? A.—Yes, sir; for some fifteen or eighteen years.

Q.—At Montreal? A.—In the United States and at Montreal. I have worked in Montreal for four years. I was foreman for four years at the Ste. Anne manufactory.

Q.—Does the Ste. Anne Manufactory belong to the same people as the company which is called the Hochelaga Hudon Factory? A.—Yes, sir.

Q.—According to your remembrance how many men were employed by the company when you were there? A.—I cannot speak for the whole factory; but I can answer for my department. In my department, at the time that I worked there, I had from 60 to 70 men employed under me.

Q.—How many young women and women were there? A.—On an average during the year, there might be from 34 to 36 young women.

Q.—Were there any children in your department? A.—There were little boys and little girls. Among the 34 or 36 persons whom I have just mentioned, there were small young girls from 13 to 14 years of age.

Q.—Which was the youngest child employed in your department? A.—The youngest child who worked under me was about thirteen years old.

Q.—Were there in the Ste. Anne Mills children younger than this, in the other departments? A.—I have seen such; but they did not work under me.

Q.—What age might they have been? A.—They did not appear to me to be above ten years old.

Q.—At what hour did work begin? A.—In my time, work began at twenty-five minutes past six.

Q.—How long is it since you left the factory? A.—It is now ten months.

Q.—At what hour, in ordinary times, did work cease? A.—Work ceased at a quarter past six.

Q.—At what hour had you your dinner? A.—We had three quarters of an hour for dinner, but generally speaking the hands were forced to resume work after a half hour. The engine was set in motion after the half hour, and the speed started immediately after the half hour.

Q.—Was there much overtime made? A.—Last winter, that is a [illegible] ago last winter, we worked for two months time up to a quarter past seven; but only in my department.

Q.—Did they give you any time to rest in the afternoon? A.—No; no rest. When the girls wanted to eat they were not allowed to go out and I sent out a little girl of twelve or thirteen years, who was employed in changing the work, to get a little lunch and thus they eat while working.

Q.—Has it ever happened that you worked later than a quarter past seven in your department? A.—Yes. We have worked up to nine o'clock at night.

Q.—You have worked up to nine o'clock at night for several days in succession? A.—We have already worked up to three nights in succession during the same week. . . .

Q.—Did they allow any time for rest when they made you work up till nine o'clock at night? A.—Not more than when we worked up to a quarter past seven.

Q.—If I understand you properly, then, you worked from a quarter to one in the afternoon, until nine o'clock in the evening, without any rest? A.—Yes; without rest; only he came to me, towards three o'clock in the afternoon, and he said to me: "You will notify your men that they will work to-night till nine o'clock."

Q.—Without stopping? A.—Yes; without stopping. I myself gave them a chance. I gave them the privilege of sending out for something to eat. I said to them: "Send one of your sisters, or one of the little girls, to get food, if you have none.' When he asked me in the forenoon to tell the hands that we should work at night, I said to the hands at noon: "Bring some lunch with you, we shall have to work till nine o'clock to-night."

Q.—Why did you have to work till nine o'clock at night? A.—I cannot say. It seems to me that a couple of times I heard the manager, and the other foremen, say that they were working also for the other factory—for the Hudon Company below, who were in arrears with their work, and had not enough filling or warp.

Q.—But you were not given time to eat, you had to eat during your work? A.—We had to eat during our work.

Q.—So that the children of whom you speak, who were only thirteen years old, were forced to work from a quarter to one, in the afternoon, till nine o'clock at night, without stopping, and without taking time to eat? A.—Yes; just the same as grown people.

Q.—Did it happen often that you had to work thus until nine o'clock at night? A.—During the time that I was foreman, that happened, generally, every fall, for seven or eight weeks running. We worked every second night....

Q.—Could you give us some examples of cases where you saw fines imposed? A.—This very evening, I was around among a few neighbours, and I think that I have, on my person, some forty envelopes, in which fines are set down. I could show them to you. I should not wish that the names be known.

Q.—How are wages paid at the present time? A.—At the present time, the wages are paid every fortnight.

Q.—Then, they are the envelopes of the fortnight that you have with you. A.—Yes; these envelopes all belong to the same family. In the last five months, I believe that there have been docked off over $30.00 for fines. There are fines of $2 on a single pay. I might have others, if I had more time. There is another parcel of envelopes all belonging to the same family.

Q.—May you produce these envelopes before the Commission? A.—No; I promised to return them to the parties who placed them in my hands; if I had known that you wanted any, I could have brought you lots more.

Q.—Is there any by-law concerning these fines pasted up in the factory? A.—No; not at all. What they do, is this; they will go and talk to the party, and if that party answers coarsely, they will break out swearing and say: "I will fine you 50 cents," and then they go off.

Q.—Who does that? A.—It is the first foreman.

By the CHAIRMAN:—

Q.—What is the name of the foreman? A.—James Skead.

By Mr. HELBRONNER:—

Q.—What is, to your knowledge the highest fine that has been imposed? A.—I believe that it was five dollars.

Q.—All at once? A.—All at once. It was imposed on a boy for having broken a roller.

Q.—Had he broken it voluntarily or maliciously? A.—No; it was an accident.

Q.—How much, to your knowledge did that boy earn per day? A.—That boy, I believe earned fifty or fifty-five cents per day. I cannot say exactly what were his wages...

By Mr. ARMSTRONG:—

Q. Have you any system of fining the employés? A. No.

Q. When goods come in from outside are they examined? A. Yes.

Q. Suppose they don't pass the examination what happens? A. The people have to make them right

Q. Are they sent back? A. No; they are kept until they come for them. When they come the error is explained and they are asked to rectify it.

Q. Are they charged for any damage done? A. Yes; where any actual damage takes place; if the goods are botched in the making they have to pay for them.

Q. Is the charge enforced? A. Yes.

Q. It depends on the inspector whether he sends the garment back, or charges? A. Yes.

By Mr. KELLY:—

Q. What is the average amount paid for vests? A. Well, each house has its own charges. It would depend on the style of the garment and whether it has a collar or not and on the style of the collar.

By Mr. HEAKES:—

Q. Do you make shirts? A. Yes.

Q. Flannel shirts? A. Yes.

Q. Have you any objection to stating how much you pay per dozen for the making? A. From a dollar a dozen to two dollars, according to the quality.

By Mr. KELLY:—

Q. Have you fire escapes connected with the work rooms? A. We have doors leading to the adjoining warehouses and ladders to the roofs, put in, of course, under the supervision of the board of fire wards.

By Mr. HEAKES:—

Q. Do you make overalls? A. Yes.

Q. How much a dozen do you pay? A. It is according to how they are made.

Q. How much do you pay for making common overalls? A. There are some so common they could hardly be called overalls at all; we pay from sixty cents a dozen up.

By Mr. ARMSTRONG:—

Q. When charges are made for bad work what is done with the garment? A. The operative can take it at the actual cost.

By Mr. CLARKE:—

Q. What ready-made clothing comes into competition with you? A. That from the upper Provinces, that is, Montreal, and some local houses.

By Mr. ARMSTRONG:—

Q. Are your hands paid weekly or fortnightly? A. Fortnightly.

Q. Do they prefer that? A. We do it for our own convenience.

Q. Do they ask to be paid more frequently? A. No.

that the house has a quantity of garments which it wants manufactured, apply to the foreman, who makes a contract with them to make up so many articles at a stipulated price.

THE SUB-CONTRACTOR.

Now the persons stipulating for the contract may do one of two things. They can, in the first place, take the articles home and work individually or with the assistance of their families upon them, or they may engage a number of hands to work for them, and take the garments to a shop, where, with the aid of the hired help, their manufacture is completed. In the first case, owing to the fact that one individual has to do nearly all the work upon each garment, only a very few can be completed in the allotted time, and the amount realized in consequence is very small. In the second case, a large number of garments are manufactured owing as a rule, to the minute subdivision of labour, but the contractor desirous of realizing a profit much above the running expense of his shop, pays those in his employ a sum which is frequently below a living wage. In a large shop there may be engaged in the manufacture of a single coat no less than 16 different individuals, each of whom works at a special line, and, after completing one stage in the process of manufacture, passes the garment on to the next, who is skilled in his line, and so on, till the article is completed. But there is frequently another stage. The contractor as a rule does not have the button-hole making and finishing or "felling" done in the shop, but sub-contracts this work, or it is returned to the foreman of the wholesale house, who contracts for that part again. The "felling" and button-hole making are usually done by women at their homes, and very often by the whole family. Under such an arrangement it is easily seen that, aided by competition, prices and wages must continue to fall and the work-day be lengthened until the limit of human endurance is reached. The limit, it seems, has been touched through the task system, an arrangement in the coat-making branch by which the contractor and the employees engage in a sort of competition, under which the contractor agrees with his employees to solicit work from the warehouses at a figure perhaps refused by another, provided they (the set of hands) are willing to do a certain task for a "day's work" for so much wages, even though it takes two or three days to do the specified "day's work." This set, of course, can work as many hours in a day as it chooses, the only limit being that of endurance.

WHERE THE SWEATING BEGINS.

So much for the system as it is. In reading it over it seems to fit so nicely that there appears no objection. All that is needed is the introduction into it of human life, men and women, living human beings with hearts as well as hands, and possibly feelings also, to see the iniquity which, not only may be, but usually is, worked at every stage. More than this, if it were possible to accurately do so, instead of the word "home," a description of the home should be given; instead of the term "shop," a description of the place which is spoken of as such, and instead of the simple non-committal "contractor," a portrayal of the man who hires life and blood, and knows as a rule how to buy it at the cheapest rate.

In order that exceptional conditions may not be cited there will here be given a description of conditions as actually seen, and information as actually related to a representative of The Mail and Empire in a few hours' rounds, in which he visited some of the places where clothes are being made. And that it may not be said he chose the worst of cities, the conditions here related were those seen in Toronto scarcely a fortnight ago. The first shop was visited shortly after day-break. It was one of the common kind, a combination of the home and factory. An ordinary small frame building with two large rooms on the ground floor. The front one was filled with five girls, one a mere child, and four young men: the family, the father, mother, and four children, two of them were infants, were washing themselves, and eating breakfast in the room behind, there being a wide open space between the two rooms. It was vests that were being made. Working alone, the father said he would be unable to finish more than three a day. He had contracted to make the vests complete at from 17 to 25 cents each: the cloth was supplied him, but he had to provide his own thread and silk, and have the garments sent for and delivered. His son helped him every day, and his wife when she had time. He worked frequently till midnight, and was always up at sunrise. He did not say what he paid his hands, who worked ten hours a day, but admitted that after paying them he was scarcely able to clear enough to keep his family clothed and fed. They looked, indeed, as though both had been wanting for some time.

AN ITALIAN OPINION.

Next an Italian and his wife were seen. They had been forced to give up the work as it had run them into debt. While they were working for a leading wholesale house they had hired four men at $5 each a week, two boys at $1 each, and one young girl at $4. Frequently they had worked themselves from four in the morning till eleven at night, and then were unable to keep out of debt. They had made Norfolk jackets, which required to be lined, pressed, etc., at from 26 to 40 cents each. After paying for gas, rent on machines, house rent, etc., they could not make ends meet.

A woman with a large family, some of whom were sick, was the next person visited. She was about to move to a new residence, and the clothes at which she had been working were lying with a heap of rubbish on the dirty floor. She could hardly speak with a consumptive cough, which is fast taking her life away. She had worked at the garment trade for many

Canada, Royal Commission on the Relations of Labor and Capital in Canada, 1889. Evidence—Nova Scotia, pp. 129-30.

EDWARD CILFOY, carding room employé in Halifax Cotton Mill, sworn and examined.

By Mr. HEAKES:—

Q. How long have you worked there? A. Four years.

Q. How old are you? A. Fifteen.

Q. Are there many boys employed in the carding room? A. Yes.

Q. Any younger than you? A. Yes.

Q. What is about the age of the youngest? A. Twelve or thirteen years of age.

Q. Are there any of the girls there younger than that? A. I think there are.

Q. You do not know for certain? A. No.

Q. What wages do you get? A. $5.25 a fortnight full time.

Q. What wages do the boys and girls who go to work for the first time get—what did you yourself get? A. $1.50 a week.

Q. That is three dollars a fortnight? A. Yes.

Q. Are there any fines imposed in your room? A. Yes, sometimes.

Q. What are those fines imposed for? A. Sometimes about the machinery getting smashed.

Q. And for being late? A. Yes.

Q. Are you ever fined for playing? A. Yes; sometimes.

Q. I suppose boys and girls there will play sometimes? A. Yes.

Q. Are you pretty well treated? A. Yes.

Q. Have you ever seen boys or girls getting whipped? A. Yes.

Q. What for? A. For playing.

By the CHAIRMAN:—

Q. Who beat them? A. The boss.

Q. Would that be the foreman or the manager? A. The foreman.

Q. Did he whip them very hard? A. No; not very.

Q. Just gave them a slap? A. Yes.

Q. Do you work the same hours as the other witnesses? A. Yes.

Q. Do you find it very hard to work so many hours a day? A. I do sometimes feel it pretty hard.

Q. You are pretty tired at night? A. Yes.

Q. Do you have much time for play? A. No.

Q. What time in the morning have you to be up in the winter? A. A quarter to six or six o'clock.

Q. How far have you to go to work? A. About a quarter of a mile I think.

Q. And if you are late three or four minutes what is said to you? A. If you are late five or ten minutes you are fined for it.

Q. Do they allow you five minutes in the morning? A. They blow a horn twenty-five minutes after six and that is so as to allow you to get in—so they say.

Q. Have all to be there sharp on 6.30 to start work? A. Yes.

Q. You say that you are well treated? A. Yes.

Q. Is there any drinking water in your room? A. No.

Q. Have you far to go for it? A. It is down in the next flat downstairs.

Q. It does not take long to go that far? A. No.

By Mr. FREED:—

Q. How long did you go to school? A. About three or four years.

Q. Did you learn to read and write? A. Yes.

Q. Did you learn any arithmetic, grammar or geography? A. No.

Q. Do you know any children in the mill not able to read and write? A. Yes.

Q. You think there are some? Do you know of them yourself? Are there many? A. Only a few, I think; not many.

Q. How old are those children now? A. About 11 or 12, or something like that.

Q. Do you think they never went to school at all? A. I do not know about that.

By Mr. ARMSTRONG:—

Q. Have the little girls ever been whipped by the foreman? A. I have not seen any girls whipped.

Q. Have the boys ever been slapped to such an extent that they would cry? A. No; I do not think so.

Q. Have the boys ever been checked for going down too often for drinking water? A. Yes.

Q. Have they been checked by the foreman for going too often, in his opinion, for drinking water? A. Yes.

AN ACCIDENT

Canada, Royal Commission on the Relations of Labor and Capital in Canada, 1889. Evidence—Nova Scotia, pp. 176-7.

JOSEPH LARKINS, biscuit maker, sworn:

By Mr. HEAKES:—

Q. How old are you? A. I am 11 years.

Q. What is the matter with your hand? A. It got hurt in the machinery.

Q. How? A. It got caught in the rollers.

Q. What rollers? A. The rollers of a cracker machine,—a biscuit machine.

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Q. How? A. It got caught in the rollers.

Q. What rollers? A. The rollers of a cracker machine,—a biscuit machine.

Q. How long were you working in the biscuit factory? A. About seven weeks.

Q. Was it part of your work to look after the machinery? A. No; I was taken in as a packer and was then put to work on the machinery.

Q. How much wages did they give you? A. A dollar a week first, and then a dollar and a-quarter.

Q. How much do they give you now? A. Nothing at all.

Q. How long is it since you were hurt? A. Nine weeks Thursday.

Q. And have they not given you anything? A. No; except for the week when I was hurt.

By Mr. KELLY:—

Q. Did you ask for employment? A. My mother asked for a job for me, and they said I could get a job biscuit packing; then they changed me to where the machinery was.

By Mr. FREED:—

Q. How long were you working at the machinery before you were hurt? A. I could not say.

Q. What were you doing at the machinery? A. I was brushing the dough off according as it came through.

By Mr. KELLY:—

Q. Are other boys of your age employed in the concern? A. I could not say. There was a boy about the same size.

By Mr. HEAKES:—

Q. Did you lose any fingers? A. I lost one.

Q. Did you lose any of the joints of the others? A. I think I will lose a second finger.

By Mr. KERWIN:

Q. Who paid the doctor? A. I could not say.

By Mr. KELLY:—

Q. Who took you to the doctor? A. A man who was there. The doctor put seven or eight stitches in.

The question of an abattoir has engaged a considerable portion of our attention during the past year. The principal cities both of Europe and America pronounce strongly in favour of the abattoir system. Many diseases, such as hog cholera, trichinæ, tuberculosis, etc., otherwise propagated, are by this means effectually avoided. In this respect we are behind other cities, but it is hoped and expected that this will not long be the case. During the past year there was an outbreak of hog cholera, but happily its progress was checked in Toronto. The more recent outbreaks in other parts lead us to suspect that the authorities at Ottawa have failed to act promptly in the matter.

Although typhoid fever and diphtheria have been more prevalent in this district than in any other in the city, proving that the sanitary condition is not what it might be, there are few nuisances of sufficient importance to require special mention in this report. Complaints received both from citizens and house to house inspectors nearly always deal with minor matters, and have special reference to privy pits. The following are a few of the most important matters coming under the notice of the Department in this district:

In the vicinity of Manning avenue and Bloor street, and within a radius of a quarter of a mile, there are situated 15 slaughter houses. These have all been visited at one time or another during the past summer and have always been found to be in a scrupulously clean condition. Notwithstanding this the residents in the locality complain most bitterly of the odors arising from them, especially in the summer months. The smell is so bad that even on warm evenings the residents are compelled to keep their doors and windows closed and to remain indoors. There is such a unanimity of opinion that there can be no doubt of the truth of this. I can quite credit their statements, as even when these places are kept perfectly clean their number would be sufficient to give rise to the vile smells no matter what care may be taken to keep them in a proper condition.

Scavenger Dumps.—The neighborhood most imposed upon in this respect is also in the vicinity of the slaughter houses mentioned above. About here there are numerous ravines which they have been attempting to fill up with scavenger refuse. These ravines are so deep that it is impossible to drain them. The rain lodges in them, and as all sorts of refuse, both animal and vegetable, is deposited there the smell when decomposition sets in is something vile. Since this has been complained of the dumping has ceased, much to the relief of the residents in the vicinity.

Contagious Diseases.—Great difficulty, inconvenience and in many cases impossibility has been experienced in the isolation of cases of infectious disease owing to lack of hospital accommodation.

A house to house inspection was made of the district bounded on the south by Queen street west, on the east by Yonge street, on the west by University street, and on the north by Avenue street. A few houses remain to be inspected in this district, in which, as well as in the district mentioned above, we found privy pits which had not been cleaned for three years or more. Some of these pits were in as close proximity to the kitchen door as two feet. In several of these pits there were thirty-two barrels or more to be removed. It is to be greatly regretted that our present by-law does not provide for the removal of these pits in any case. A very striking example of this may be seen on Elizabeth street, near Queen street, where the privy pit of the house on Queen street is placed not more than two feet from the kitchen door of the house on Elizabeth street.

The Elizabeth street house is a first-class building, while the Queen street house is very inferior, yet our police magistrate holds that under the present by-law we cannot compel the removal of this privy pit. Another very striking example may be seen in the rear of Frichot street, where a row of fine brick houses cannot be rented because of a row of no less than nineteen privy pits which are only ten feet from the rear of the houses. In many large factories where many men are employed, an immense pit is in use without any adequate provision to prevent a nuisance being created.

Report of Medical Health Officer re Abolition of Privy Pits.—During the past three months we have been carefully analysing the various complaints received in this department, and find from a careful examination that from sixty to sixty-five per cent. of the complaints received, are based on nuisances caused by the presence of privy pits. In the older portions of the city the percentage is even higher. Such a complaint received, a notice is sent to the owner, the privy is emptied and the nuisance abated; but only for a time. In a few months, certainly by the end of a year, the pit is in exactly the same condition. Another notice is sent, and so it goes on. It is plain from this that sixty to sixty-five per cent. of the work of this department is of no permanent benefit. These pits are nearly all made of boards nailed together, and no attempt is made to have them water tight. The fluids consequently soak through into the earth, saturating it with filth, and remaining there after the privy is emptied. A great many people think it quite an advantage to have these loose boxes so that the liquids may run out, and will often, when ordered to empty a privy pit, complain that it is only water that is in it, and if left alone it will soak away in a short time. In certain sections privies are so numerous and so close to houses as to be a menace, if not positively dangerous to health. The denser the population the fewer the water closets, seems to be the rule, the more closely built portions having nearly all pits. In many cases there are houses built in the rear. These almost invariably have pits, and in nearly every instance the privy is placed just where the kitchen door is located, or beside it. In warm weather, especially, the air is contaminated, and the smell is distinctly perceptible. Contaminated air is heavier than pure air, and generally stinking organic vapors are heavier than, and tend, on that account, to hang around the localities from which they emanate.

HISTORY OF THE LABOUR MOVEMENT IN CANADA

Section 7 - Organized Labour in Canada

HISTORY OF THE LABOUR MOVEMENT IN CANADA*

Canadian trade union history goes back at least 150 years. There were unions of skilled workers in Saint John, N.B., during the War of 1812, and the ferociously anti-union Nova Scotia Act of 1816 complains that "great numbers of....Journeymen and Workmen, in the Town of Halifax, and other parts of the province have, by unlawful Meetings and Combinations, endeavoured to regulate the rate of wages, and to effectuate illegal purposes".

From the prohibitions the Act contains, it is clear that the "Combinations" had been doing almost everything a modern union does in pursuit of collective bargaining, and with some success.

There is evidence also of unions of printers in Quebec City in 1827 and 1836, in York (Toronto) and Hamilton in 1833, and somewhere in Nova Scotia (probably Halifax) in 1837; shoemakers in Montreal in the 1830s and in Hamilton between 1827 and 1842; carpenters in Montreal in 1834, and stonecutters in 1844; carpenters, cabinet makers, blacksmiths, foundrymen, hammermen, painters, bakers, shoemakers, tailors and "horologers" in Saint John in 1840; seamen in Quebec City in 1847; shipwrights and caulkers in Kingston in 1848-50; carpenters, cabinet makers, blacksmiths and foundrymen, painters, masons and stonecutters, shipwrights, riggers and sailmakers, longshoremen, sawmill men, millers, bakers, shoemakers, tailors and printers in Saint John in 1853; longshoremen in Quebec City in 1857, and sailmakers in 1858; moulders in Brantford in 1859; and bakers in Victoria in 1859.

Most of these early unions were probably short-lived but the Montreal Stonecutters, the Quebec Ship Labourers (longshoremen) and the Saint John Shipwrights lasted well into the present century; the present Toronto Typographical Union goes back to 1844, and the Saint John Longshoremen to 1849.

* Prepared by Dr. Eugene Forsey, Director of Research, Canadian Labour Congress, Ottawa

SOURCE: Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Canada Year Book, 1967. Ottawa, Queen's Printer, 1967

Before 1859, all the unions seem to have been purely local, except for the Amalgamated Society of Engineers (ASE), a British union that established its first Canadian branch in Montreal in 1853, a second in Hamilton in 1857, and two more (Toronto and Brantford) in 1858.

But from 1859 on, Canadian unionism became steadily more and more 'international', that is, more and more of its members belonged to unions with their headquarters and the bulk of their membership in another country.

The ASE was followed, during the 1860s, by several organizations with headquarters in the United States - the Moulders (1859), the Locomotive Engineers (1864), the Typographical Union (1865), the Knights of St. Crispin (shoemakers) (1868), and the Cigar Makers (1869); the Coopers also may have arrived before 1871.

The 1870s brought the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners (British) (1871), the Bricklayers and Masons (1872), the Friendly Society of Carpenters (British) (1875), the Locomotive Firemen (1876), and probably the Knights of Labor (1879), and the 1880s brought the Railway Conductors (1881), the American Brotherhood of Carpenters (1882), the Railroad Trainmen (1885), and the Painters and Decorators (1887).

British and American immigrants brought some of these with them; others were invited by Canadian local unions that wanted to be able to move freely to jobs in the United States when times were hard in Canada.

Nevertheless, during the 1860s, 1870s and 1880s, Canadian workers continued to form purely local or provincial unions. There were provincial organizations of shoemakers in Ontario and coal miners in Nova Scotia; there were local unions of occupations as diverse as seamen, sailmakers, shipwrights, caulkers, riggers, longshoremen, wharf porters, truckmen, hackmen, bricklayers, masons, stonecutters, carpenters, plasterers, painters, plumbers, tinsmiths, boilermakers, carriage makers, saddle makers, harness makers, trunk makers, cabinet makers, chair makers, varnishers and polishers, coopers, boltmakers, brushmakers, bricklayers' labourers, labourers, tailors, hatters, bakers, bookbinders, and in places as widely scattered as Halifax, Charlottetown, Saint John, Quebec, Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto, Hamilton, London, St. Catharines and Victoria.

For many years the various unions, even in the same city or town, had very little to do with each other. But in December 1863 several Hamilton unions formed a central Trades Union or Trades Assembly, a body made up of delegates from the constituent unions, which lasted till at least 1875.

This was followed by the Toronto Trades Assembly (1871-78), the Ottawa Trades Council (1872-76) and the St. Catharines Trades Assembly (1375). In 1873, moreover, the Toronto Assembly called a national convention. By that time, there must have been upwards of a hundred unions in the country but the convention had delegates from only 31 locals of 14 unions, all in Ontario (although the Typographical Unions in Montreal and Quebec sent letters of approval). This convention set up the first national central organization, the Canadian Labor Union, which met again in 1874, 1875, 1876 and 1877. The depression of the 1870s, however, was fatal to both the local and national central bodies, although many of the local unions, especially the branches of the internationals, survived.

Meanwhile, the infant Canadian labour movement had won a resounding and decisive legislative victory in the Toronto printers' strike of 1872, part of the nine-hours movement. Most of the Toronto master-printers, headed by George Brown of the Globe were fiercely anti-union. They had 13 leading members of the Typographical Union committee arrested on a charge of seditious conspiracy.

Labour had assumed unions were lawful but it now found they were not. British Acts freeing them of their Common Law disabilities did not extend to Canada so that Ontario unions in 1872 were in the same legal position as British unions in 1791. They promptly set to work to get Canadian legislation to match the British.

Sir John A. Macdonald, delighted at the opportunity to "dish the Liberals" with two pieces of unimpeachably Gladstonian legislation, lost no time in passing through the Dominion Parliament a Trade Unions Act and a Criminal Law Amendment Act (1872) modelled on the British Acts of the previous year. This was the first big piece of successful political action by Canadian unions. The prosecution was dropped and the strike was won.

With the adoption of the National Policy (1879) and the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway (1881-85), Canadian industry began to revive and grow and the unions revived and grew with it. The 1880s saw not only the organization of a host of purely local unions, most of them short-lived, but also the entry of several new international unions including, besides those already mentioned, the Order of Railway Telegraphers (1888) and the Plasterers and Cement Masons (1889).

The railway running trades organizations (Engineers, Firemen, Conductors and Trainmen), which in 1880 had had only about a dozen locals, by 1890 had about 100; in 1880 they had been confined almost wholly to Ontario but by 1890 nearly half their locals were in other provinces, divided almost equally between the Maritimes, Quebec and the West.

The building trades also had only about a dozen locals in 1880, again nearly all in Ontario and, by 1890, they had about 60, rather more than half of them in other provinces, more particularly the West and Quebec.

But the most spectacular feature of the 1880s was the appearance and growth of the Knights of Labor. Actually, the Knights (which started in the United States but spread to Canada, Britain, Belgium, Australia and New Zealand) had formed one Local Assembly in Canada before 1880 but this had withered on the vine and their Canadian history really began in Hamilton in the fall of 1881.

Within a decade they had organized well over 300 local Assemblies in more than 100 cities, towns and villages in every province except Prince Edward Island and what is now Saskatchewan. Many of these were short-lived, few surviving the turn of the century, but in 1886 there must have been 160 and in 1887 close to 200.

What is more, the Knights were mainly responsible for the organization of the unskilled, men and women (of which there had previously been very little) and of small town workers. Nor did they neglect the skilled; their first big effort in Canada was organizing 30 Local Assemblies of telegraphers, from Winnipeg to North Sydney, as part of their "National Trade District 45, United Telegraphers of North America".

This body, in the summer of 1883, conducted the one genuinely international strike in North American history, against the big telegraph companies on both sides of the border. The strike failed and the Canadian Telegraphers' Assemblies disappeared but the Knights went on to organize almost every conceivable craft, from carpenters to watch-case makers, from stonecutters to musicians.

They also organized a great number of "mixed" Assemblies that took in all occupations, skilled and unskilled, and were specially adapted to the needs of small towns where there were not enough workers of any one occupation to make a sizable trade union. The cities and larger towns had their share of Assemblies (in 1887 Toronto had about 50, Montreal over 20, Quebec City perhaps a dozen, Hamilton 15) but there were also single Assemblies, usually mixed, in dozens of small places.

With the fresh burst of organizing activity came a revival of the central organizations, both local and national. Significantly, the new local central bodies almost invariably called themselves "Trades and Labor Councils"; the "trades" were making room for the unskilled.

The Toronto Council was formed in 1881 and was followed by Halifax (1882), Hamilton and London (1883), Guelph (1885), Montreal, Oshawa, Brantford and St. Thomas (1886), Winnipeg (1887), and Ottawa, St. Catharines, Peterborough, Vancouver and Victoria (1889).

The new national central body, known initially as the "Canadian Labor Congress" but from 1886 on as the Trades and Labor Congress (TLC), was set up in 1883 by a convention summoned by the Toronto Council and for some years was, in fact, an almost wholly Ontario body. The first convention had no delegates from any other province; the second, in 1886, had one from Quebec but in 1887 and 1388 the delegates were again all from Ontario. From 1889 on, however, there was always a substantial delegation from Quebec.

In 1890, the first western delegates appeared (from British Columbia), and in 1897 the first from the Maritimes (New Brunswick).

Until the turn of the century, however, the Congress remained a predominantly Ontario and Quebec organization, not only because most of the unions and the Knights of Labor Assemblies were in these provinces, but because the railway running trades almost invariably held aloof, and because unions and Assemblies were usually too poor to send delegates more than a short distance from home.

From 1880 until the beginning of the twentieth century, the Canadian labour movement was comprehensive, inclusive; the Congress was prepared to accept every kind of genuine labour organization there was - craft or industrial, skilled or unskilled, local, regional, national or international.

Even so, its strength was not impressive. In 1901, the Secretary-Treasurer reported that of 871 organizations in the country, only 133, with a total membership of 8,381, had affiliated; and total Congress expenditures in that year were only $809.88. It was not until the next year that the Congress engaged "the services of a stenographer and typewriter", which "necessitated the fitting up of a small office with two desks and a chair."

In these circumstances, it might have been supposed that the policy of taking in everybody would have continued. But in 1896, Canadian trade unionism had to face, for the first time, the problem of reconciling continental solidarity with Canadian autonomy.

Most of the TLC affiliates were locals of international organizations but it had confined itself almost wholly to legislative activities and seems to have had no formal contact with the American Federation of Labor (AFL). But in 1896, it complained to the AFL about the application of the American Alien Contract Labor Act to Canadian workers and the ensuing correspondence led, in 1899, to an exchange of fraternal delegates which lasted as long as the Congress.

Meanwhile, the Knights of Labor, which in the late 1880s and early 1890s had played a dominant part in the Congress (supplying the majority of the delegates at the conventions of 1887-89, 1891, 1893 and 1894 and holding the Congress presidency from 1886 to 1891, and in 1894 and 1895), had dwindled to very small proportions in Canada and to almost nothing in the United States.

The AFL, on the other hand, was becoming more and more powerful and its unions in Canada more and more numerous and influential. With the turn of the century, they felt in a position to put pressure on the Congress to throw out all organizations "dual" to (rivals of) AFL unions and in 1902 the Congress complied.

It lost 23 organizations; it kept nearly 200. There were over 1,000 unions in the country - more than 500 in Ontario, about 160 in British Columbia, slightly fewer in Quebec, about 140 in the Maritimes and nearly 70 on the Prairies.

By its action in 1902, the Congress ranged itself definitely on the side of international unionism. It did not, however, by any means accept the subordinate role the AFL repeatedly tried to impose on it.

From 1897 on, it kept trying to get the international unions, or the AFL on their behalf, to turn over to the Congress the dues these unions paid the AFL on their Canadian membership. It finally solved this problem by getting the international unions to affiliate their Canadian membership direct, which they began to do in 1906.

The AFL persisted, right down to 1955, in chartering local unions in Canada. It also made repeated unsuccessful attempts to deny the TLC the sole right to charter local Trades and Labor Councils, and it took the Congress 35 years (1910 to 1945) to win complete victory.

The Federation was successful in forcing the Congress to expel, in 1939, a whole group of unions belonging to the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) but only after a struggle.

A similar attempt in 1946 against the Machinists met a firm and spirited refusal. After this, the Congress decided to assert itself by setting up a series of departments and a full-scale organizing staff and otherwise make plain the status it felt it should enjoy as a fully autonomous Canadian trade union centre.

None of these disputes, however, really disturbed the basic harmony between the TLC and the AFL. The Congress, made up overwhelmingly of international unions whose American members were affiliated to the Federation, never faltered in its allegiance to international unionism. It knew that in most industries international unions alone had the staff, experience and money to do the job that had to be done.

Meanwhile, however, the whole Canadian labour movement had been "by schisms rent asunder, by heresies distrest". Nationalism, industrial as against craft unionism, revolutionary ideas, and a mixture ofnationalism and denominationalism all played their part.

The unions expelled by the TLC in 1902 promptly formed the National Trades and Labour Congress of Canada, which, in 1908, became the Canadian Federation of Labour and in 1910 took in the Provincial Workmen's Association of Nova Scotia (which had never affiliated with the TLC).

In 1919, just after the Winnipeg general strike and partly as a result of its failure, many western unionists, attracted by revolutionary industrial unionism, broke away from the Congress and the established international unions and formed the One Big Union, which for a time threatened to take away a large proportion of the TLC's membership on the Prairies and in British Columbia but within a few years had ceased to be of any importance.

Between 1901 and 1921, small Roman Catholic unions (some of them perhaps former Knights of Labor Assemblies) sprang up in Quebec under the fostering care of the hierarchy and clergy and in 1921 formed the Canadian and Catholic Confederation of Labour (CCCL).

In 1927, the Canadian Federation of Labour and other national unions (notably the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees, which had been founded in 1908, had entered the TLC in 1917 and had been expelled from it in 1921) formed the All-Canadian Congress of Labour (ACCL), dedicated to industrial and national unionism.

By 1935, purely Canadian unions of one kind or another, including the Communist Workers' Unity League, made up nearly half the total union membership in Canada. Within a few years, however, international unionism reasserted its predominance and for many years now about 70 p.c. of all Canadian unionists have belonged to international unions.

The great debate in the United States in the 1930s over the relative merits of industrial and craft unionism found only faint echoes in Canada. The TLC had both kinds and was most reluctant to expel the Canadian branches of CIO unions but, faced with a virtual ultimatum from the AFL that it must either expel the CIO unions or lose the AFL unions (whose Canadian membership was then far larger), it had really no choice and in 1939 the CIO unions were accordingly cast forth. They at once formed a Canadian CIO Committee which became the fourth Canadian central organization.

Through all these changes and chances, the four railway running trades (Conductors, Engineers, Firemen and Trainmen) remained unaffiliated with any central body, although locals of every one of them had occasionally sent delegates to Trades and Labor Councils and to TLC conventions, and in 1896 their joint Legislative Board had sent two delegates to the TLC, of whom one was elected to the Congress Executive. The "big four", however, co-operated with each other and two Congress railway unions in a Dominion Joint Legislative Committee.

Late in 1939 came the first step toward unity, although, paradoxically, it created the first effective opposition to the TLC.

The ACCL and the Canadian CIO Committee agreed to unite in the Canadian Congress of Labour (CCL), which was set up in 1940 with complete autonomy not only for itself but for the Canadian branches of CIO unions.

Contrary to most expectations, this new Congress not only survived but grew and became strong, organizing mass production industries and pioneering in labour research, workers' education and labour public relations.

For the next 15 years both Congresses passed resolutions almost every year in favour of unity and, from 1948 on, joint action on various matters became increasingly common. But as long as the two American central bodies were at loggerheads their Canadian counterparts could make little progress towards reunion because of the provisions of the TLC Constitution which, in effect, forbade it to affiliate any union 'dual' to an AFL union.

Once the Americans agreed to discuss unity, this blockage disappeared.

By the end of 1953 the two Canadian Congresses had appointed a joint Unity Committee, which first (1954) drew up a "No-raiding Agreement" (under which unions of the rival organizations agreed not to try to steal each others' members) and in 1955 a "Merger Agreement".

After ratification by the two Congress conventions, the Merger Agreement came into force and the founding convention of the united Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) took place in April 1956.

In January 1957, the small and respectable remnant of the One Big Union joined the new Congress, the Locomotive Firemen followed in February, and the Trainmen in September.

During the Second World War, the CCCL, at first distrusted and denounced by the orthodox unions as a collection of thinly veiled "company unions", shed the narrow denominationalism and French-Canadian nationalism of its early years and by the 1950s had become one of the most militant labour organizations in the country.

After numerous battles with the international unions, it also came to co-operate with them for common ends and for a time, in 1956 and 1957, it looked as if the Confederation would come into the CLC. But the negotiations broke down and it stayed out. In 1960, it formally "de-confessionalized" itself and became the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CNTU).

In 1911, there were only 133,000 union members in Canada, and at the outbreak of the First World War still only 166,000. By 1919 the number had more than doubled to 378,000; by 1924 it had sunk to 261,000; and by 1932 it had recovered to 322,000.

The depression cut it back to 281,000 but by 1938 it was slightly higher than in 1919.

During the Second World War, the immense new industrial development and the organization of the mass production industries again more than doubled the pre-war figure, and in 1949 membership passed the 1,000,000-mark.

Since then, growth has been slower; the manual workers in the large industries and the main crafts in the cities and big towns have been pretty effectively organized but the white-collar workers and the small town workers in general have not. From 1958 to 1964, total union membership was almost stationary but in 1965 it started to rise again substantially.

CLC unions now (1966) have about three quarters of the 1,600,000 organized workers in Canada; the CNTU has about 10 p.c. (almost all in Quebec) and another 8 p.c. are in international unions unaffiliated with the CLC.

In some respects, Canadian trade unionism has changed out of all recognition since the first Canadian Labour Congress met, over 80 years ago; in others, it has changed very little.

The basic aims and basic organization are the same; the change has been chiefly in the legislation the unions want passed.

This is partly because so much of what they originally wanted they have long since got - one day's rest in seven, cash payment of wages, bureaus of labour statistics, a Department of Labour, the nine-hour day, workmen's compensation, universal suffrage, free compulsory education; it is partly also because some of the things they once wanted no longer interest them, or even, as with compulsory arbitration (repeatedly demanded down to 1902), have become anathema; but it is also because, on many matters, circumstances, or the general climate of opinion, or both, have changed.

This is true of temperance legislation, the single tax, the initiative and referendum, the abolition of Lieutenant-Governorships and the High Commissionership to Britain, the election of the Governor General, demonetization of gold and silver, condemnation of manual training in the schools, transfer of university and college grants to the schools, exclusion of Oriental immigrants and of "pauper" immigrants from Europe.

But abolition of the Senate, public ownership of banks and public utilities minimum wages and shorter hours are all part of the CLC program, as they were of the TLC. So is support for the co-operative movement.

One subject that figured prominently in TLC resolutions from 1886 to 1910 was co-operation with the farmers, who in those days were of course far more powerful, economically and politically, than organized labour.

In 1886, the Congress appointed a committee to meet with the Dominion Grange to get some united action on the Factory Act.

In 1893, it met with the Grange and the Patrons of Industry (a new farm organization) and adopted a common "platform", set up a standing committee with the Patrons to devise "a scheme for a union of the labor forces (rural and urban)", and provided for a vote by affiliated organizations on allowing the Grange and the Patrons to affiliate.

In 1894, the Congress constitution was amended to let the Patrons in; this was deleted in 1895 but in 1896 the convention again resolved that unity with the Patrons was desirable and instructed its Executive to be represented at any meeting the Patrons called.

The Dominion election of 1896 pretty well did for the Patrons but the idea of co-operation with farm organizations persisted and in 1910 the Executive recommended appointment of a special committee for this purpose.

From then until 1941, labour seems to have been too preoccupied with more urgent matters to give this one much attention.

In that year, the TLC declared that "the wellbeing of labor is inseparably bound up with the prosperity of the farmer"; expressed its fear that "many farmers" would be "driven off the land" and "forced into competition with workers thereby driving down wages" and announced its "sympathy and support for the farmers to secure adequate debt protection and parity of farm prices".

The CCL declared in favour of co-operation with farm organizations and of government aid in marketing farm produce in any friendly country. The next year the TLC called on the Government to help the farmers meet the shortages of machinery and services.

In 1946 both Congresses supported the Alberta farmers' strike; the older declared for "close co-operation" with national and provincial farm organizations; the younger suggested a conference of "Labour organizations and the official spokesman of the farmers" to work toward "complete unity...in our demands for social security".

In 1947 the CCL declared its support for the farmers "in their attempt to get a fair price for their products", and in 1948 pledged itself to do all it could to promote "farmer-Labour-teacher" co-operation for "common aims and objectives".

In 1949 the TLC listened to a speech of greeting from the President of the Alberta Farmers' Union (already affiliated with the Calgary Trades and Labor Council).

In 1951 the CCL called on the Government to work out with farm organizations "a just farm price-structure". The next year the older Congress had another speech of greetings, this time from the President of the Interprovincial Farm Union Council, and the other Congress declared for a "National Co-ordinating Committee of Farm and Labour organizations".

From 1953 to 1955 both Congresses had farm speakers each year; so did the new CLC at its founding convention in 1956. In February 1954 the two Congresses and the Interprovincial Farm Union Council set up the Farmer-Labour Economic Council, which still exists.

Another subject of great importance which has had a place in almost every meeting of the national central organizations is political action. The Canadian Labor Union dealt with it in 1876 and 1877.

The Congress of 1883 unanimously resolved that "the working class of this Dominion will never be properly represented in Parliament or receive justice in the legislation of the country until they are represented by men of their own class and opinions".

The 1886 convention reaffirmed this and the members pledged themselves to "use their utmost endeavours, wherever practicable, to bring out candidates for the local and Dominion elections" or, where this was not "deemed advisable", to support the candidate "who pledges himself to vote for most planks of the platform of this Congress".

The 1887 convention dropped this last part and adopted the remainder unanimously. The 1889 convention set up a committee to consider forming an "independent political party" and recommended the organizations to nominate candidates where practicable and elsewhere to support the party which was prepared to do most for Labour.

In 1892, on motion of two French-Canadian delegates, the convention resolved to "take into consideration the advisability of forming a labor party". Perhaps as part of the consideration, the 1893 convention invited its member organizations to answer four questions:

(1) Are you in favor of the present industrial system?

(2) Are you in favor of the so-called co-operative system of productive (sic) distribution and exchange?

(3) Are you in favor of the communistic system of government?

(4) Have you any other system better than the above to suggest? (Strange to say, there were almost no replies.)

In 1895, by a very narrow majority, the convention voted to admit "sections of the Socialist Labor Party" (this was repealed in 1896) and resolved that "labor organizations should now unite for independent political action".

But some organizations had already been taking political action. In 1874, Ottawa elected the first Labour M.L.A. in Canadian history. In 1883, the Toronto Trades and Labor Council nominated two provincial candidates and came close to electing one, and the Hamilton Knights of Labor nominated a candidate who made a respectable showing.

In 1886, there were provincial Labour candidates in Toronto, Hamilton, London and Montreal. In 1887, Toronto had a Labour candidate for the Dominion House of Commons and, in 1888, the Montreal Central Labor Council and the Knights of Labor actually elected their candidate in a Dominion by-election in Montreal East. Ottawa had a Labour candidate in the Dominion General Election of 1891.

For the most part, however, until 1906 the unions seem to have relied on meetings of the TLC or its provincial committees with Dominion and provincial Ministers, at which Labour presented its legislative proposals: and from the early 1890s, these meetings have been standard practice.

However, by 1899, the Ontario Executive had decided that this was useless and that "the only way to get from the Government what is our right is to elect men in sympathy with the labor cause".

In the same year, the Winnipeg Trades and Labor Council and the Winnipeg Labor Party nominated A.W. Puttee for the House of Commons; and the Congress, presided over by Ralph Smith, M.L.A. for Nanaimo, B.C., decided to ask its member organizations whether they favoured an independent Labour party and would back its candidates

The vote was 1,424 in favour to 167 against, with only three organizations out of 44 voting "no". The 1900 convention decided this was enough to justify the Congress in "taking such steps as it deemed advisable to further the progress of such action".

It also asked the Nanaimo miners to nominate President Smith for the House of Commons. They did and both Smith and Puttee were elected, with another Labour candidate in Manitoba barely defeated.

In 1903 a new Congress President, John Flett, was declaring that the meetings with the Dominion Government were useless and that Canadian Labour should follow the British example and elect Labour men to Parliament.

In 1904 he reiterated this and for three years the annual interview was dropped and a parliamentary counsel was substituted to look after Congress interests full-time during the session.

In 1903, 1904 and 1905 the conventions passed resolutions favouring independent Labour candidates wherever possible. In 1906, Alphonse Verville, President of the Congress, was elected to the House of Commons for Maisonneuve (Montreal) and declared he hoped for "at least a dozen" Labour members in the next Parliament.

The convention responded by adopting what became the political action policy of the TLC for the remainder of its life. The Congress was to endorse sending Labour representatives to Parliament and the Legislatures; its provincial Executives were to summon provincial conventions of trade unionists and sympathizers to set up "the necessary associations"; and the Congress was then to step out of the picture, having "recommended" its own Platform of Principles as the platform for "this independent effort".

The result of this was the foundation of a Canadian Labour Party in Ontario, Quebec, Manitoba, British Columbia and Nova Scotia. Though launched with considerable fanfare, its only substantial success was in Ontario in 1919, when eleven Labour candidates were elected and two Labour Ministers entered the Farmer-Labour coalition.

A few surviving sections entered the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) in 1932 and 1933, along with the Independent Labour Party of Manitoba, which had elected two members to the House of Commons.

The CCL explicitly endorsed the CCF in 1943 and continued to do so throughout the remainder of its existence. It set up political action committees to implement this policy. Its efforts certainly helped the CCF to win power in Saskatchewan in 1944 and to retain it for 20 years; to maintain its position as the official Opposition in British Columbia for most of the past thirty years; to become briefly, although for the second time, the official Opposition in Ontario from 1948 to 1951; to win a few seats in the Nova Scotia Legislature; and to carry some industrial ridings in the House of Commons in the elections of 1945, 1949, 1953 and 1957. But on the whole the results were not what the Congress had hoped.

The CLC at its first convention adopted a compromise policy on political action, leaving its provincial Federations, its local Councils and, of course, its autonomous affiliated unions free to follow whatever line they saw fit and authorizing its Political Education Committee, under the guidance of the Executive Council, to initiate discussions with other free trade unions, the principal farm organizations, the co-operative movement, the CCF and "other parties pledged to support the legislative programme" of the Congress, in order "to explore and develop co-ordination of action in the legislative and political field".

Nothing much came of this until after the Dominion General Election of 1958, when the Congress invited the same groups to enter discussions looking to the formation of a new political party. The farm organizations and the co-operatives (mainly farmer) declined; the CCF accepted.

In 1961, the CLC and the CCF, with a variety of sympathizers organized in "New Party Clubs", founded the New Democratic Party.

The Congress did not itself affiliate with the new party (although a number of its unions, with some 200,000 members, did). It remains an independent national trade union centre. The relationship is much the same as that between the British Trades Union Congress and the British Labour Party.

Indeed, it is hardly too much to say that the founding of the New Democratic Party represents the triumph of the British tradition of direct political action, brought to Canada by British working-class immigrants in their baggage, over the non-partisan AFL tradition. It is one of the marks of the independence of the Canadian labour movement from the American, with which it is otherwise, in so many ways, so closely associated.

The CLC is wholly independent of the AFL-CIO, which since 1956 has had no branches, no staff and no jurisdiction in Canada (although this does not apply fully to some of its Trade Departments). The Canadian sections of most international unions affiliated with the CLC enjoy complete autonomy. The CNTU and its unions are, of course, purely Canadian and almost entirely French-Canadian, and in the past few years have been engaged in a vigorous competition with the CLC and its affiliates in Quebec.

Internationally, the CLC is a member of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) and the CNTU of the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions (IFCTU).

In the centennial year 1967, Canadian unions can look back on a record of impressive achievement. A century ago, they were at best barely legal, were few, small, weak and scattered, without even local let alone national central organization, hemmed in by all manner of restrictions, distrusted, despised or hated by most of those in authority, employers and governments alike.

Their members worked long hours for meagre wages and under poor conditions. Even Factory Acts had yet to be passed and social security was undreamed of. Now, unions are fully legal, with collective bargaining (long fiercely resisted) legally compulsory.

They are many, big and strong: they cover every province, almost every city and town; they have local, provincial and national federations which enable them to speak with one voice to governments. They are important social institutions, accepted even by those who like them least.

They take an active and leading part in all manner of activities, whether governmental or private. They are consulted, listened to, represented on boards and commissions and committees of almost every kind.

Their members generally work 40 hours a week or less, for wages that are among the highest in the world, and under reasonably good conditions. And it is largely union effort that has won, not only for union members but for hundreds of thousands of people never even eligible for membership, a substantial measure of social security in unemployment, illness, disability or other adversity.

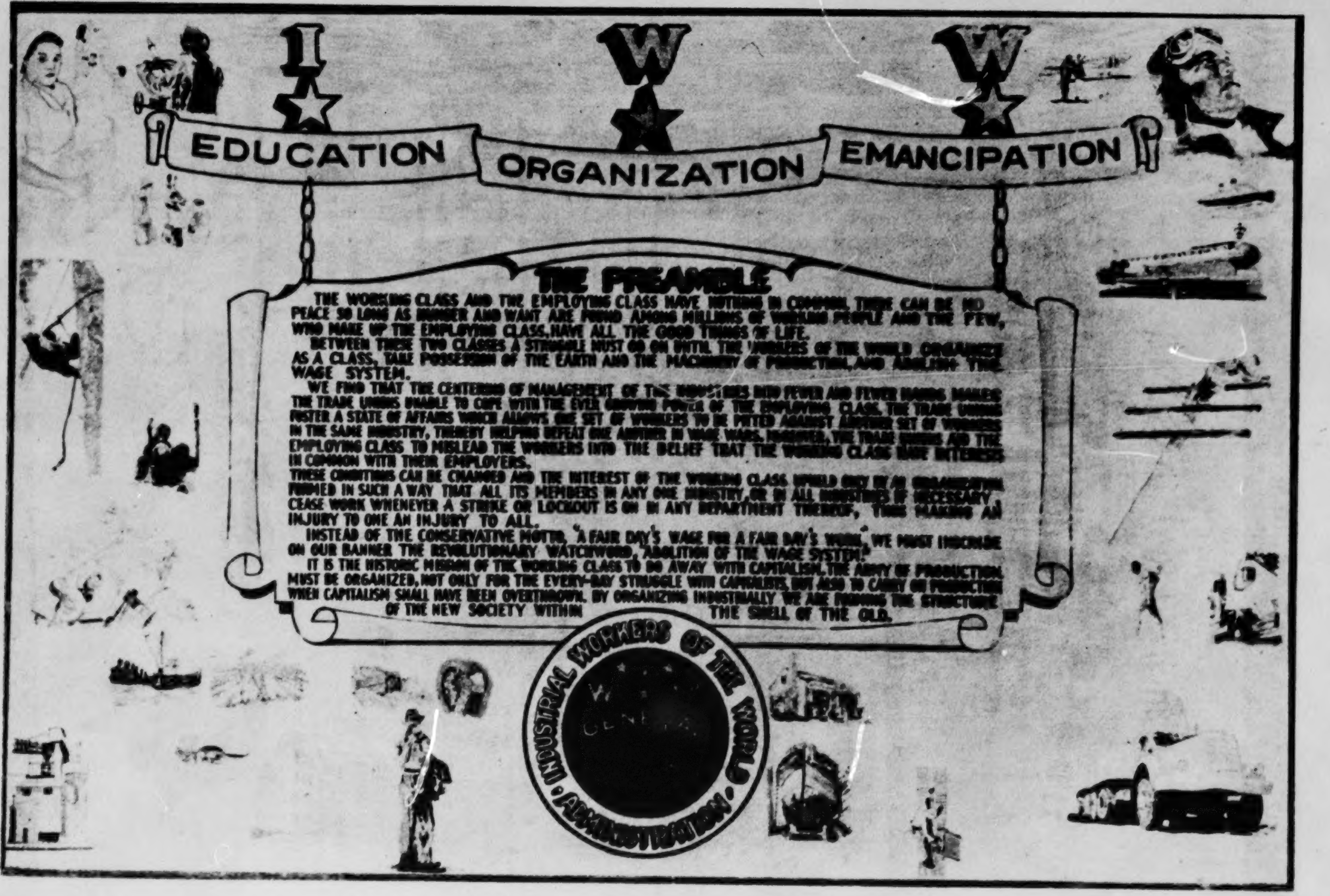
The fathers of Canadian unionism, most of them unknown and unsung, perhaps deserve as well of this generation as the Fathers of Confederation itself.

Number of Strikes & Lockouts, Employers & Workers Involved & Time Loss, Canada, 1901 to 1960

Year	Number beginning during the year	Strikes & lockouts in existence during year, all industries			
		Number of strikes & lockouts	Number of employers	Number of workers involved	Time lost in man working days
1920	310	322	1,374	60,327	799,524
1919	332	336	1,967	148,915	3,400,942
1918	228	230	782	79,743	647,942
1917	158	160	758	50,255	1,123,515
1916	118	120	332	26,538	236,814
1915	62	63	120	11,395	95,042
1914	58	63	261	9,717	490,850
1913	143	152	1,077	40,519	1.036,254
1912	179	181	1,321	42,860	1,135,786
1911	99	100	533	29,285	1,821,084
1910	94	101	1,233	22,203	731,324
1909	88	90	372	18,114	880,663
1908	72	76	179	26,071	703,571
1907	183	188	950	34,060	520,142
1906	149	150	965	23,382	378,276
1905	95	96	332	12,513	192,890
1904	103	103	591	11,420	858,959
1903	171	175	1,124	38,408	858,959
1902	124	125	532	12,709	203,301
1901	97	99	285	24,089	737,808

Selected Strikes and their Causes, 1912 - 1913

Location	Occupational Group	Stated Cause
Kingston	Painters	$3.00 for an 8 hour day from 2.50 for a 9 hour day
Toronto	Gas workers	Dimsissal of employees without notice
Ottawa	Sheet Metal workers	Increase from 35¢ per hour to 40¢ per hour
London	Stage Employees	Objection to reduction in staff Objection to dismissal of master mechanic
Niagara Falls	Carpenters	Jurisdictional dispute
Toronto	Moving Picture Machine Operators	Reduction to 8 hours per day from 10
Toronto	Bricklayers	Dispute between foremen and workers
Windsor	Plumbers	Recognition of a union Wage increase and reduction of hours of work
Carleton Place	Molders	Against a reduction in wages
St.Catharines	Metal Polishers	Change in work schedules and rules
St.Catharines	Blacksmiths	Foreman released and worker feared replacement by foreign labour
Stratford	Yardmen (rail)	Refuse to work with non-union labour - Wildcat strike
Ottawa	Tailors	Dismissal of employee for joining a union
Guelph	Molders	Lockout - Men refuse to work overtime and accept a reduction in wages



I W W

EDUCATION ORGANIZATION EMANCIPATION

THE PREAMBLE

THE WORKING CLASS AND THE EMPLOYING CLASS HAVE NOTHING IN COMMON. THERE CAN BE NO PEACE SO LONG AS HUNGER AND WANT ARE FOUND AMONG MILLIONS OF WORKING PEOPLE AND THE FEW, WHO MAKE UP THE EMPLOYING CLASS, HAVE ALL THE GOOD THINGS OF LIFE.

BETWEEN THESE TWO CLASSES A STRUGGLE MUST GO ON UNTIL THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD ORGANIZE AS A CLASS, TAKE POSSESSION OF THE EARTH AND THE MACHINERY OF PRODUCTION, AND ABOLISH THE WAGE SYSTEM.

WE FIND THAT THE CENTERING OF MANAGEMENT OF THE INDUSTRIES INTO FEWER AND FEWER HANDS MAKES THE TRADE UNIONS UNABLE TO COPE WITH THE EVER GROWING POWER OF THE EMPLOYING CLASS. THE TRADE UNIONS FOSTER A STATE OF AFFAIRS WHICH ALLOWS ONE SET OF WORKERS TO BE PITTED AGAINST ANOTHER SET OF WORKERS IN THE SAME INDUSTRY, THEREBY HELPING DEFEAT ONE ANOTHER IN WAGE WARS. MOREOVER, THE TRADE UNIONS AID THE EMPLOYING CLASS TO MISLEAD THE WORKERS INTO THE BELIEF THAT THE WORKING CLASS HAVE INTERESTS IN COMMON WITH THEIR EMPLOYERS.

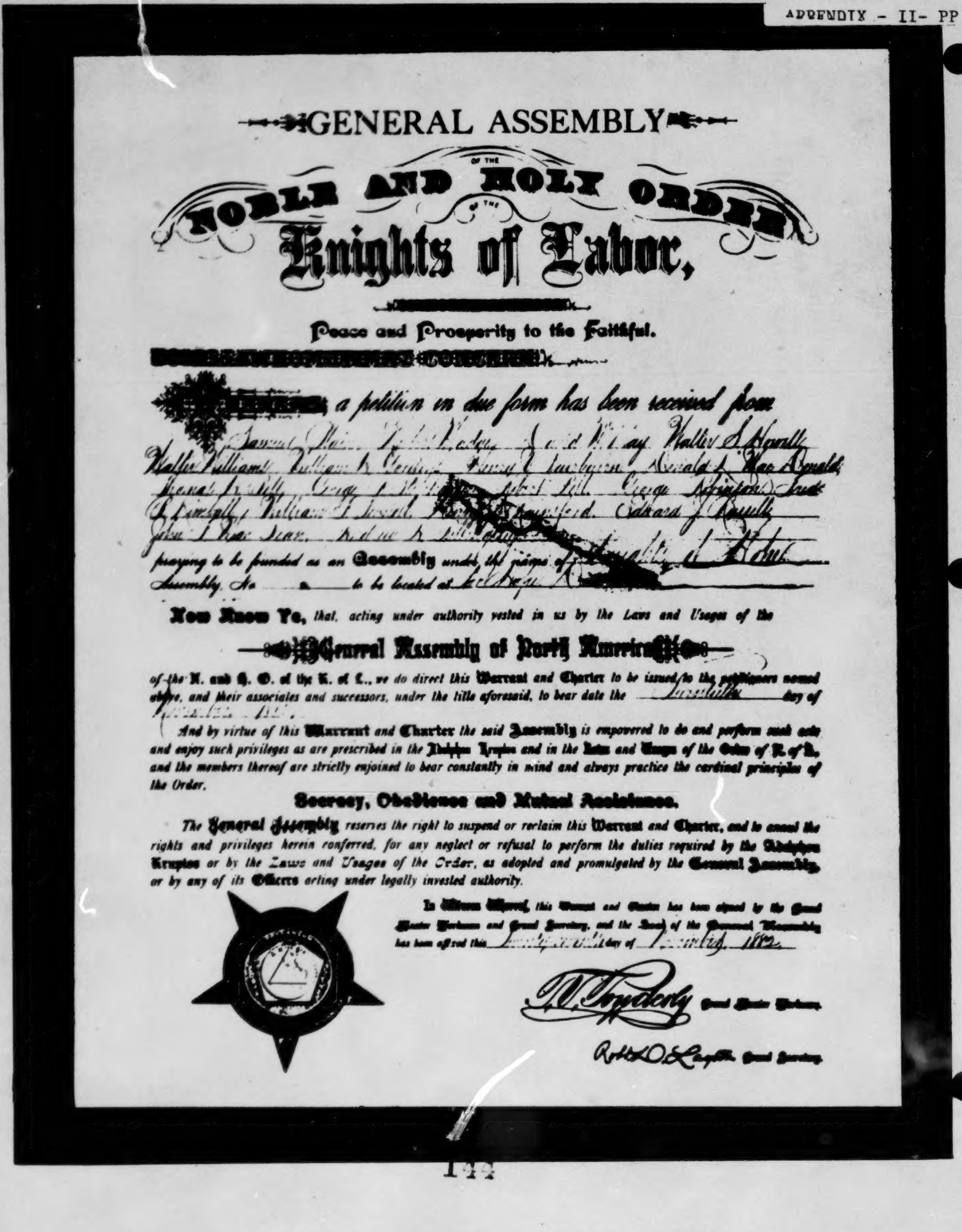
THESE CONDITIONS CAN BE CHANGED AND THE INTEREST OF THE WORKING CLASS UPHELD ONLY BY AN ORGANIZATION FORMED IN SUCH A WAY THAT ALL ITS MEMBERS IN ANY ONE INDUSTRY, OR IN ALL INDUSTRIES IF NECESSARY, CEASE WORK WHENEVER A STRIKE OR LOCKOUT IS ON IN ANY DEPARTMENT THEREOF, THUS MAKING AN INJURY TO ONE AN INJURY TO ALL.

INSTEAD OF THE CONSERVATIVE MOTTO, "A FAIR DAY'S WAGE FOR A FAIR DAY'S WORK," WE MUST INSCRIBE ON OUR BANNER THE REVOLUTIONARY WATCHWORD, "ABOLITION OF THE WAGE SYSTEM."

IT IS THE HISTORIC MISSION OF THE WORKING CLASS TO DO AWAY WITH CAPITALISM. THE ARMY OF PRODUCTION MUST BE ORGANIZED, NOT ONLY FOR THE EVERY-DAY STRUGGLE WITH CAPITALISTS, BUT ALSO TO CARRY ON PRODUCTION WHEN CAPITALISM SHALL HAVE BEEN OVERTHROWN. BY ORGANIZING INDUSTRIALLY WE ARE FORMING THE STRUCTURE OF THE NEW SOCIETY WITHIN THE SHELL OF THE OLD.

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD · ADMINISTRATION ·

APPENDIX II-00



GENERAL ASSEMBLY

OF THE

NOBLE AND HOLY ORDER

OF THE

Knights of Labor,

Peace and Prosperity to the Faithful.

[illegible] CONCERN:

[illegible] a petition on due form has been received from Samuel Blair, [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible], Walter S. Howell, Walter Williams, William K. Jenkins, Henry C. Blackburn, Donald J. MacDonald, [illegible] [illegible], George [illegible], Robert Hill, George Robinson, [illegible] R. Kimball, William F. Jewell, [illegible] [illegible], Edward J. Howell, John [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] praying to be founded as an **Assembly** under the name of [illegible] [illegible] Assembly, No. [illegible] to be located at [illegible] [illegible]

Now Know Ye, *that, acting under authority vested in us by the Laws and Usages of the*

General Assembly of North America

of the **N. and H. O.** *of the* **K. of L.**, *we do direct this* **Warrant and Charter** *to be issued to the petitioners named above, and their associates and successors, under the title aforesaid, to bear date the* twentieth *day of* [illegible] 188[illegible].

And by virtue of this **Warrant and Charter** *the said* **Assembly** *is empowered to do and perform such acts and enjoy such privileges as are prescribed in the* **Adelphon Kruptos** *and in the* **Laws and Usages** *of the* **Order** *of* **K. of L.**, *and the members thereof are strictly enjoined to bear constantly in mind and always practice the cardinal principles of the Order.*

Secrecy, Obedience and Mutual Assistance.

The **General Assembly** *reserves the right to suspend or reclaim this* **Warrant and Charter**, *and to annul the rights and privileges herein conferred, for any neglect or refusal to perform the duties required by the* **Adelphon Kruptos** *or by the* **Laws and Usages of the Order**, *as adopted and promulgated by the* **General Assembly**, *or by any of its* **Officers** *acting under legally invested authority.*

In Witness Whereof, *this* **Warrant and Charter** *has been signed by the* **Grand Master Workman** *and* **Grand Secretary**, *and the* **Seal** *of the* **General Assembly** *has been affixed this* [illegible] *day of* [illegible] 1882.

T. V. Powderly **Grand Master Workman.**

Robt. D. Layton **Grand Secretary.**

APPENDIX II-QQ

SOLIDARITY FOREVER!

BY RALPH CHAPLIN

(Tune: "John Brown's Body")

When the Union's inspiration through the workers' blood shall run,
There can be no power greater anywhere beneath the sun.
Yet what force on earth is weaker than the feeble strength of one?
But the Union makes us strong.

CHORUS:

Solidarity forever!
Solidarity forever!
Solidarity forever!
For the Union makes us strong

Is there aught we hold in common with the greedy parasite
Who would lash us into serfdom and would crush us with his might?
Is there anything left for us but to organize and fight?
For the Union makes us strong.

It is we who plowed the prairies; built the cities where they trade;
Dug the mines and built the workshops; endless miles of railroad laid.
Now we stand outcasts and starving, 'mid the wonders we have made;
But the Union makes us strong.

All the world that's owned by idle drones, is ours and ours alone.
We have laid the wide foundations; built it skyward stone by stone.
It is ours, not to slave in, but to master and to own,
While the Union makes us strong.

They have taken untold millions that they never toiled to earn.
But without our brain and muscle not a single wheel can turn.
We can break their haughty power; gain our freedom when we learn
That the Union makes us strong.

In our hands is placed a power greater than their hoarded gold;
Greater than the might of armies, magnified a thousand-fold.
We can bring to birth the new world from the ashes of the old.
For the Union makes us strong.

APPENDIX II-RR

FOUNDING A NATIONAL LABOUR BODY

The *Mail* (Toronto), September 25, 1873.

The Canadian Labour Congress re-assembled yesterday morning at eight o'clock, Mr. J. W. Carter in the chair. . . .

The Committee on the Constitution and Rules brought up their report drafting a portion of the Constitution as follows:

> ### THE CONSTITUTION.
>
> Whereas the workingmen of the Dominion of Canada, in common with the intelligent producers of the world, feel the necessity of co-operation and harmonious action to secure their mutual interests, just compensation for their toil, and such limitations in the hours of labour as may tend to promote their physical and intellectual well-being, and believing that the causes which have operated in the past to the detriment of labour may nearly always be traced to the want of proper organization in the various branches of industry: Therefore to unite the energies of all classes of labour in this Dominion of Canada for the purpose of guarding their inherent rights, we, the representatives of the workingmen of the Dominion of Canada in convention assembled, do hereby enact and adopt the following constitution:—
>
> ### DESIGNATION AND OBJECTS.
>
> ARTICLE 1.—Sec. 1. This body shall be known and designated as the Canadian Labour Union.
>
> Sec. 2. Its objects shall be to agitate such questions as may be for the benefit of the working classes, in order that we may obtain the enactment of such measures by the Dominion and Local Legislatures as will be beneficial to us, and the repeal of all oppressive laws which now exist.
>
> Sec. 3. To use all means consistent with honour and integrity, to correct the abuses under which the working classes are labouring, as to insure them their just rights and privileges.
>
> Sec. 4. To use our utmost endeavours to impress upon the labour of the country the necessity of a close and thorough organization, and of forming themselves into unions wherever practicable.

The following is the Platform of Principles laid down by the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada:—

1. Free compulsory education.

2. Legal working day of eight hours, and six days to a week.

3. Government inspection of all industries.

4. The abolition of the contract system on all public works.

5. A minimum living wage, based on local conditions.

6. Public ownership of all franchises, such as railways, telegraphs telephones, water-works, lighting, etc.

7. Tax reform by lessening taxation on industry and increasing it on land values.

8. Abolition of the Dominion Senate.

9. Exclusion of Chinese.

10. The Union Label to be placed on all manufactured goods, where practicable, and all government and municipal supplies.

11. Abolition of child labor by children under fourteen years of age, and of female labor in all branches of industrial life, such as mines, workshops, factories, etc.

12. Abolition of property qualifications for all public offices.

13. Voluntary arbitration of labor disputes.

14. Proportional representation with grouped constituencies and abolition of municipal wards.

15. Direct legislation through the initiative and referendum.

16. Prohibition of prison labor in competition with free labor.

N.B.—The Union Label.—When firms carry on work under conditions satisfactory to labor they are permitted to use the Union Label on their products. All loyal unionists and their friends are urged to buy only those goods that carry the label.

THE ONTARIO FACTORY ACT OF 1884

The *Globe* (Toronto), March 19, 1884, p. 5.

The House went into Committee on Mr. Fraser's bill for the protection of persons employed in factories, to be known as "The Ontario Factories Act of 1884." The first section, taken from the Imperial Act, provides that a child, young girl, or woman, who does any work in a factory is to be deemed employed in the factory. The fifth clause is from the Dominion Act, though it appears to have been based on the Imperial Statutes. It provides that a child, young girl, or woman, is not to be employed where permanent injury to health is likely, and whoever so employs any child, young girl or woman, shall upon summary conviction thereof, incur and be liable to imprisonment in the common gaol of the county wherein the offence has been committed, for a period not exceeding six months, or to a fine of not more than $100, with costs of prosecution, and in default of immediate payment of such fine and costs, then to imprisonment as aforesaid. Clause 6 and its subsections provide that a child under twelve years of age shall not be employed in a factory except upon the possession of a certificate stating its age. No child between twelve and fourteen shall be employed; no child, young girl, or woman, shall be employed more than ten hours in one day, nor more than sixty hours a week; not less than an hour shall be allowed for dinner. Clauses 7 and 8 relate to the closing of machinery, and permitting time lost by reason of accidents to machinery to be made up by the employees working overtime. Clauses 9 and 10 relate to minor particulars as to posting notices, and 11 provides for procuring an efficient sanitary condition of the building in which the children and young women are employed. By section 13 the inspector may take a physician into a factory. Under section 14 a penalty of not more than $500 can be imposed upon any owner or employer for keeping a factory so that the safety of the persons employed is endangered. The 15th section provides for the fencing of machinery and hoistways, and the following section provides for the prevention of fire. The parent of a child or young girl employed contrary to the act is liable to a penalty under section 19, and section 25 and sub-sections define the power of the Inspector.

The *Globe* (Toronto), March 25, 1884, p. 4.

A return laid before the House of Commons on motion shows that the Toronto Trades and Labour Council, at a meeting held on the evening of February 1st, resolved to suggest several amendments to the Factory Bill. These amendments are almost exactly the same that were suggested by the *Globe* when a copy of the bill reached us. Indeed, in some cases, they, the suggestions of the T.T. and L. Council, are in effect that the provisions contained in previous bills, and omitted in this Government's measure to please the proprietors of factories, should be restored. They ask that places in which less than twenty persons are employed be not exempted from the operation of the Act. They ask that children under fourteen shall not be employed in factories; that when children from fourteen to seventeen are employed the employer be required to hold a certificate showing the child's age at the date thereof. If the Government resolve to adhere to the age of twelve as the minimum, they ask that the following be added to one of the sections:

"And in no case shall any child under the age of fifteen years be employed in any factory or place covered by the provisions of this bill, unless such child has been attending school at least twenty weeks in each year, including the fifteenth, and of which attendance satisfactory evidence must be furnished the inspector."

They ask that women and children work only nine hours a day and only fifty-four hours a week, and they ask that a suitable dining-room be provided for the operatives by their employers free of expense. They suggest various other amendments, all of which are manifestly very valuable. One of these is that no door leading to the principal entrance of the factory, or to the tower, staircase, or fire-escapes, be locked, bolted, or barred during working hours. Section 22 provides that if an offence under this Act be committed without the personal consent, concurrence, or knowledge of the employer, the person who actually committed such offence may be summoned, convicted, etc. This clause the T.T. & L. Council ask should be expunged, as it would enable the employer in most cases "to evade the spirit of the provisions of this Act, as well as the penalties for the infraction thereof."

As we have already said, former bills contained nearly all that the workingmen now suggest. It is very improbable therefore that those suggestions will have any weight with a Government which is so much under control of the manufacturers that at their instance they made the bill what it is. The men now in power at one time pretended to have the interests of the working classes much at heart. That pretence has almost been abandoned. Everyone now knows that it is but a pretence. They treat the working classes as if fine words were enough for them, and as if they should be quite content to make great fortunes for a few friends of

Q.—Do you know whether the principles of the Trades Unions are opposed to capital? A.—I never knew that the principles of Trades Unionism were opposed to capital; I considered them both to run in the same channel.

Q.—Do you consider that organization among workingmen is a benefit to them? A.—I do, when rightly administered.

Q.—Do you think organization amongst workingmen is an injury to employers? A.—I do not, but that it is a very great benefit. The shop where I worked in England always had the working rules posted up, and allowed society meetings to be held in the shop. That was at the shop of Alderman Neill, of Manchester. In 1877 and 1878 there unfortunately happened to be a strike, and some time afterwards I left the country.

Q.—Does organization among workingmen have a tendency to cause strikes? A.—I never knew it, so far as my experience has gone. Of course, there are some fire-eaters among workingmen as there are among other classes, but my experience has been what I have said.

Q.—I am speaking of the organization of workingmen as a body? A.—I never knew it to be detrimental or injurious in any way.

Q.—You think that organized labor is a benefit alike to employer and employé? A.—I do, when justly administered.

Q.—Have you any knowledge of instances where disputes were settled by a conference between employers and employed? A.—I have known several disputes settled by what are called deputations or delegations of employers and men meeting together. A number of men were selected from each party and they were appointed to transact the business.

Q.—Do you know that cases of that kind have occurred in Toronto since you have been here? A.—I have not had a very great knowledge of the society since I have been here.

Q.—Since you have been in Toronto how do you find wages as compared with wages in the old country? A.—The wages in the old country when I was there were eight and a-half pence, or seventeen cents per hour.

By the CHAIRMAN:—

Q.—Where? A.—In the city of Manchester.

By Mr. HEAKES:—

Q.—Do you know what they are there now? A.—I do not. I do not know what the rates have been since I left. I left in 1879, after the great strike which lasted twelve months.

Q.—Do you think the wages in this country as good as the wages there? A.—I do not want to speak in depreciation of Canada, but I do not think they are so good here. Money has a much greater purchasing power in the old country than it has here.

Q.—A man can live for less there than here? A.—Yes. A man can get a good substantial brick cottage for six shillings per week, one having four or five rooms.

Q.—Is there anything in connection with your society such as a black list? A.—I could not speak as to that.

Q.—You have not heard of anything of the kind? A.—I do not go by anything I hear, but by what I know by my own experience.

Q.—Does your society prohibit union men from working with non-union men? A.—I cannot speak of that.

Q.—You have never known it to be done? A.—I have not examined the rules sufficiently—I do not know of it. . . .

Q.—With respect to the settlement of disputes, do you favor arbitration? A.—I would favor Government interference. The Government build asylums and workhouses for people who cannot assist themselves and they make the rest of the people pay the taxes, and therefore they ought to protect workingmen. I am not wishing to speak too strongly in behalf of workingmen, but so far as I can judge he is in this country the victim every time.

Q.—You would believe in the Government compelling the settlement of dispute? A.—Yes, and that they should protect those classes that cannot protect themselves.

By the CHAIRMAN:—

Q.—You are in favor of arbitration? A.—Of Government interference under whatever name it is called. They make us pay taxes, and we are entitled to their protection; but we do not get it.

Q.—What is the effect on a trade when men have been on strike at any time? A.—I do not know that it has any further effect than delaying the work and rather disturbing that branch of society.

Q.—Do you know any good results to ever come from strikes? A.—I do not think there are any—not really tangible good results.

Q.—Nothing lasting? A.—There is nothing lasting in it. A strike only compels employers to do a little more justly to the men, but it passes away like a morning cloud. And after a time they return to their evil doings and the wages of the men come down again.

Q.—Does organization tend to increase wages? A.—It may do so, but it is the shortening of hours that would increase wages in my judgment, because there is a preponderance of population, and the population increases so rapidly that there must be a reduction in the hours of labor or some other means found to employ the surplus population.

Q.—What I want to get at is this; would the wages be as good if there were no organization amongst the men? A.—I think that would largely depend on the surplus labor in the country. I do not think that organization would affect it altogether; it might have a slight effect, but the surplus population is what I think would affect it. It is supply and demand all the way through; when the supply is greater than the demand wages come down; when supply is less than the demand wages go up. To answer your question more directly I would say that organization might slightly affect it, but I do not think it does altogether. . . .

Q.—You said some time ago that you had recently joined the union in Toronto? A.—Only about four or five weeks ago.

Q.—Was it because you did not agree to join the union? A.—No, it was because I could not get in. There is no branch of the general union to which I belonged when in England; there was only what is called the Amalgamated Carpenters', and I was too old to join. Consequently I was left out. In 1882, the Brotherhood was established, and I was admitted to that four, five or six weeks ago; I cannot tell the exact day.

Q.—Is it to your advantage to belong to the union? A.—I consider it an advantage, because it brings me more among the men at the meetings and makes me better known.

Q.—Can you get work more easily? A.—I think so. I consider it has a tendency to rub away the rough edges and bring me into work; besides, there is the sick and the death benefit, which I think a great deal of.

Q.—Do you get better wages as a member of the union? A.—I think I do; I am recognized as a member and get better wages. . . .

Q.—You were talking about strikes, and you thought that strikes did little or no good. Now is it not a fact that, although an individual strike may prove a failure, yet in consequence of the strike wages are kept higher than they would have been without a strike? A.—Could you give me that in another way so that I may grasp the idea more correctly.

Q.—Let me put it this way: Do you suppose carpenters' wages are higher because of the effect of strikes? A.—I do not know. I will tell you what I think about it. In my experience in eight cases out of ten the employers infringe on the men's rights and privileges. That is my experience during the last seven or eight years.

Q.—If the workmen were not united, were not in unions, would not the employers infringe in their rights more? A.—I think they would, for they are a grasping lot. I am not speaking in any way improperly as to employers, but taking them as a rule they are a very grasping set of men.

By the CHAIRMAN:—

Q.—Are not all people grasping? A.—There are some exceptions.

Q.—Is not everybody grasping? A.—I cannot say they are; no, I find some gentlemen very liberal in giving.

Canada, Royal Commission on the Relations of Labor and Capital in Canada. Evidence-

JOHN J. BICKLEY, Cornwall, called and sworn.

I have for some years followed the occupation of an overseer in the spinning mills. I am not doing anything at present.

By Mr. HEAKES:—

Q.—You are a spinner by trade? A.—Yes.

Q.—Are you acquainted—connected—with any organization of workingmen? A.—I am now and have been for some years a member of the Knights of Labor.

Q.—Do you know if there is any feeling on the part of employers in Cornwall not to employ members of that order? A.—I have heard at different times, from different men, that there was. I could not positively state that such was the case, although I have frequently heard from the men that employers refused to employ them because they were Knights of Labor.

Q.—Did anyone say anything to you about being a member? A.—Yes.

Q.—Would you tell us the circumstances, please? A.—I was dismissed from my situation, and I was given to understand that I was dismissed because I was a Knight of Labor, and because I took an active part in labor matters.

Q.—Since you have been a member of this organization have you ever seen anything in its principles that would be an injury to the workingman? A.—I have not. If the teachings of the order were lived up to, nothing but good could come to the workingman; the result would be good.

Q.—Do you know if they have any principle laid down for the settlement of disputes between capital and labor? A.—Yes; that is one of the twenty-two articles of the preamble, to try and bring about a settlement of strikes and difficulties by arbitration.

Q.—That is a fixed rule of the order? A.—Yes.

By Mr. MCLEAN:—

Q.—What do you do when out on strike? Do you take any means of deciding how to go back, or whether you are to go back to work? A.—All local assemblies have an executive board. That executive board tries to bring about a settlement of the difficulty. They try to meet the manager or employer, and try and effect a settlement, and that is one of the things that the executive board at all times tries to do—to have the case settled by arbitration.

By Mr. HEAKES:—

Q.—Do you know whether strikes are more frequent in towns that are not organized or towns that are organized? A.—I know that strikes are less frequent in towns where they are organized than where they are not. My experience has led me to believe that if labor is properly and thoroughly organized strikes will seldom occur. For instance, if the hands employed at one of these mills were Knights of Labor, the Knights of Labor would have control over them and could keep them at work, but as they are partly organized and partly disorganized we can exercise no control over those that are not organized.

Q.—Is there any "boycotting" or "black-listing" in this town? A.—I know of one case; that is my own. I was given to understand that I would be "black-listed" all over Canada.

Q.—For what reason? A.—For being a Knight of Labor and taking part in labor matters.

Q.—Did you have anything to do with the settlement of labor disputes? A.—I had considerable to do with it, and took an active part all through, and finally acted as arbitrator for the help.

Q.—Can you state if the agreement entered into after the first difficulty was carried out? A.—It was not. Mr. Knight, of the Canada Cotton Mills, refused to live up to that agreement when waited upon with the price-list of the Merriton Mills. It was a true list of the wages of the employés, to which was attached the signature of every overseer of that mill. He refused to recognize it, and refused to agree to the terms already agreed to.

Q.—Would the second strike have taken place if they had lived up to the first agreement? A.—I feel safe in saying it would not.

Q.—How much of a reduction in the prices paid to weavers took place? A.—As I understand it, it ran from 28 to 33 per cent.

Q.—Are you able to tell us what wages they earned previous to the reduction? A.—I cannot say the whole. I can give it just as I heard it, just as I heard others state. I heard weavers state that they could not make more than $4.50, and they set up the claim that they were first-class weavers. I know that there are weavers in the town who made $9, and others who made $8.50, and some $7. Some do fairly well, and others are poorly paid.

Q.—Over what part or department were you overseer? A.—Spooling, spinning and warping.

Q.—What were your average wages? A.—The last I had to do with was a small mill, and could not be taken to set prices from. In that mill, for spooling, spinning and twisting, the average wages were 90 cents a day, taking the whole mill, superintendent and all. There were about twenty hands employed.

Q.—Was the agreement, finally between yourself and the mill, a satisfactory one? A.—When I made the statement to the operatives I can say that I heard but very few complain. There are among the men a few that were dissatisfied, but very few, when you take into consideration the number engaged in that strike.

Q.—If the mill owners had resorted to arbitration previous to forcing the people out on a strike, would there have been a necessity for a strike? A.—I do not think there would be; I do not think the strike would have occurred.

Q.—Were the mill owners furnished with a copy of the arbitrators' award? A.—Yes. When I refer to the usefulness of labor organizations, as an instrument for promoting peace in the times of excitement—for instance, I might say: I have known cases where certain persons who are in authority in the mills, would have been severely dealt with had it not been for members of the order of the Knights of Labor. I know one particular case where the Knights of Labor were instrumental in preventing a visit to the house of an overseer for the purpose of molesting him. I know of people being very outspoken as to what they would do to men in the mills, and I know that the Knights of Labor went in and prevented trouble. I know that the Knights of Labor, down at Cornwall, met and prevented much difficulty; and people, in talking about the late strike, were surprised that it was conducted so quietly. There was no trouble, and they claimed that it was due to the Knights, in a very great measure, that there was no trouble—no difficulty. Without having access to the books at the present moment, I feel safe in stating that since the formation of the organization in Cornwall, now bordering on three years, upwards of $500 has been paid out in relieving distress and furnishing sustenance to individual citizens of the town. I know of many cases where the Knights relieved this distress. Had it not have been so, the town of Cornwall would have very likely have had to do it through its treasurer.

APPENDIX II-XX

LABOUR DEMANDS EQUAL RIGHTS

Industrial Banner (London, Ontario), October, 1897.

How persistently the world sticks to old ideas; how sacred even injustice becomes if sanctioned by age and antiquity. A hundred years ago it was looked upon as treasonable to argue that a mechanic or laborer should have a vote. Workingmen to-day enjoy the privileges of the franchise only because they have forced the concession, after years of bitter struggle, from a class who believed and taught that it was divinely ordained that property should rule; and the same privileged class to-day teach the same doctrine, and enact it whenever possible.

If you doubt this assertion, just ask yourself how it is that so many workingmen are only part citizens, with only a partial and unequal say in the institutions of their own towns and cities.

No man, however intelligent or capable, can sit in the mayor's chair, or even aspire to the dignity of a petty alderman, nor vote on any question involving the expenditure of public money, unless he is possessed of a certain amount of real estate, but must be content to act the role of a partial citizen at best. . . .

The law requiring property qualifications for the holding of public office is a relic of feudalism and one that is destined to be swept away as have other abuses before it. The number of intelligent men who are ashamed to defend such a system is rapidly growing larger. The artisan class has had to overcome hostility, persecution, ridicule and abuse in the attainment of the ballot, and the same battle is going on to secure the privileges of full citizenship, a battle that will end with the same results—the triumph of justice. . . .

Every citizen should have equal rights; character should count for more than money, and brains for more than property. The electorate should have the right to nominate whoever they wish for office, and no law enacted for the benefit of a privileged class should have the power to hinder them.

We have been discussing some of the revolutionary effects of the introduction of the power machine. One of these, the power of organization, has in turn developed into the mightiest social force of modern times. The capitalist-employer class has carried organization far beyond the bounds of the individual factory, and now not only industry but business of all kinds—commerce in general—is being organized. On every hand we have great companies, extensive combines, consolidated trusts, giant mergers and all-powerful monopolies. An ever-lessening number of men control and reap the profits of the leading industries, the great business houses, the railroad systems and the financial institutions. The rest of the population carry on the business and do the work, receiving larger or smaller salaries and wages.

The business men have made and are still making a fight for independence. The newer the country the more successfully this may be carried on. But in face of such tremendous resources as are possessed by the great organizations, capitulation is only a matter of time. The most successful men become a part of the machine. The others go under or maintain an existence in an essentially dependent relation.

In the workers' camp the forces have been slowly organizing; a great mass can move but slowly. In the earlier factory days the leaders recognized that individually they were helpless; that if they wished to sell their labor at a fair price they must resort to "collective bargaining," and so gradually arose the great trades and labor movement. A trade union, according to Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb ("History of Trade Unionism"), "is a continuous association of wage-earners for the purpose of maintaining or improving the conditions of their employment."

Unionism has already accomplished much. Factory acts, the reduction in the hours of lab have been brought about largely through pressure on the part of the Unions. In bringing about these reforms in England, Unionism has gradually become a political force and the Labor party has exerted an influence out of all proportion to the number of its representatives in Parliament.

But perhaps most important of all has been the training that the working class has received in self-government, together with a growing knowledge of the principles of economics, a sense of comradeship and a passionate idealism that one day will prove irresistible.

The Unions have made mistakes of course. Even leaders cannot see clearly and act dispassionately when they are hewing a way through an unknown jungle with the enemy harassing them at every forward movement. Then the leaders must carry the rank and file with them, and Unionism is the most democratic of all movements; this is its present weakness and its ultimate strength. In the final adjustment of the conflicting factors of the industrial situation and the social reconstruction that must inevitably take place, trades unionism will undoubtedly have a leading place.

Prof. Ely recognized as an eminently sane and "safe" authority, writes as follows: "The labor movement, then, in its broadest terms, is the effort of men to live the life of men. It is the systematic, organized struggle of the masses to attain primarily more leisure and larger economic resources; but that is not by any means all, because the end and purpose of it all is a richer existence for the toilers, and that with respect to mind, soul and body. Half conscious though it may be, the labor movement is a force pushing on towards the attainment of the purpose of humanity; in other words, the end of the true growth of mankind, namely, the full and harmonious development in each individual of all human faculties—the faculties of working, perceiving, knowing, loving—the development, in short, of whatever capabilities of good there may in the individual is not to be entirely for self, but it is to be for the sake of their beneficent use in the service of one's fellows in a Christian civilization. It is for self and for others. It is the realization of the ethical aim expressed in that command which contains the secret of all true progress, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.' It is directed against oppression in every form because oppression carries with it the idea that persons or classes live, not to fulfil a destiny of their own, but primarily and chiefly for the sake of the welfare of other persons or classes. The true significance of the labor movement, on the contrary, lies in this. It is an attempt to bring to pass the idea of human development which has animated sages, prophets and poets of all ages; the idea that a time must come when warfare of all kinds shall cease, and when a peaceful organization of society shall find a place within its framework for the best growth of each personality and shall abolish all servitude in which one but subserves the other's gain.

"The labor movement represents mankind as it is represented by no other manifestation of the life of the nations of the earth, because the vast majority of the race are laborers."

LABOUR STUDIES UNITS

prepared for the

ONTARIO FEDERATION OF LABOUR

by

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Unit 3 of 9 Units

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UNIT #3 Rationale

One man's key event may be another man's non-event. But, for the purposes of this Unit, the selection of events was conditioned pursuant to their historical significance. Generally, the events chosen for this Unit have been governed by a theme of response - by labour, by management and by government. Further, the responses it should be stressed, are responses by groups to particular situations rather than responses by individuals (this individual response will be considered in the Unit on The Workingman).

The dilemma of picking out key events became a major problem. Some may argue that undue attention was paid to strikes. Since, at least 95% of labour disputes are settled by the normal process of collective bargaining, but are largely ignored by the Press and public in general, the events were chosen for this Unit because they could not be ignored. These events are considered milestones because of: the attention they demanded, the large numbers of people involved and their great effects on collective bargaining and the rise of the labour movement to a major role in Canadian society.

Finally, a note on the methodologies or strategies in this Unit is appropriate. An attempt has been made to make the strategies flexible between the traditional vs. the inquiry approach. This flexibility recognizes the diverse styles of teachers and allows the teacher to use the resources in a different strategy if he sees fit.

UNIT #3: THE IMPACT OF KEY EVENTS. Theme: Challenge and Response.

CONTENT	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
I. Winnipeg Strike 1919 - establish the conditions of 1919. - Why was there a general strike? - What were the results of the strike?	Group study of primary sources. Form groups of 4-5 students. Each group will study a document with a definite bias. Attempt to determine the bias and the difference between fact and opinion. A reporter will report the findings of the group to the class. A class discussion should ensue to determine why there are different points of view.	Lazarus, Morden, Years of Hard Labour, PP. 25-27. "The Winnipeg General Strike" by Peter Kidd, Jackdaw No.C29, Clarke Irwin. (i) Broadsheet 2 - "Metal Employers Define Th[illegible] Position". (ii) Broadsheet 4 - "Documents Seized in Raid Show Deep & Serious Conspiracy". (iii) Broadsheet 3 - "Brand on Trades & Labour Council: - Strike Bulletin No. 1." (iv) "Western Labour News" Special Strike Edition #12. (v) The Winnipeg Telegram - "The Alien Is on His Way-Committee of 1000". (vi) The Winnipeg Citizen - "A Riot Born of Revolution." (vii) Western Labour News - "Kaiserism Will not Work".	1. To establish why the strike occurred. 2. To establish the economic, social and political conditions surrounding the event. 3. To determine a bias. 4. To distinguish between fact and opinion. 5. To hypothesize about the possible results of the strike. 6. To practice group discussion skills.
	An Alternative Strategy The teacher may attempt to set up the class as a courtroom with roles such as judge, prosecuting and defending attorneys, court clerk, etc. The object of the exercise is to try a defendant as a result of the strike. Other roles might be: witnesses (who would be called to give testimony) and 12 jurors.	Penner (ed.) Winnipeg 1919: "The Striker's Own History of the Winnipeg General Strike".	1. To experience a court case based on the Winnipeg Strike. 2. To allow for more indepth exploration of the event.

CONTENT	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
Summary of the Winnipeg Strike: Objectives of the strike: 1. Collective bargaining. 2. Demonstrate the effect of local labour councils. 3. The right to organize government employees. 4. Demonstrate solidarity. 5. Demonstrate the independence of Canadian unionism. 6. Demonstrate the potency of militant trade unionism. Most of these objectives were obtained but not until much later. There were in 1920, 11 candidates of the Manitoba Labour Party and 8 candidates of the United Farmers of Manitoba to the Provincial Legislature and a number of labour representatives to the Winnipeg Municipal Council. Labour leaders move into political arena as a result of the strike.	An assignment should be given to the students. Each student should attempt to list the objectives of the strike using only knowledge obtained from previous exercise. The following questions should also be answered: 1. Were these objectives achieved? If so, when? 2. Why were so many labour candidates active in municipal, provincial and federal elections? The assignment should be taken up in class with a class discussion of questions. The student's ideas can be compared to the Summary offered in Appendix III - A.	Lipton, Charles. The Trade Union Movement of Canada: 1827 - 1959. N.C. Press Ltd, Toronto, 1973. Summary See Appendix III - A.	1. To determine the objectives of the strike. 2. To determine whether or not these objectives were achieved. 3. To establish that as a result of the Winnipeg Strike, many labour leaders moved into the political arena as a vehicle for furthering the goals of the labour movement. 4. To set up various hypotheses based on previous research and to test these hypotheses against a secondary source.

CONTENT	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
II. Estevan Coal Strike 1931 The incident highlights (death and destruction). Why did the violence take place? What is the bias of this article	Students should read article from Ottawa Citizen September 30, 1931. Appendix III - B(i) and answer accompanying questions.	Appendix III - B(i) (Ottawa Citizen, September 30, 1931).	To identify bias in an article. To determine the causes of violence at Estevan.
	Should then be given the article from the Labour Gazette to read (Appendix III - B(ii) and asked to answer the same questions.	Appendix III - B(ii) (Labour Gazette, October, 1931).	To distinguish fact from opinion.
Questions to consider: 1. How do the articles differ? Why is this the case? 2. On what facts do the articles agree? 3. Can you make any conclusions on the basis of these two articles? If so, what are they?	Students are then asked to compare the two articles and consider the new questions.		

CONTENT	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
ummary: emands of the miners: . Recognition of the union. . Negotiation of an agreement on wages and working conditions and hours of work. . Elimination of abuses as to the weighing of coal and prices charged at the company store. . A grievance procedure. actics of Labour: . Strike. . Demonstrations. actics of Management: . Refusal to meet with representatives of union. . Appeal to the government for help. esponses of Government: . Mediation between labour and management. . A Commission to study problems. . Send in R.C.M.P. to maintain order. . Ban demonstrations.	As a summary students should once again read through the two articles and answer the following questions: 1. What were the demands of labourers? 2. What were the tactics of labour? 3. What were the tactics of management? 4. What were the responses of government? 5. Were the responses legitimate? 6. Was the violence necessary? 7. What were the results?	Appendix III - B(i) Appendix III - B(ii)	To determine the demands and tactics of the miners. To determine the tactics of the managment. To determine the responses of government. To raise the issue of violent confrontation and how it may be downplayed. To determine the immediate results of the strike and violence.

CONTENT	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
Postcript:			
As a postcript, it should be mentioned that the results of the strike were as follows: 1. The Wylie Commission recommended changes in the Coal Mines Safety & Welfare Act effective Nov. 1, 1932. It also recommended an improved wage scale, better working conditions and more congenial working conditions. 2. The miners severed connections with the Mine Workers Union of Canada and distrusted all union organizers. 3. By 1945 the miners were organized under an American union, the United Mine Workers of America.	The long range results could be given to the students as a postcript.		To establish the long-term impact of the Estevan incident on coal mining and labour in general.
What impact would this incident have on later labour/management/goverment relations?	A final question could be posed for brief discussion.		

CONTENT	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
The On to Ottawa Trek and the Regina Riots 1935. Hypothesis Formation: 1. Possible questions and hypothetical answers in response to cartoon: (i) Who are the mass of men? They are the masses of unemployed. (ii) What are they doing? The men are having a protest march. The men are marching to Ottawa to protest unemployment. (iii) Who is the man giving the speech? A politician is promising to give employment to Canadians. (iv) What is the significance of the dates? The promises of employment were made in 1930 and the protest was made in 1935. It appears as though the politician did not live up to his promises. Message of the cartoonist: A problem has arisen over unemployment. Unemployed men march to Ottawa in 1935 as a protest. The point should be made to the students that this is a respons[illegible]y a group to government ra[illegible]er than the	Students should: Examine the cartoon by Arch Dale and answer the following questions: 1. What questions come to mind while viewing this cartoon? 2. Attempt to formulate hypothetical answers to the questions that you have posed. 3. What message is the cartoonist trying to put across?	Cartoon by Arch Dale on transparency master. Appendix III - C (i)	1. Using a cartoon as source material, develop a critical technique through questioning 2. Develop tentative answers to critical questions. 3. Determine the main message pr sented by a cartoonist.

CONTENT	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
raditional response of lab- ur to management. Is this legitimate response?			
. A summary chronology of On to Ottawa Trek. Other questions to be explored: 1. What is a relief camp? 2. What caused the relief camp strike? 3. What purpose was there to the On to Ottawa Trek? 4. Why were the R.C.M.P. ordered to stop the trek? 5. What was the Regina Riot? 6. What were the results of this incident?	Read the chronology of events of of the On to Ottawa Trek. A list of further questions should be given to the students to consider while they are reading the chronology.	Liversedge R."Recollections of the On to Ottawa Trek" Carleton Library Series No.66, McClelland & Stewart Ltd., 1973. Appendix III - C(ii)	To give the students directio and a perspective in this study. To pose more questions critic to the event.
. Causes of the Trek: 1. What is a relief camp? 2. What caused the relief camp strike? 3. What purpose was there to the On to Ottawa Trek?	Students should be given documents III-C(iii)- III-C(iv) - and III - C(v). Using the documents as evidence, the students should answer questions dealing with the cause of the Trek.	Documents: Appendix III-C(iii) (A Frontier College Teacher Comments on Conditions in the Camps) Appendix . III-C(iv) ("Striker's Nights" letter to Vancouver Sun) Appendix . III-C(v) (Six Demands of Ottawa Trekkers)	To determine the causes of The On To Ottawa Trek. To consider evidence to suppo hypotheses made in exercise # Unit III.

CONTENT	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
Confrontation - why? Why were the R.C.M.P. ordered to stop the trek? - the trekkers were trespassing on railway property. Other reasons: 1. no province wanted the trekkers to stop in their province. 2. The federal government did not want a demonstration in Ottawa.	Students should examine documents III-I, III-J, III-K, III-L, and III-M. Determine why the R.C.M.P. were used to stop the marchers according to the telegrams. It might then be discussed whether or not there were reasons other than those given in the telegrams.	Telegrams. Appendix III-C(vi), III-C(vii), III-C(viii), III-C(ix), III-C(x).	To draw conclusions from primary sources (telegrams). To determine the reasons for a confrontation between the trekkers and the police.
The Riot and Aftermath - What was the Regina Riot?	Students should read document III-C(xi) and determine the facts of the incident. They should simply list these facts and be prepared to discuss why they think they are facts.	Appendix III-C(xi). (One dead, one dying in Regina Battle - Toronto Globe).	To distinguish fact from opinion. To determine what the facts of the Regina Riot were.

CONTENT	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
5. The Riot and Aftermath (cont'd) What were the results of the incident? - Death, destruction, arrest of strike leaders, srikers sent home, reaction throughout the country and criticism of the government. What are the effects of the incident on labour/government relations?	Read documents III-C(xii), and III-C(xiii). Determine the results of the incident. Discuss the effects of the incident on labour and government relations.	Appendix III-C(xii). (Strikers start home today. Toronto Globe). Appendix III-C(xiii)(a letter from Ottawa).	To determine the immediate results of the Riot. To determine the long range effects of the Trek and Riot on Labour and Covernment.

CONTENT	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
Oshawa Strike 1937: 1. What were the demands of the strikers? (See Appendix III-C(v)). 2. Do these demands raise any issues?	Students should read Appendix III-D(i) and make sure that they understand the meaning of each demand. They should then form groups of 4-5 students and appoint a recorder/reporter who will later report conclusions of the group to the class. Each group should determine which demands are reasonable and which demands are unreasonable. A full class discussion should follow and a list of reasonable and unreasonable demands made. Also, at this time, the students should determine if any issues of the strike are apparent.	Appendix III-D(i) (Demands of the Oshawa Strikers)	1. To become familiar with some vocabulary common to labour studies (i.e. steward, grievance, seniority system). 2. To know the demands of the Oshawa strikers. 3. To determine if the demands portray any of the major issues of the strike.

CONTENT	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
Oshawa 1937 - The Issues: Some possible issues: 1. The birth of industrial unionism in Canada. 2. Canadian controlled vs. U.S. controlled unionism in Canada. 3. The extent to which government should intervene in labour/management relations. 4. Labour as a political force.	Read the introduction Appendix III-D(ii) and the accompanying questions. Apply the questions to the following three news articles. Appendices III-D(iii) III-D(iv) III-D(v)	Appendix III-D(ii) (Introduction and questions). Appendix III-D(iii) (Toronto Globe & Mail May 3, 1937) Appendix III-D(iv) (Toronto Star May 20, 1937) Appendix III-D(v) (Toronto Financial Post May 13, 1937)	To determine the bias of given newspaper articles. To distinguish fact from opinion. To raise the issues surrounding the Oshawa strike. To formulate personal opinions concerning the issues raised by that strike.

CONTENT	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
Implications of the Oshawa Strike: Some possible hypotheses: 1. The strike marked the birth of organized labour in mass production industry (industrial unionism). 2. The strike would inspire workers of other mass production industry to organize since most of their demands were met.	Have students hypothesize about what they think the long term results are of the Oshawa General Strike. List them.		1. To synthesize the information from the newspaper articles. 2. To hypothesize about the ramifications of the Oshawa Strike.
3. The strike marks the entrance of the CIO into Canada. 4. The provincial Liberals would lose the support of labour because of Hepburn's anti-labour stance. 5. Labour candidates (CCF) would fill in the vacuum.	Students should read an excerpt from Irving Abella's book "ON STRIKE" and compare their hypotheses on the results with his.	Abella, Irving, "ON STRIKE": Six Key Labour Struggles in Canada 1919-1949. Toronto; James, Lewis and Samuel Publishers, 1974 p.121.	To compare the hypotheses of the students to a secondary source. To know some of the implications of the Oshawa General Strike of 1937.

APPENDIX III-A

HISTORIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STRIKE

Objectives of the Strike:

The Winnipeg strike was defeated. But that does not cancel its major contribution to Canadian Labour's progress. It was a great struggle for great objectives and principles:

1. *Collective bargaining:* The right to organize, its achievement in direct relations with employers, its enactment in law. This was a major demand in the strike. Twenty-five years went by before it was won, and only partially won.

2. *Industrial Unionism:* Employer recognition of the Metal and Building Trades Councils was another central demand in the strike and one of its original causes implicit in this was the drive to industrial unionism—a durable of Canadian trade union evolution. In the circumstances of 1919, this meant the struggle for *combined* action by the craft locals, the building of new bodies such as councils.

3. *Labour Councils:* The Winnipeg Trades and Labour Council and its central strike committee demonstrated the potential of local councils as centres to co-ordinate Labour's struggle.

4. *Government Employees:* The right to organize for municipal, provincial and federal government employees: Their right to negotiate, strike and affiliate to a labour centre; in sum their equal rights with all other employees—no extra privileges for government as employer, no extra obligations for employees of government—this too was a basic demand in the strike, one for which Winnipeg' firemen, policemen, telephone employees and postmen fought both in legal representations and direct action.

5. *Police:* When the Winnipeg municipal police fought for their rights and sympathized with the strikers, they were not only upholding the general rights as government employees but the principle that this special group of workers should not be given orders which seemingly protect the public interest but actually foster the private interests of companies—particularly during industrial disputes.

6. *War Veterans:* The ex-servicemen's co-operation with the strikers, their refusal (for the most part) to be manipulated by private business, was patriotism at its best—the highest service they could then render their country, the working community, and themselves.

7. *Solidarity:* When Winnipeg trade unionists, acting through the Trades and Labour Council, came to the aid of the machinists and building trades workers; when Vancouver trade unionists and trade unionists in other cities as well, aided the Winnipeg trade unionists; and when, in the specific circumstances then prevailing, they raised that aid to the level of sympathetic and general strike, they were showing what means trade union solidarity.

8. *Canadian Unionism:* The Winnipeg strike marked a new, high level in the unfolding of a decisive law of Canadian labour history—the struggle for freedom from international union domination. This was underlined by the brutal interference of U.S. headquarters which helped defeat the strike. But above all it was expressed in the constructive action of the strikers themselves, metal trades and building trades councils, their Trades and Labour Council. The Winnipeg strike showed that the solidarity between Canadian railwaymen, metal and building trades workers, between all Canadian organized workers, is greater in principle and economic potential than the thin line of per capita stretching from local unions in Canada to international headquarters in Washington, Cleveland and New York.

9. *Militant Trade Unionism:* This sums up and epitomizes the great objectives of the Winnipeg strike. It means Labour's readiness to win its demands through peaceful negotiations and representations to employers and government, but its determination at all times to depend on its own organization, strength and independence.

Summary:

This was the Winnipeg Strike. In sum, it was a great step forward, and a great opportunity lost. It came about as part of the post-war crisis of Canadian politics. This crisis was reflected in a swift development of three durables of Canadian progress: Labour, the farm movement, Quebec. Among the workers there was a sharp upswing of union membership, economic struggles, and strikes. In the ranks of the farmers, there was a powerful turn to independent economic and political organization. In Quebec, the war and conscription crisis had generated profound discontents. And all this was connected in turn with the crisis still more acute of capitalism in Europe.

For Labour this was the moment of opportunity, and how great the opportunity is shown by what transpired in 1919-1921.

1919: Thomas Crerar's resignation as Minister of Agriculture in the Union Government, his emergence soon after as leader of the Progressives (farmers) Party; in Ontario, election of Canada's first farmer-labour government.

1920: Election of 11 candidates of the Manitoba Labour Party and 8 candidates of the United Farmers of Manitoba to the provincial legislature; election of a number of labour representatives to the Winnipeg municipal council.

1921: Defeat of the strike-breaking Borden (Union) government in the federal election; election of a bloc of 75 progressives, mostly farm candidates—the largest third party grouping ever to sit in the House of Commons.

What a difference, if there had been a strong, united trade union movement, with a strong leadership which took its orders from the membership in Canada, and welcomed solidarity from the United States, but rebuffed domination. But this factor was not present. True, the movement to united, effective trade unionism had by now become powerful, but it was not dominant. And those who identified themselves with it—as events showed—lacked not only strength, but also clarity and cohesiveness. And so, in the years that followed, trade union progress was seriously impeded. So was industrial unionism, recognition of the right to organize, social legislation. Big business was able to restore "normalcy". The third party movement disintegrated. Partial progress there was—a limited advance in farmer-labour political action; a limited extension of union recognition and social legislation; most important of all, perhaps, the standing warning to employers that they dare not push their objectives too hard, that they must provide a minimum of wage concessions, reform and social legislation. For a time could come once again when Organized Labour would fight back and unleash mighty movements on the scale of the 1919 general strike. As the *Western Labour News* put it on July 2, 1919, just a few days after the end of the Winnipeg strike:

> "It can never be forgotten that over 30,000 workers struck not for themselves but for others . . . and in so doing linked themselves forever with the men who fought in Flanders Field . . . The workers are equal to the problem of the hour if they are given a chance. If they are not given a chance today, they are equal to the problem of working out a solution tomorrow."

APPENDIX III-B

Date Sept. 30 19 31 Paper Ottawa M. Citizen

Two Men Killed When Strikers Battle Police

Seven Persons Seriously Injured, Including 2 Bystanders; 15 Not Seriously at Estevan, Sask.

Police Attacked By Mob of 400 Strikers

Tear Gas Bombs and Batons Fail to Halt Them And Shots Are Fired.

ESTEVAN, Sask., Sept. 30.—The special train bearing reinforcements of Mounted Police from Regina arrived in Estevan early today. Forty-five Mounted Policemen were on the train.

ESTEVAN, Sask., Sept. 29.—Warfare broke out in the coal-town of Estevan today leaving in its wake a grim toll of death and destruction as police battled for three-quarters of an hour with a mob of striking miners. Late tonight it had been determined that two strikers had been killed by rifle bullets, five strikers gravely injured, five bystanders injured, two seriously, and 12 policemen injured during the fracas.

Nick Nerwan, one of the dead, was shot through the heart as he mounted a fire truck which was used to play water on the rioters. Julian Jryshko, Bienfait, was shot in the abdomen as he was milling in front of the town hall with the rioters. He died as he was brought into the Estevan hospital waiting-room.

Constable Gravely Injured.

Constable J. Sutherland of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police was gravely injured during the riot. One other constable had his arm fractured by a bullet, and others received scalp wounds from flying rocks and pieces of metal. Most of the policemen were able to carry on after emergency treatment.

The riot was precipitated when the strikers, 400 in number, decided to hold a parade and demonstration in Estevan in defiance of a contrary edict. The total of arrests made by the police in the riot reached 11 men and three women.

The battle was all over in 45 minutes. Terror reigned in the town tonight, however, and police are waiting for reinforcements and preparing for another outbreak.

As the parade neared Estevan this afternoon the banners were unfurled. Men came out from the town and waved to the lorries. The lorries stopped to pick them up. The strikers' army grew in strength. The lorries and cars entered the city limits from the east. Housewives came to the doors of the dwellings to watch the procession pass along the street.

The first lorry, bearing about 20 or 30 men, neared the town hall. In a flash, mounted and town police, about 20 in all, strung a cordon across the street. The lorry turned down a side street, while the strikers jeered at the police. More cars followed and the police rushed to cut off a possible entry into the city from the new vantage point. A barrage of tear-gas bombs had no effect on the advancing file.

One of the lorries broke away from the main procession and tore down the principal thoroughfare. The strikers unloaded and rushed to where the police were stationed. Picking up stones and clubs, the miners made a bee-line for the officers. One, a burly man, more daring than the rest, attacked a police officer. Two of the officers seized him and rushed him away to the police station. The battle was on.

Rocks Hurled at Police.

From all parts of the town strikers unloaded from the lorries and ran towards the battle zone. Rocks were hurled in the direction of the police, who, foot by foot, were forced back to the wall of the town hall, as rocks, pieces of metal and wood struck them.

Between 300 and 400 strikers milled in a jeering and shouting mob around the police squad.

As the mob pressed them back, the police drew revolvers. They fired above the heads of the rioters. The rioters pressed on. Blood began to flow as one policeman was hit by a piece of rock. The strikers drew back as police continued to fire.

Street light standard globes fell crash, windows were broken and women ran screaming for shelter as the melee became more intense. The scream of the fire siren added to the noise of the wild shouting, and from the fire hall came the motor engine.

It was driven to the nearest hydrant across the road from the town hall. Amid a hail of stones six firemen, who manned the engine connected up the apparatus and poured a stream of water on one section of the mob, which by [illegible] surrounded the section of the town near the municipal building.

Rioters Not Deterred.

The water did not deter the rioters. They pressed on, driving the firemen back. One of the strikers fell, [illegible] hit by a bullet. Others carried him away as revolver shots came thick and fast. The strikers bore down on the fire engine, but the police renewed their fire and the strikers withdrew, taking their wounded with them. An emergency hospital was set up in the police station.

Urgent calls were sent to withdraw police officers from the Truax-Traer mine. They came to the scene in cars. The strikers kept up their running attacks on the police officers, but as reinforcements came their [illegible] to waver.

With the arrival of reinforcements a running fight ensued. The main body of the strikers withdrew. One squad of the police, led by Inspector W. Moorhead, ran a number of the strikers down the main street towards the outskirts of the town.

While the fight had been in progress, the injured were being rushed to the Estevan Hospital. The two killed in the grim battle died on the steps of the hospital. One was reported to have had a bullet wound which pierced the heart, while the other had his abdomen punctured. Soon was the hospital so full that one of the wounded, his toe shot off and his foot a mass of bandages, had to be taken elsewhere until accommodation could be found for him.

Bystanders Injured.

Bystanders were among those who were injured during the riot. Clive Butterworth, Estevan music teacher, was walking through the main thoroughfare when he was shot through the hip. In a statement made to the police, he said that he was shot by a striker.

Miss L. King, a visitor to Estevan from England, was looking through an upstairs window from a house nearby when a stray bullet pierced her left shoulder. Her injuries are serious. A mounted police officer was shot through the arm by a bullet.

All manner of weapons were picked up by the police following the battle. Large pieces of iron, wrenches, loaded clubs and other weapons were among those taken from the strikers or picked up after the fight was over.

Only one of the police was gravely injured, Constable Sutherland. In the second melee, when police came to close quarters with the strikers, he was struck on the head by a large piece of rock. He was carried to the hospital unconscious and his condition late tonight was reported to be serious. He has a fractured skull and is also believed to be suffering from spine injuries.

APPENDIX III-C THE LABOUR GAZETTE - OCT./31.

STRIKE OF COAL MINERS AT ESTEVAN, SASK., AND APPOINTMENT OF ROYAL COMMISSION OF INQUIRY

A STRIKE of coal miners in Saskatchewan in the vicinity of Estevan began on September 7, 1931, and continued until October 7 when an agreement for a resumption of work pending the result of an inquiry by a Royal Commission was reached following conference of the parties to the dispute with the Commissioner's counsel. The dispute involved approximately six hundred miners, of whom about two hundred were working when it occurred, the operations for the season having just commenced, and was marked by a disturbance in the town of Estevan in which three miners were killed, a number of persons were injured, including several police and citizens, with considerable property damage.

The strike was called by the Mine Workers' Union of Canada which had recently organised the coal miners in the district, but the mine operators refused to negotiate with or recognise this union. The representatives of the miners demanded recognition of the union and the negotiation of an agreement as to wages and employment conditions and the elimination of alleged abuses in relation to the weighing of coal (charging non-observance of the law as to check-weighing), also of abuses as to prices charged at company stores and boarding houses (claiming that employees were compelled to patronise these on pain of dismissal); they claimed also that wages had been reduced and that hours of work were excessive, and that miners who made any complaints were dismissed. Toward the end of August, it is reported, one mine was shut down for two days by a successful strike to secure the reinstatement of a miner dismissed when he joined the union. Early in September the provincial Minister of Labour, with the Deputy Minister, met representatives of both parties at Estevan and reported that while operators would not recognize the union they were willing to make some concessions and that apparently the dispute would be settled without a strike.

On September 7 the union notified the operators that unless their demands were agreed to a strike would occur the next day. Operations accordingly ceased in all the mines in the district. In a "stripping" or surface mine operated by steam shovels, which the union had not organized, mining of coal for shipment was stopped by the management and work confined to tracklaying, etc., pending negotiations for a settlement in the other mines. Work was resumed in a few hours in about twenty small pit mines in the district after negotiations with union representatives on condition, it is reported, that the coal was to be for domestic use in the district and not to be shipped out. The strike, therefore, directly affected the eight deep seam mines operated by members of the Saskatchewan Coal Operators' Association. The "stripping" mine resumed operations on September 17.

A brick and tile manufacturing plant in the district was affected by a strike, on September 7, of its employees, who had joined the Lumber and Agricultural Workers' Union, like the Mine Workers' Union of Canada affiliated with the Workers' Unity League of Canada, a branch of the Red International of Labour Unions. On September 23 work was resumed following direct negotiations between the employees' representatives and the management, the restoration of wage rates reduced in the spring being conceded.

The coal operators continued to refuse to meet union representatives, but offered to negotiate with a committee representing all the miners in the district. On September 16 some of the operators brought in some men to replace the strikers, but in the presence of large bodies of pickets gave up the attempt, and applied for additional police protection. On September 17 the Mayor of Estevan and the Reeve of Coalfields, the municipality in which the mines are located, applied to the Federal Minister of Labour for a Board of Conciliation and Investigation under Section 65 of the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act, neither of the parties to the dispute having made an application. In the absence of the Minister, the Prime Minister, acting for the Minister, recommended in accordance with a provision in this section the appointment of a Royal Commission instead of a Board, and an Order in Council of September 18 appointed His Honour Judge Edmund R. Wylie, District Court Judge of the Judicial District of Estevan, as Commissioner. The provincial government also issued a commission to Judge Wylie with provision for the appointment of counsel and other assistance.

The Chief Conciliation Officer of the Federal Department of Labour was also despatched to Estevan to bring about if possible a resumption of work pending the inquiry. Arriving in Estevan on September 21, the day of the settlement of the strike in the brick plant, the Departmental representative met representatives of both parties to the coal mining dispute. The operators agreed to reemploy all strikers without discrimination pending the inquiry by the Royal Commission. Representatives of the miners agreed to waive recognition of the union and resume work pending the inquiry if a number of specified grievances were immediately remedied by negotiation between the eight operators and a committee of three miners from each mine. These grievances included allegations as to abuses in certain instances in connection with purchases in company stores, check-weighing, non-payment of wages for repair work, prices of powder, and various other matters. The operators agreed to this and to remedy any such conditions; but the local president and secretary of the union then claimed that their representatives in these arrangements had no authority to agree to such terms. They insisted that there should be no resumption of work pending the inquiry unless the operators agreed to meet union representatives as well as employees and to negotiate a higher wage scale and to remedy other grievances. No settlement having been arrived at the Conciliation Officer left the vicinity for a conference with the provincial authorities in Regina. The Premier of Saskatchewan issued the following statement as to the efforts made to settle the dispute:—

> "Every possible and every reasonable effort has been made on the part of both the provincial and federal authorities to bring about settlement of the industrial dispute at Estevan and Bienfait.
>
> "Before the strike had been called the government suggested the advisability of an inquiry into any grievances by a commission and suggested that this inquiry should take the form of a commission of three, one to be appointed by the men, one by the operators and a third to be appointed by the two, then by the provincial government.
>
> "The operators, in due course, suggested a name but no name was forthcoming from the men. Subsequently the Minister of Labour and the Minister of Public Works endeavoured at Estevan to get the conflicting forces together, but this was impossible. Again the Deputy Minister of Labour of the province spent some time in Estevan and Bienfait and did everything possible to bring about an understanding.
>
> "The strike was subsequently called and to both the men and the operators the government urged they get together and settle their differences with as little trouble as possible. Subsequently by concurrent orders in council the provincial and Dominion governments appointed

Judge Wylie of Estevan as a commissioner to investigate matters.

"Mr. Campbell, chief conciliation officer of the federal department of labour spent considerable time, and a great deal of effort, in the area meeting the operators and meeting the miners' executive, and was hopeful at one time of being able to effect a conciliation. Before Mr. Campbell met the men's executive he obtained from the coal operators a written undertaking from them that should the miners agree to return to work at once pending the report of the royal commission, the mine owners concerned agreed that all their former employees who reported for work would be re-engaged without discrimination. This undertaking was signed on behalf of the eight deep seam operators who were affected by the strike and had their plants tied up.

"For the purpose of resuming work the operators undertook with Mr. Campbell that certain concessions would be made which had not previously been recognized as between the operators and the men. Notwithstanding all the efforts of Mr. Campbell it was found impossible to bring these parties together.

"The Royal Canadian Mounted Police have functioned in the area for the purpose of preserving peace. That function has been performed by them and will continue to be performed by them.

"While there is disagreement as between the parties the government has confidence in the good judgment of all concerned and that reason on the part of both the operators and the men will prevail. Judge Wylie is proceeding immediately with his inquiry and this fact should satisfy all concerned that there is a determination on the part of the authorities, Federal and Provincial, to get at the facts at issue.

"With this inquiry proceeding it is hoped that, as above stated, the best judgment in the field will prevail and that there will be no disturbances of any kind.

"At this season of the year, and this year in particular, the question of a coal supply is vital and if coal cannot be obtained from the Saskatchewan fields then it will have to be obtained elsewhere. This is naturally not the desire of the authorities and it would seem very unfortunate if it should eventuate."

The operators of the smaller mines in the district, who had been operating under an arrangement with the union, decided no longer to recognize it owing to interference by union officials with their operations contrary to the arrangement made. On September 28, it was announced that the Commissioner would begin the inquiry in the Court House at Estevan at ten o'clock Wednesday, September 30.

On Monday, September 28, the municipal authorities of Estevan were informed that the miners had announced a parade through the streets of Estevan on Tuesday afternoon and a meeting in the Town Hall in the evening, but had made no application for permission to parade nor for the use of the hall. The officials of the union were notified that this would not be permitted. On Tuesday afternoon the parade of miners was stopped at the edge of the town by the Chief of Police, who was attacked and injured. A detachment of Royal Canadian Mounted Police was attacked, several being struck by missiles and bullets and a force of firemen using hose was overpowered. Finally several strikers were injured by the return fire of the police, one being instantly killed, and two dying later. A small number of citizens were also injured, fire apparatus was destroyed, and many windows were broken. The mob dispersed on the arrival of police reinforcements, a number being arrested.

The first hearing before the Royal Commission began the next morning, but was adjourned until Monday, October 5. On that day the vice-president of the union called upon all miners in Canada to strike for twenty-four hours on October 7 in protest against the shooting of the miners at Estevan and to demand that police should be withdrawn and proceedings against those arrested should be stopped. Reports from the mining districts indicate that little response to this call resulted. In the meantime counsel for the Royal Commissioner met representatives of both parties to the dispute, and following the first hearing on October 5, a meeting of the parties the following day was arranged, at which it was agreed that work would be resumed on the following terms:—

"We, the mine operators and employees in conference at the court-house, Estevan, this sixth day of October, 1931, hereby agree that the mines be opened immediately and the men return to work on the following conditions, viz.:

"(1) That this be considered a temporary arrangement pending the findings of the Wylie Royal Commission and the possible drafting of a working agreement between the operators and the men.

"(2) That committees of employees for each mine be a recognized organization in each mine.

"(3) That the provisions of the Mines Act be observed in relation to check-weighers.

"(4) That all water in the roadways and working face be removed by the company and that such places be kept as dry as possible.

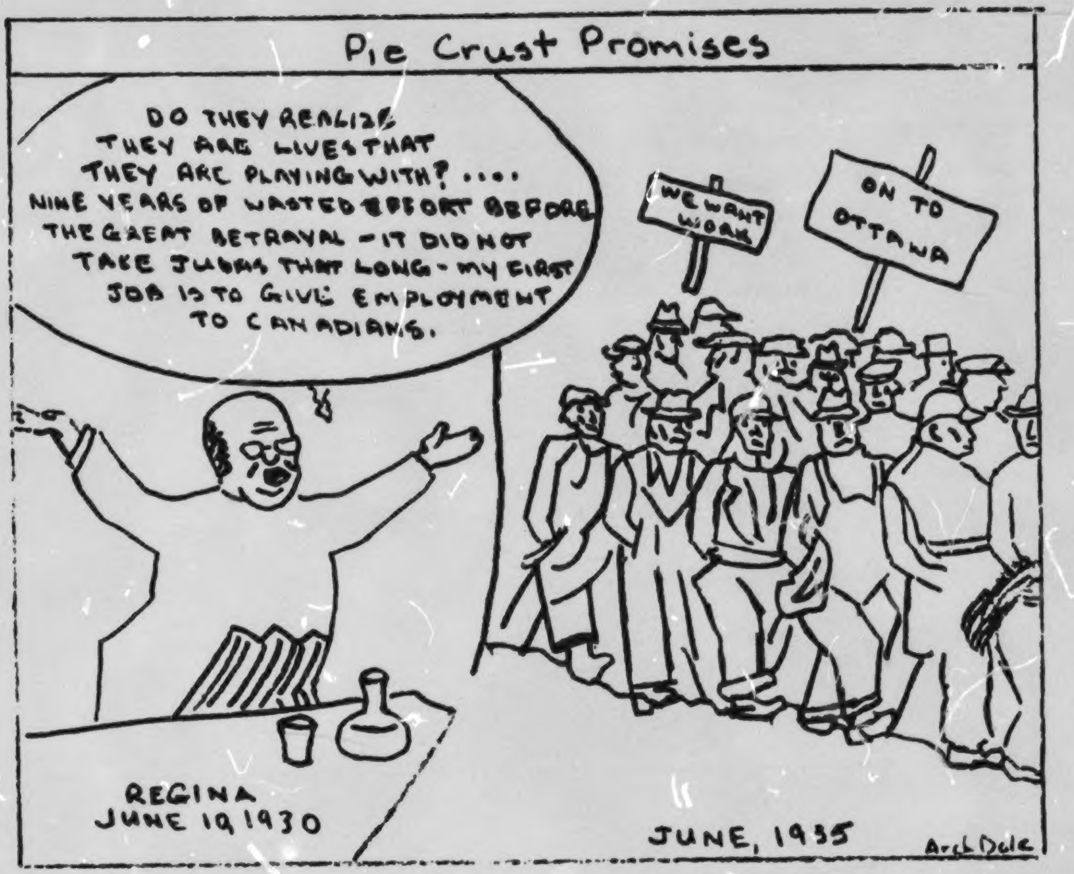
"(5) That the terms of any schedule or agreement finally reached between the operators and the men be made retroactive to the date of recommencement of work by them.

"(6) That there shall be no victimization or discrimination against men on account of the strike, particularly in reference to men on the payrolls as at September 7 last.

"(7) That contract men be employed on an eight-hour basis, face to face, and the company men work nine hours a day.

"(8) That because of working conditions in the various mines, the removal of slack and questions of overweight be left to negotiations between the operators and the committees of employees."

APPENDIX III · C(i)


Pie Crust Promises
DO THEY REALIZE THEY ARE LIVES THAT THEY ARE PLAYING WITH? .... NINE YEARS OF WASTED EFFORT BEFORE THE GREAT BETRAYAL - IT DID NOT TAKE JUDAS THAT LONG - MY FIRST JOB IS TO GIVE EMPLOYMENT TO CANADIANS.
WE WANT WORK
ON TO OTTAWA
REGINA JUNE 19 1930
JUNE, 1935
Arch Dale

Arch Dale commented critically on the gap between Conservative promises in 1930 and performance by 1935.

APPENDIX III-C(ii)

Chronology of the Vancouver Strike and the On to Ottawa Trek, 1935.

March 10: Strike planned at meeting in Kamloops, B.C., of Relief Camp Workers Union delegates.

March 11: B.C. Women's Central group of C.C.F. demand abolition of relief camps. The Vancouver *Sun*: "It was the viewpoint of women whose marriageable daughters are finding themselves without men to marry and whose marriageable sons are shut up in the camps."

March 25: Premier J. Dufferin Pattullo notifies Acting Prime Minister Sir George Perley of impending walkout on April 4.

March 27: Vancouver Chief Constable Colonel W. W. Foster confirms walkout in memo to Mayor Gerald McGeer.

March 29: Grote Sterling, Minister of National Defense, comments on walkout in House of Commons.

April 1: *Sun* visits RCWU office on Cordova West. Matt Shaw, publicity chairman, acknowledges walkout.

Commission of inquiry into relief camps named: Hon. W. A. MacDonald, retired B.C. Supreme Court Justice; C. T. McHattie, vice-president of Gault Bros. Ltd. and chairman of board of Vancouver Welfare Federation; Rev. Edwin Braden, Ryerson United Church.

April 2: Sixty strikers from Squamish are first to arrive in Vancouver.

April 4: Relief camp strike begins.

April 5: Colonel Foster in interview with striker's delegation: "I don't think that any intelligent citizen will not agree that a system which offers to young men such as yourselves no hope of any other future but life in a camp is entirely wrong . . . however . . . the city feels that the provision of food and shelter for you is not Vancouver's responsibility." (Sun, April 5).

MacDonald Commission hearings begin.

April 8. Rally of strikers and citizens at Canbie Street grounds.

April 9: Matt Shaw interview with Lord Bessborough, the Governor-General, at Canadian National Railways terminal.

April 10: MacDonald Commission in Fraser Valley camps: "The hearings were conducted in an easy informal manner, the Commission joking on occasion with the men." (*Sun*. April 10).

Mayor McGeer informs delegation of strikers that the City Council has no powers to expend funds for maintenance of the men.

April 13: Relief camp strikers hold Tag Day. Five thousand dollars collected.

April 15: Arthur Evans appears before MacDonald Commission wearing trousers he alleges were made by Commissioner McHattie's firm and sold to relief camps.

April 16: Vancouver *Sun* editorial on relief camp strikers: "The only wonder is that these poor fellows have not made such demonstrations before".

April 20: Five thousand strikers and citizens attend rally at Vancouver Arena.

April 23: Hudson's Bay Company disturbance. Mayor McGeer reads Riot Act.

April 26: Vancouver Ministerial Association cables support of strikers to Ottawa and Victoria. Provincial Parent Teachers Association announces support.

April Mayor McGeer offers terms to strikers: return to camps, city to assist in financing striker delegation to Ottawa, the mayor will personally report strikers' petitions, men on blacklist will be given opportunity to talk with MacDonald Commission. Terms rejected by strikers.

April 28: Sixteen thousand attend rally at Arena. "Biggest crowd ever housed at an indoor public meeting in Vancouver".

May 1: May Day Parade and Rally at Stanley Park.

May 4: Strikers' telegram to King George v: "Your 25th

Jubilee finds 2000 Canadian relief camp workers sentenced to starvation at Vancouver, B.C. by Canadian Premier Bennett. Suggest you instruct Premier Bennett furnish immediate relief."

May 5: CCF sponsors 'Youth Demonstration' at Hastings Park. Ten thousand spectators in attendance to hear appeals for abolition of relief camps.

May 10: 26,972 in Vancouver vote yes on straw ballot to abolish relief camps and to grant immediate relief to strikers.

May 13: Vancouver School Board rejects motion to endorse Provincial PTA call to abolish relief camps because of presence of 3000 school children in May Day parade.

May 16: Mayor McGeer appeals to strikers to return to camps except for known agitators who will be dealt with by district headquarters of Department of National Defence.

May 17-21: Prime Minister Bennett and Mayor McGeer exchange definitions of authority regarding relief allowances for strikers.

May 18: Seizure of City Museum by division of strikers. Mayor McGeer grants relief subsidy.

May 23: Commissioner MacDonald: "We hope these camps will not continue much longer". (*Sun*, May 23)

May 24: Dr. Lyle Telford, CCF leader, in radio address. "They (the leaders) are not camp strikers; they are mainly occupied with the task of getting these boys to do something dangerous in the name of strike action. . . ."

May 26: E. Cumber, secretary of the Relief Camp Workers Union, brought to trial in New Westminster for obtaining clothing and board from a relief camp under false pretenses.

May 29: Meeting of strikers to vote on continuation of strike. Approximately two-thirds in favour. Five hundred and sixteen strikers apply for reinstatement in relief camps. Decision made to go to Ottawa.

May 31: Mayor McGeer refuses license for tag day and request for relief subsidy until departure of Trek.

June 3-4: Departure of On to Ottawa Trek.

June 4: Trek arrives at Kamloops.

June 6: Trek arrives at Golden; Evans returns to Vancouver.

June 8: Trek arrives at Calgary.

June 10: Trek arrives at Medicine Hat; Evans rejoins march.

June 11: R.C.M.P. in Regina advised that Trek to be halted in that city.

June 12: Trek arrives at noon in Swift Current; at 8:00 p.m. in Moose Jaw.

June 13: Citizens committee to aid Trekkers formed in Regina.

June 14: Trek arrives in Regina.

June 17: Dr. R. J. Manion and Mr. Robert Weir join Trekkers for discussions.

June 18: Eight Trek leaders leave for Ottawa to interview Prime Minister Bennett.

June 22: Trek leaders meet with Prime Minister.

June 25: Trek leaders return to Regina; rations exhausted.

July 1: Dominion Day rally in Market Square; Regina Riot.

July 4-5: Trekkers leave Regina.

A Frontier College Teacher Comments on Conditions in the Camps

. . . I have found that food is clean, plentiful, and generally well-cooked. Any complaints are due, I think, rather to lack of appetite than bad quality.

The 'single-decker' beds are a big improvement on the 'upper and lowers' of the camps in Eastern Canada. They give a man a definite area of floor space to himself–are easier to make up and allow more freedom in cleaning floors. . . Washroom facilities . . . vary somewhat from camp to camp depending on the vigilance of the foreman. Compared with those of city homes they may be crude, but for backwood surroundings, I consider them very good indeed. . . . I would conclude, therefore, that if physical comforts maintain contentment the camps should afford no trouble. The trouble is not to be found here, but in the lack of individualism and general atmosphere of hopelessness for the future.

To be happy man must have some goal towards which he is working and the daily satisfaction that he is accomplishing something to put him farther along the way. Most men visualize independence and a home for themselves such as has been within the power of any man with a sound body and mind to obtain during better times. Therefore, the man in camp considers his time wasted and will be susceptible to any kind of propaganda advocating change.

I have observed that the authorities in charge of the camps realize the foregoing, but, of course, are powerless to make any fundamental change such as would be feasible with a work and wages program. Discontentment is, therefore, inevitable and it remains only to make the best of things as they are. . . .

APPENDIX III-C(iv)

"STRIKER'S NIGHTS", letter to Vancouver Sun

We walk around the streets at night to kill time, so we can sleep in late the next day. By doing so we exist on two meals a day.

What do we see while putting in the hours? What do we think about?

We see a great many people going to shows, to this and that. Young couples who seem to be enjoying themselves, well-dressed and acting as if the world isn't so bad after all. People who have homes and kids and all the rest of it. People who seem to have faith in the future.

We think that something is wrong. We can't do as they do. We must go around lonely and dejected. No home life to enjoy, shut off from all social existence. No laughter in our hours, no hope in our young lives.

We see wonderful things in the stores. Food! Clothes! Books! And shiny cars line the streets. But none such for us. Outside looking in! Or in jail looking out. Are we criminals, unwanted by society? Are we lunatics who are to be shunned? What's wrong with us?

We think of marriage and homes, just like others have. Can't even have a friend or two! Shunned like lepers of early times, we are left to our fate. Slave camps, jail or else the salt-chuck. Because we have the guts to fight for our inherited rights we are put in jail. Called Reds and a lot of other meaningless names. Why, some of the citizens of this City say we should be put in our place! That the law should be given orders to show who is who. And many of us have been here all our lives.

We see . . . we think. We see Red . . . and we think Red. Can you blame us? Would you like to have us lie down like a bunch of spineless whelps and be contented as slaves? Is that all our grandfathers toiled for? Canada . . . young nation . . . letting her youth go to hell! Are you not proud of her? How can you sleep at nights while thousands of us are idle in brain and body, in want and privation? You who would cheer us on to the battlefield today send us to hell! What fools our mothers were to bear us! 'Tis to be hoped that there will be a stop made to bringing kids into this hopeless world if all they are to [be] offered is a relief camp! We who should be the pride of the nation are the derelicts! The curse!

I leave it to you. Where do we go from here?

The Six Demands of the Ottawa Trekkers

1. That work with wages be provided at a minimum rate of 50 cents an hour for unskilled labor; union rates for all skilled labor. Such work to be on basis of five-day week, six-hour working day, and minimum of 20 days' work per month.

2. All workers in relief camps and government projects be covered by the Compensation Act. Adequate first aid supplies on all relief jobs.

3. That democratically elected committee of relief workers be recognized by the authorities.

4. Relief camps be taken out of the control of the department of national defence.

5. A genuine system of social and unemployment insurance in accordance with the provisions of the Workers' Social and Unemployment Insurance Bill.

6. That all workers be guaranteed their democratic right to vote.

APPENDIX III-C(vi)

Canadian Pacific Railway Company

Winnipeg, Manitoba

11th June, 1935

Hon. James G. Gardiner,
Premier of
The Province of Saskatchewan,
Regina, Saskatchewan

Dear Sir:

The number of men who are boarding and riding on the freight trains of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company has become a veritable menace. This is especially so since a large number have come from the province of British Columbia and elsewhere and have given it out that they are en route to Ottawa.

The number is now so great that the Company is being greatly hampered in the operation of its trains and in endeavouring to give service to the public. Not only so but this large number of men threaten to become a direct menace.

The company respectfully requests the assistance and co-operation of your province in an endeavour to put a stop to this practice and in an endeavour to prevent these men from proceeding further by riding on the trains of the railway company without authority or proper transportation.

We shall be glad to keep you advised from time to time when trains will arrive on which these men are riding and when trains are due to part on which they may seek to ride.

Your assistance and co-operation will be greatly appreciated.

Yours truly,

(Sgd) W.A. MATHER

[illegible] 22
DATE [illegible]
CL [illegible]

CANADIAN NATIONAL TELEGRAPHS

Regina, June 28, 1935

Honourable Hugh Guthrie,
Minister of Justice,
Ottawa, Ontario.

I am given to understand instructions have been issued from Ottawa to police officers here requiring them to prevent movement of any marchers by any means from this city and furthermore preventing any person from rendering them any assistance whatsoever by way of food or otherwise while in the city STOP I would be very grateful if you would send me by wire at once information with respect to any orders so given and furthermore advise me under what authority Act or order in council you are proceeding in issuing any such orders in the event of the same having been issued, as I am unable to find any legal authority under which any such orders could be issued STOP I understand some arrests have already been made and I would be glad to have particulars of offences committed under which arrests were made and particulars of charges if any being lodged.

T.C. DAVIS

Attorney-General

PPENDIX III-C(viii)

COPY

Ottawa, Ontario

June 29th, 1935

Hon. T.C. Davis,
Attorney-General,
Regina, Saskatchewan

Replying to your wire twenty eighth instructions have been issued to police officers to prevent movement of marchers eastward from Regina by rail or road which may involve any breach of law STOP No instructions have been issued to prevent persons rendering assistance to marchers by way of food or otherwise STOP Arrests heretofore made involve charges of vagrancy unlawful travel on highways and offences under section ninety eight of Criminal Code STOP Will instruction legal agents to furnish copies of charged to you as soon as they are completed.

(Signed) "HUGH GUTHRIE"

[illegible]
EXHIBIT 75.
DATE Nov 25/35

APPENDIX III-C(ix)

Telegram from R.C.M.P. *Commissioner J. H. MacBrien, Ottawa, to Assistant Commissioner S. T. Wood, Regina, June 11, 1935, in Report, p. 89:*

Following preliminary arrangements to be completed in connection with strikers enroute Ottawa. Proposed to prevent strikers proceedings East of Regina. Method to be adopted is to picket railway yards to prevent strikers boarding trains and to provide each train with escort of suitable strength to accompany train to point beyond zone in which men likely to re-board train. Adequate guards to be set up in railway yards from which trains depart East.

Canadian Pacific and Canadian National Railway both co-operating and will dispatch reinforcements in course of day or so about forty men from each company to assist. If strikers move east by road, escorts on trains will continue for further distance on trains returning Regina without delay by passenger or freight train. If distance East from Regina where guards leave train not great, escorts could return to Regina by trucks which you may hire if necessary. Reinforcements of twenty-five men being ordered from "K" division and twenty men from "D" division. Arrange for all possible strength your own division also all available men in depot including training class. Situation will be explained to strikers when they are assembled in Regina. All possible preliminary arrangements to be made but scheme not to be put into action until further instructions received from here.

APPENDIX III-C(x)

Exchange of telegrams between Premier Gardiner and Prime Minister Bennett, June 27, 1935, in RRIC *Exhibits:*

Premier Gardiner to Prime Minister (excerpt):
Throughout the whole course of this matter your government has acted without our knowledge, consent or concurrence and took complete charge of our police force and assumed the unquestionable functions of a provincial government. You and you alone have prevented this government from fulfilling our constitutional responsibilities. If you now desire to publicly withdraw from that position, and place us where we can assume our constitutional obligations, kindly wire us accordingly.

Prime Minister to Premier Gardiner:
I can only repeat what we have already several times informed you. That the Federal Government having been advised of a breach of federal statute and requested to take the necessary remedial action is using its utmost efforts to preserve life and property. And I advised you again today that if the provincial authorities required assistance in the maintenance of law and order apart from the situation with which we are dealing, the Dominion will assist them in their efforts in accordance with the proper procedure. In that regard, have not the slightest intention of withdrawing from the position which we have taken and propose to use our utmost endeavours even although you decline to cooperate and maintain the fabric of our society and the institutions of the country against the illegal threats and demands of communists and their associates.

Premier Gardiner to Prime Minister:
I must at once take exception to your suggestion that we "decline to cooperate to maintain the fabric of our society and the institutions of the country against the illegal threats of communists and their associates." Fortunately, this province had no problem unil you imported one into Saskatchewan and took steps to see that it remained here. There is no problem here now. I hesitate to think that you permitted this movement to advance from B.C. to Sask. without molestation if you considered that it was an organization dangerous to society and institutions of the country and without warning us of its approach and taking earlier steps to prevent it. Our province is policed by Royal Canadian Mounted Police. With the advent of this problem into Sask., the control of our police force was taken by your government despite our protest. We were left here with no police facilities with which to do anything. We ask you to have your orders withdrawn and police force left under our direction. This was refused. The condition still prevails. While protesting your actions, we have assiduously refrained from interfering in any way with your orders so that you would not be embarrassed by any action on our part. You have placed us in a situation in which you seek our cooperation by removing from us all vestige of control over the only possible means by which we could cooperate. We have repeatedly warned the men that police would follow whatever instructions were issued from Ottawa. Notwithstanding these facts, if there is any development in Sask. apart from situation with which you are dealing, we are still prepared and will notify you immediately of any need for police assistance.

Prime Minister to Premier Gardiner (excerpt):
The Dominion Government is determined that the forces organized to maintain society shall contrive to preserve human life, law and public safety. I publicly appeal to you and to your government to discharge your proper responsibilities in respect to the maintenance of law and order in the province of Saskatchewan. If you are unable to carry out your constitutional obligations and seek the assistance of the Dominion, it will be furnished when requested as by law provided.

"One Dead One Dying in Regina Battle," Toronto *Globe*, July 2, 1935.

Regina, July 1 (CP)–Gun-fire blazed out in riot-torn Regina tonight leaving one policeman dead and a striker dying as steel-helmeted Royal Canadian Mounted Police clashed with 3,000 relief-camp deserters and sympathizers.

City Detective Miller [sic] was seized by the strikers and beaten to death, eyewitnesses said. Sticks were battered over his head as a group of men seized him at the Market Square behind the police station.

City Commissioner R. J. Westgate at 10:45 p.m. (1.45 a.m. E.D.T.) tonight said he was informed police had the rioting crowds well in hand, and that the Riot Act would not be read. There was no estimate of the number taken into custody, and their names were not available. Groups were still being pursued through the streets by police.

Scores were injured by flying rocks and any other missiles the milling strikers could lay hands on. Tear gas sent men, women and children fleeing from the Market Place when a meeting, called for the purpose of raising funds for the stranded strikers, was broken up.

Arthur Evans, one of the leaders of the on-to-Ottawa trek of 2,000 relief-camp workers, was arrested along with at least 26 others. . . .

The broken, dying form of a striker, believed to be Dan McGee, was found after the milling mass of strikers had fled. McGee at first was reported dead, but hospital authorities said he was still alive. They held out little hope for recovery.*

For more than two hours violent fighting continued between the camp deserters and police.

Shots were fired by R.C.M.P. constables as the riot raged out of control beside the police headquarters. One unidentified striker fell wounded.

For blocks surrounding the Market-Square windows were shattered. Property, damage, as yet unestimated, was considered extensive.

Hospital staffs were too busy attending the injured to estimate the people hurt.

At least fifty were receiving treatment. Doctors were called to give assistance to the wounded. . . .

First outbreak occurred when the helmeted mounted police swooped down upon the strikers and supporters meeting in the market square. They appeared as a spokesman began a plea for funds to aid the strikers, ordered by authorities to remain in Regina. They have camped here since June 14, when they were first halted on their "on-to-Ottawa" trek from Western relief camps.

A score of men were taken into custody as police reinforcements were rushed by truck and on horses after the meeting broke up. . . .

Five Royal Canadian Mounted Police constables were hurt by rocks and other weapons. . . .

Rioting broke out again when relief strikers and citizens gathered on Scarth Street, Eleventh Avenue and Cornwall Street in the main business section of the city.

Windows along the whole length of the city block were smashed with stones and pieces of wood hurled by the strikers. Shots were fired by police to break up the crowd.

*Whoever he was, he seems not to have died [ed.]

"Strikers Start Home Today," Toronto *Globe*, July 5, 1935.

Regina, July 4 (CP)–Fifteen hundred striking relief-camp workers will board a westbound special train tomorrow morning for their homes or relief camps unless–and no obstacle was expected–some unforeseen development delays departure of the train.

From Winnipeg five delegates of the Manitoba relief-camp strikers supporting conference sped to Regina to investigate causes which led to Monday night's riot.

Some 100 persons, including Arthur Evans, leader of the marchers, . . . were under arrest on charges arising out of the fray. Detective Charles Millar, killed in the running fight between strikers and police, will be buried today.

At Winnipeg 600 strikers from Manitoba camps waited under canvass at the Exhibition Grounds for the next move to be formulated by their leaders, who have expressed the intention of leading the group to Ottawa. . . .

In Ontario, Premier Mitchell F. Hepburn said he did not anticipate interfering with the projected march of 2,000 Ontario unemployed to Ottawa this month.

Nineteen hundred strikers at the Government concentration camp at Valcartier, Que., remained away from work, doing only necessary labor about the camp. They demand institution of a work-and-wage policy.

A letter from Ottawa.

In connection with the Trekkers* at present without shelter in Ottawa, might I suggest that you permit some of them to make use of *the Commons Chamber* in the Parliament Buildings–*where Liberal Party members have slept for the past five years*–and allow the others to use *the Senate Chamber*, where, if you are returned to office, *the Senators will sleep for the next five years.*

Might I also suggest that, if you continue as Premier of Canada for another term, you make use of the new chemical process of medical refrigeration and select about 500,000 of the elite of Canadian youth, male and female, and have them frozen stiff and laid away in the vaults with the gold for a number of years until we learn how to use both gold and youth *to create a new world, a world of peace and plenty, of love and loveliness.*

This would be preferable to *herding the young men in slave camps and forcing the young women into prostitution* as is your custom today. . . .

P.S. You will understand, of course, that the 500,000 referred to above, *would be*, as is, I believe, medically possible, *resuscitated at some future date, when slave camps, poverty, war, and physical and mental prostitution will be eliminated from human society!*

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*These Trekkers had arrived from points in Ontario and Quebec.

Demands of the Oshawa Strike:

1. An 8-hour day.
2. A steward and grievance committee modelled on the one agreed to by General Motors in the U.S.
3. A seniority system.
4. Abolition of the new efficiency system.
5. A minimum wage.
6. Pay day every other Friday.
7. A contract that would terminate at the same time as that in the U.S. G.M. plants.
8. Factory bulletin boards made available for union notices.
9. Five minute rest periods every two hours.
10. Vending machines for chocolate bars, etc., to be set up around the plant.

INTRODUCTION AND QUESTIONS:

In 1937 General Motors of Oshawa employed approximately 3,000 men. During the 1930's these men had virtually no union. In 1928, there had been a strike over low wages, unsafe working conditions and lack of job security. There followed a struggle between the TLC craft unions and the Communist Auto Worker's Industrial Union of Canada. The result was that by 1930 there was no union and during the depression men were more interested in work than in unionizing. In 1937, GM announced the fifth consecutive wage cut and at the same time announced that the profits in both Canada and the U.S. were the highest in the history of the company. (N.Y. Times, February 14/1937). (Meanwhile Henry Ford is giving an eight-hour day because he says it increases production.) On February 15, the company sped up the assembly line from 27 to 32 units per hour. On February 19, the body shop workers walked off the job. Hugh Thompson, a union organizer for the United Automobile Workers of America, arrived and organized Local 222 of UAW in Oshawa. Charlie Millard, Chairman of the CCF in Oshawa was elected its first president.

Generally, the press gives great attention to strikes. The Oshawa General Strike of 1937 was no exception. It is the purpose of these readings to look at some of the views portrayed in Ontario newspapers about the strike.

As you read the articles, consider the following questions:

1. What is the bias of each of the articles?
2. What issues (concerning the strike) are raised by the articles?
3. What opinions are given concerning these issues?
4. What are your opinions concerning these issues?

MAY 3 1937

TORONTO GLOBE AND MAIL

INSOLENCE BEYOND ENDURANCE

The naked truth was admitted by Hugh L. Thompson, Lewis emissary, at Oshawa on Saturday when he accepted the term "foreign agitators" for himself and Homer Martin. He came into this country as a foreign agitator, and was rightly so called by Premier Hepburn. He aroused the Oshawa motor employees as a foreign agitator, bringing with him a foreign policy—foreign to all sense of honor and justice—to fasten it on Canadian workers and British subjects.

If he comes again it will be as a foreign agitator. We wonder how long any red-blooded Canadian will stand for the effrontery and insolence the title carries. His acknowledgment of the truth is an insult to free peoples—but it is a truth recognized long before he had the impudence to admit it. The fact is emphasized that the two should have been kicked back at the border.

Thompson and Martin, foreign agitators, came to Oshawa to victimize honest Canadians, to make them accessories to a foreign plot, and not to help them. The revelation by the agitators themselves is an amazing story of duplicity and hoodwinking.

* * * * *

If any Ontario people were misled by the specious argument that the Oshawa strike was a voluntary walkout of local employees, they should now have their eyes opened. From Washington headquarters of the C.I.O. comes announcement that organizers are prepared to invade five other Ontario towns to round up 40,000 more workers. The next target, declared Homer Martin, through a United Press despatch, "is 300 'feeder' factories that supply parts to General Motors of Canada, which are located at St. Catharines, Tilbury, Windsor, Chatham and Toronto." "This will be a real drive, added Hugh L. Thompson. "We haven't started yet."

This threat, be it repeated, comes from Washington, from paid employees of the C.I.O., not from Canadian employees in St. Catharines, Chatham and Toronto.

Is anything more needed to show up the false veil drawn by Pink and Red supporters in front of the foreign agitators? Is it necessary to say again that Ontario is being victimized to serve the ends of United States Lewisism?

* * * * *

Studied insults of the C.I.O. emissaries were hurled again at the Oshawa meeting on Saturday, when both Martin and Thompson told an audience that their organization had deliberately double-crossed Premier Hepburn.

"The strike was not settled at Queen's Park," declared Thompson. "It was settled at Grand Boulevard and Woodward Avenue, Detroit, between a foreign corporation and 'foreign agitators.' Martin conferred there with General Motors Corporation, and we used 'remote control' from Washington while the conference was under way in Toronto."

Martin told the meeting he knew "what the terms of the agreement would be before the Negotiating Committee knew them." Then he proceeded to dispose of the Government:

> We have no desire to see Premier Mitchell Hepburn out of his place at Queen's Park. For all the things that Hepburn has done that are worth while, I say we appreciate them. But if he is going to continue using his job to thwart the privileges and opportunities of the people, the best service he can render them is to return to the farm, where his activities can harm nothing more than an onion.

* * * * *

No matter what any one thinks of Premier Hepburn, the audacity of a foreign agitator who would come into this country and tell the head of the Government he ought to go back to his onion farm will make the blood of all true Canadians boil. Martin and his aggregation of trouble-makers are daring to displace the authority of the Ontario electorate, making the Prime Minister the butt of their gibes.

* * * * *

These remarkable utterances are an affront to the whole of Ontario, regardless of class, creed or politics. They are a defiance of the right of the people of the Province to decide their own policies, economic or political. They are an assault on the integrity and independence of Canadians and their institutions. They are the effluvium of foreign dictatorship in its most offensive form.

Will Ontario people for a moment endure the insults—a bold assertion from the conference table of Lewis, Martin and Thompson that we shall take what they hand us, deception such as was claimed in the negotiations at Queen's Park, an intimation that the head of the elected Government will be sent back to his onion farm by the Committee for Industrial Organization?

Will Ontario surrender its freedom of thought and action to people like these? There is not room for such agitators in this Province. Some way will be found—and it should be at once—to keep them and all their kind out for good.

* * * * *

The arrogance exhibited and the contempt shown toward Canadians by these Lewis trouble-makers are without parallel. The attitude taken is so amazing that charity does not permit its interpretation as the fault of stupidity and ignorance. This Province is being played as an easy mark, and its worker are used as pawns in the Lewis game. Marti and Thompson appear to think they can si around the table with their boss at the Unite States Capital, decide on what they want t do "up in Canada," and do it. Haven't the the Communist organ, the Clarion, and th Toronto Daily Star with them, besides Tim Buck and his whole aggregation of Red lam and sympathizers?

They "haven't started yet." They haven' even begun what they intend doing to the Dominion of Canada. And it is going to be easy is it?

* * * * *

The challenge is to the people of Ontario and their Government. The issue is joined between British democracy and the Fascist-Communist dictatorship of Lewis. If we know anything of red-blooded Canadianism, it is not going to be easy, and it is not going to be done. Premier Hepburn says, rightly: "We are not spineless people in this Province."

What course the Prime Minister proposes taking we cannot say, but we believe 90 per cent. of the people will support him in [illegible] action necessary to prevent Ontario labor [illegible] being gypped by United States racketeers.

* * * * *

By means of the Industry and Labor Board he hopes to settle labor's just grievances before they reach strike proportions. This avenue of appeal and adjustment, provided to ensure a fair deal for labor when negotiations with employers fail, should eliminate whatever desire discouraged workmen have to listen to the harangues of trouble-makers. The setting up of this Board shows Mr. Hepburn's sympathy with the cause of the workman. It should show Mr. Lewis and his satellites, if they are not aware of the fact, that when they challenge the Provincial Government they are dealing with a power authorized in this country to intervene in behalf of labor against a threatening menace.

* * * * *

Three thousand farmers found a way to kick C.I.O. lawlessness out of Hershey, Pa. Police and militia are showing Lewisism it cannot ride high and mighty over the people of Maine. In this country we do not support lawlessness by organized bandits or their victims. We have other methods of dealing with the one and protecting the other. As the C.I.O. has adopted bloodshed, riots and other forms of illegality as its means of "progress," it [illegible] have no recognition in this Province and [illegible] be treated on its established record.

Mr. Hepburn can be assured that the people of Ontario are not prepared to accept the domination of Canadian industry by Lewis and his paid hirelings.

APPENDIX III-D(iv)

Paper TORONTO STAR May 20, 193

What a Change Since Then

The strike at Oshawa was precipitated by the refusal of General Motors to recognize their workers' union. Premier Hepburn's rash intervention was likewise based upon his expressed determination that the men's right to the union of their choice must be denied. They must not belong to a union affiliated with the C.I.O. The C.I.O. must be kept out of Ontario. Above all, the C.I.O. must not be permitted to enter the mining country. So, as the Globe and Mail put it at the time, "Premier Hepburn threw the whole weight of his administration, police and other controlling resources behind General Motors of Oshawa in its strike dispute with some 3,800 employees."

Mr. Hepburn declared that "the government completely concurs in the attitude of the company that it is going to remain clear of the domination of professional Labor profiteers of the C.I.O." There was, he said going to be "a show down at the start." And:

"We know what these agitators are up to. We were advised only a few hours ago that they are working their way into the lumber camps, the pulp mills and our mines. Well, that has got to stop—and we are going to stop it. If necessary, we'll raise an army to do so."

That was Mr. Hepburn's ill-considered and provocative stand. He was going to stop the C.I.O. with an army if necessary. Officials of the United Automobile Workers of America—he called them "C.I.O. agitators"—were going to be run out of the country. The right of workers to choose their union was to be challenged.

That was at the beginning. By the time the Oshawa agreement was signed, there had been a modification of this program. The U.A.W.A. was not mentioned in the document, but those who signed as "President", etc., were the president and other officials of the Oshawa local of the U.A.W.A., the C.I.O. affiliate. And the agreement was made concurrent with an agreement between the U.A.W.A. and General Motors Corporation in the United States. It was already evident that the C.I.O. was not going to be "kept out of Canada", and that the fundamental right of workers to choose their own union could not be denied by Mr. Hepburn or anyone else.

To-day there are few people and few newspapers which keep up the pretence that Labor can be deprived of this free choice. The attitude that The Star took at the very commencement of the trouble has been vindicated. We said: "The right of employees to band together in labor unions has long been recognized. As for the particular type of union which they choose, that is their own business, and no government has the right to say that in choosing it they shall suit anyone but themselves."

Mr. Rowe, the leader of the Conservative party, has since said the same thing [illegible] the Conservative executive has back[illegible] up with a resolution which declares such a policy in keeping "not only with the traditions, but the forward outlook of the party." The resolution further declares:

"The maintenance of the established right of the worker to choose, free from intimidation or coercion, whether he will associate with a craft union or an industrial union or no union at all, provided always such unions strictly observe and conform to the laws of Canada, is a fundamental principle of British freedom."

Of course it is. And Mr. Hepburn is coming around to a recognition of that fact, too. His speeches are no longer marked by that first abandon. Instead of "raising an army" to keep the C.I.O. out of Ontario, he talks now of sending John L. Lewis to jail if he comes to Canada and advocates bloodshed and lawlessness. As the Ottawa Journal remarks, "why confine it to John L. Lewis?" If bloodshed and lawlessness are advocated by anybody whatever, it is the duty of the law to step in. That is said by the Conservative leader, as well as by Mr. Hepburn. It has been emphasized in these columns from the beginning. On the same day that the premier made his first rash declaration of war, The Star said: "The right to strike, so long as peaceful means are employed, is one which Labor has long possessed." Also The Star said: "Employees have not the right to use violence or to forcibly prevent others from taking their places." All are agreed, and all have been agreed throughout the discussion, that violence and the preaching of it must not be permitted.

The point on which there has not been agreement is the right of Labor to choose its own union—the C.I.O. if it wishes. But who challenges that right to-day? The Conservative party concedes it. Newspapers which denied it have mostly abandoned their first attitude. Mr. Hepburn is sounding the retreat in his more recent speeches. And the unions affiliated with the C.I.O. are increasing their membership throughout Ontario.

APPENDIX III-D(v)

MAY 13 1937

TORONTO FINANCIAL POST

Date MAY 1 1937 .... 19....... Paper ....

Motor Strike Pact Decides Chief Issue In Company's Favor

But Strikers and Union Also Seem Satisfied

Settlement of the strike of General Motors workers at Oshawa appears to decide the chief issue of the strike officially in favor of the company, but satisfies for all practical purposes the strikers and the C. I. O. auto union in which they are enrolled.

Crux of the dispute was the company's refusal to negotiate or make an agreement with the C. I. O. or its agents, with the United Automobile Workers as either a local or international organization or with any "outside" agent not employed by the company. In this they were supported by Premier Hepburn of Ontario, who denounced the activities of "paid foreign agitators" to bring Canadian workers under the sway of "the labor dictatorship of Lewis and Communism."

Text of the agreement which ended the strike, and is the basis for settlement with General Motors employees in Windsor and St. Catharines, leaves the company unshaken from its refusal to make a deal with the C. I. O. or the union. At the same time, the employees and the union accept the agreement as the best that could be obtained under the circumstances, because it was made with a committee selected by and representing the union.

Status of Organizer

The unionists emphasize the point that one of the signatories was C. H. Millard, president of the union's Oshawa local and organizer for the auto union since just before the strike. To this, the company points out that he did not sign in behalf of the C. I. O. or the union, but as a member of a committee representing union employees. He appears in the records of the company as an employee on leave of absence.

Also on the text of the agreement appears the initialled "O K." of J. L. Cohen, Toronto lawyer retained by international headquarters of the union in Detroit. However, he was not a signatory to the pact, and is reported to have given an undertaking that neither he nor Millard Millard took part in the final negotiations as instructed representatives of the C. I. O. itself.

Prior to the concluding parleys, Homer Martin and Hugh Thompson, agents of the C. I. O. and United Automobile Workers, retreated to the United States to eliminate the "remote control" complained of by Premier Hepburn. They later claimed, however, that they exercised influence on the final settlement and that the basis of the settlement was arrived at in Detroit between Martin and officers of General Motors in the United States.

U. S. Pact Different

One marked difference between the Oshawa agreement and those made between the union and auto companies in the United States is that the signature of no official of either the C. I. O. or the international union appears on the Canadian document. The American agreements not only bore the signatures of officers of the U. A. W. but also of John L. Lewis, head of the C. I. O., below a sub-heading indicating that one party to the deal was the union.

The company's position is officially upheld by the agreement itself. The opening clause declares that the agreement is between General Motors of Canada and "the employees of the company at Oshawa." The concluding paragraph declares that the agreement, covering all employees in the Oshawa factory, is signed "by the union employees hereunder, who signed on behalf of themselves and their successors in office representing the employees of the company who are members of the local union."

Other references to the union also keep the company clear of an actual deal with the union itself. It is specifically declared, for instance, not that the agreement is in conformity with the pact between the union and the United States corporation, but that it is to run "concurrent with" that agreement. The Detroit agreement terminates June 11, but its effect carries into August.

Intimidation Forbidden

The Canadian settlement binds both the company and the union employees against discrimination or intimidation because of union activity or membership. Absent from the agreement is the shop steward system sought by the union, under which all grievances were to be dealt with through union shop stewards and union officers. The agreement provides instead that grievances must first be taken directly by the employees to the appropriate foreman and superintendent, and subsequently dealt with by the union shop committee only if the grievance remains unadjusted.

The wage increases and other benefits embodied in the pact had been largely agreed to by the company prior to the strike. These include a 44-hour instead of the present 50-hour week, hourly wage increases ranging from five to seven cents an hour, agreement to negotiate for establishment of basic minimum pay, and reduction of the complained of efficiency rate or "speed up." Weekly pay of the employees will be slightly reduced, even with the higher wage rates, because of the shorter working week, but this may be offset by the promise of time and a half pay for overtime work, and by whatever minimum wage basis is later agreed upon.

BACKGROUND TO THE FORD WINDSOR STRIKE: 1945.

The main issues of the September 12, 1945, strike centred around a demand for a "union shop" and "check-off" privileges which had been gained by Ford workers in the U.S. in 1941. However, there had been considerable tension between the parties in Windsor for some time.

In the past, workers had been dismissed for union organizing or related activities and the Ford plant had remained an open shop. Wallace Campbell, company president, had said that Ford would allow a "company union" in Windsor. The federal government intervened in 1941, declaring that the workers could vote for a company union or for representation by the UAW-CIO. In November, 1941, the workers accepted the latter to represent them and a contract was signed on January 15, 1942. As a result, the company and the workers continued to play a key role of producing materials for use in World War II.

However, difficulties still existed as the company would not regard the union and work stoppages occurred over the next two years. It should be noted that George Burt, Canadian Regional Director of UAW, and Roy England, President of Local 200, were both opposed to "wildcats".

Negotiations for a new contract began in 1944 and the company refused to implement the government approved plan of a week's vacation with pay. Court hearings supported the union but the company only agreed when legal action was threatened. After further disagreement, the Ontario Minister of Labour appointed Louis Fine as a "conciliation officer", on January 22, 1945. He reported back on March 28, declaring that agreement was impossible. The situation was becoming so serious that in April, Justice S.E. Richards, was appointed by Federal Labour Minister, Humphrey Mitchell, to investigate. Richards recommended that the present contract be maintained until the end of 1945 so that there could be a "cooling off" period. Mitchell then established a Conciliation Board with Justice G.B. O'Connor as Chairman. The Board was to deal with seven issues:

(a) A union shop;

(b) check-off privileges;

(c) two weeks vacation with pay;

(d) compensation for work on Sundays and statutory holidays;

(e) veterans' seniority;

(f) lay-off pay;

(g) non-reduction in take-home pay.

Meanwhile, Ford's announcement, in early September, to lay-off 1,656 men led to 90% support of strike vote. The workers did agree to wait until the Conciliation Report was received before actually taking strike action. The workers were determined to maintain the existence and strength of the union. However, the Conciliation Report of September 11, refused to recommend a union shop although it proposed a voluntary check-off during the life of the contract. On September 12, 1945, the Ford workers at Windsor were out on strike. Ford ordered the employees back to work or to face loss of their jobs.

UNIT: 3 ... KEY EVENTS

3(E) WINDSOR FORD STRIKE 1945.

CONTENT	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
1. Windsor Ford Strike: 1945 (a) Events: These can be determined from newspaper clippings. (b) Terms; Union shop, check-off, open shop, company union local, wildcats, conciliation, arbitrator. (c) Personalities: Wallace Campbell - Company President. George Burt - Canadian Regional Dir., UAW. Roy England - Pres. of Local 200. Humphrey Mitchell - Federal Minister of Labour. Louis Fine - Conciliation Officer. Art Reaume - Windsor Mayor. Justice Ivan C. Rand - Supreme Court of Canada, arbitrator. (d) Results: Rand Formula: This most important postwar decision that all	Students should read Appendix III - E(i) to establish the background to the strike. Some of the underlined terms may be familiar to students and can be used for review purposes. If not familiar, the terms can be defined at this point or definitions can be sought as research continues. The issues, particularly union security (union shop and check-off) could be clarified at this point or the teacher may wish students to do this themselves during their reading. Newspaper clippings, Appendices III-E(ii)to III-E(xv) should now be made available to students. The task will be to research the stand of the main personalities and to become familiar with the major events. It is important for the teacher to stress the importance of understanding the various points of view at Windsor and to comprehend why certain actions took place. Clippings should be duplicated whenever possible so each students or small groups of students will have their own packages. Students should now be assigned the role of the chief arbitrator and prepare in written form a final arbitration report. This report should reach a decision	- Newspaper clippings - On Strike I. Abella (ed.) Toronto: James, Lewis & Samuel, 1974. - Horowitz, G. Canadian Labour in Politics. Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1968. - Jamieson, G.M. Times of Trouble: Labour Unrest and Industrial Conflict in Canada. Privy Council Task Force on Labour Relations, Study #22, (Ottawa, 1968). - Houlahan, R. A History of Collective Bargaining in Local 200 UAW- M.A. Thesis University of Windsor, 1963.	To gather information from original sources. To be familiar with the events and personalities of the 1945 Windsor Strike. To be able to define terms associated with labour history. To synthesize a body of materia and to show understanding by arriving at a meaningful decision.

CONTENT	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
workers in the plant must pay dues since all benefit.	on the issues of the strike. Give reasons for these decisions and make any necessary recommendations.		To support a decision by offering a reasonable argument.
Rand did refuse to grant a union shop saying: "It would deny the individual Canadian the right to seek work and to work independent of persons associated with any organized group."	Some students could give their report, verbally, to the class and defend their decisions. This will give students a chance to compare reports and to more fully analyze the issues.		To further develop verbal and questioning skills.
The effect of this decision on the union movement should not be underestimated. Roy England said that as a result of check-off the Windsor Ford Plant was in effect a modified union shop.	Appendix III-E(xvi) can now be given to students. An opportunity to compare student reports and the Rand decision can be given.	Appendix III-E(xvi).	To be familiar with the terms of settlement.
The class can discuss the importance of solidarity as the workers faced the company, federal and provincial governments, O.P.P., and R.C.M.P.	Appendix III-E(xvii) can also be examined so students can see the Rand formula as it was applied in the contract.	Appendix III-E(xvii).	
	The teacher can allow students to assess the decision and to discuss the social and economic significances of the report. The class might discuss the statement that the Ford Strike: "Did more to put industrial unionism on its feet than any other single event." Refer to Oshawa Strike.		To analyze the significance of the Windsor Ford Strike.
	Certainly students should be familiar with the Rand Formula.		

CONTENT	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
	NOTE: There are enough newspaper clippings that teachers may wish to adopt other strategies and to pursue certain themes. It might be interesting to look at how the war affected industrial relations in war and what direction these took at the termination of the war. The issue of the responsibilities of management and of the workers to their country during wartime could be examined. The theme of "solidarity" and its importance to the workers during industrial disputes could be applicable.		

WE'LL WIN GOOD CONTRACT 17 FORD PICKET LINES SAY

By FREDERICK GRI[illegible]
Star Staff Corr[illegible]

Windsor, Nov. 8—Today the word [illegible] the For[illegible] in the 17 picket lines is: "We know we are going to get a goo[illegible]tract." I [illegible] what they base their faith, but that is th[illegible] they [illegible] repeatedly. The "contract" is the charter for which [illegible] have [illegible] for which they [illegible] hour [illegible] shuffle [illegible] these circu[illegible] they [illegible] gone so long without work or pay.

Behind Men All the Way

The women, the wives, have the same word as their men—the contract. "We are behind them all the way," said Mrs. Eva Swanson of Women's Auxiliary 264, in charge of making mountains of sandwiches. "We don't want them to go back unless they get a good contract. That's definite and positive."

As I was leaving her "kitchen" in Plant 1 sub office on Drouillard, she said: "Come back for our victory parade. If it takes another two months we'll still be here fighting."

Not that anyone thinks it will be anything like two months or even two weeks; the feeling in the picket lines is that a couple of days should see a settlement. Certainly, there is no tension evident. The picket lines continue shuffling, easy, almost casual.

Good Guys, Says Policeman

The blockade of cars is gone. In the mild bright November weather the men have almost a holiday aspect. At the main picket outside the administrative offices there is a single city policeman, smiling Constable Martin (Bud) Coxon of the local vice squad. He has been on duty here now for eight weeks, ever since the strike started.

"I was on the job here during the last strike at Ford's also," he said.

I asked him for his views of the strikers as he had seen them over this long period. "They're good guys," he said, "the plain average workingman. No, there's no trouble. They're not out for any trouble. They don't want any trouble at all. All they want is a good contract. All I know is, anything I've asked they have cooperated 100 per cent."

"It looks very peaceful and simple," I suggested. "Oh, you've got to use your head," said Bud, "but these are good guys and they're not looking for trouble. It's more a matter of human relations than anything else, getting along with them."

"How's their morale?" I asked this independent witness. "It's really high and no mistake," said the constable. "They're all in great spirits."

I had the same reaction from various strikers to whom I spoke around the loud speaker car. "How do you men feel about the disappearance of the automobile blockade, now that it's all gone?" I asked. "They served their purpose," came the reply. "Everyone is happy to see them go. We didn't want to lose public opinion. We're glad it worked out so well."

WE'LL WIN CONTRACT FORD PICKETS SAY

(Continued from Page One)

"I asked if there was tension among the men because of the seeming stall in the negotiations.

"Tension?" said big Hank Homuth. "I'll show you," and he put his mouth down to the loud speaker. "Is everybody happy?" he broadcast. "Yes," came a yell from the shuffling picketers. "Say so then," boomed Hank. "Sure we're happy," came the response.

Maybe not a convincing proof of happiness of certainty there was no hint of strain in any man's demeanor. "Them fellows ain't worrying about nothing," a little man assured confidentially.

Don't Find It Boring

"Isn't it a boring business, picketing?" I asked. "Walking round and round all day long?"

"Not, it's not boring, not any worse than working all day on a machine; not as bad," said big Hank, "and there's lots doing, square dances on the street, dances in the evenings uptown."

He gave me this assurance: "The boys don't want any trouble and they're looking for none. D'you know what I think at this point? If you sent all these pickets home and opened those Ford gates wide, no one would go inside. That's how tight we got things locked up."

At the women's kitchen on Drouillard there was the well-organized bustle of women making sandwiches, whether for strikers or soldiers or a Sunday school social. Mrs. Eva Swanson, in charge of the early morning shift from 6 to 10 o'clock, said that she was assisted by between six and 10 women and nine men. Mrs. Rebecca Bell, gray-haired and sweet-faced, lopped off bread slices with an electric machine as if she were running a lathe. Others in the assembly line spread butter and meat.

"In these four hours we feed from 800 to 1,200 men in the picket lines," said dark-eyed youthful Mrs. Swanson, whose husband was out there. "We've had much bigger picket lines since they brought in the mounties and provincials."

Dairies Donate Milk

She explained that all this bread, meat and butter was bought from strike funds, although considerable milk was donated by the local dairies which had also loaned milk cans for transporting coffee out to the picket lines. Four-hour shifts of women kept on pouring forth coffee and sandwiches from 6 a.m. to 1(p.m. and there was a smaller outflow through the night as well, for the men on watch at the Ford gates

I asked Mrs. Swanson how th families of the strikers were farin after eight weeks without pay envelopes. "We get vouchers," sh said. "I get one myself. We don' consider it relief. We consider i pay for our work in picket line an kitchen. No one is suffering an we have had no complaints of hunger. As for the rent, it can alway wait until we catch up."

"You think only of winning?" said.

"We have no thought of anything but the contract," she replied. "Positively and absolutely, a good contract; nothing else but."

III-E(iii)

Votes 8-5 To Stop Fuel And Food

Two Camps Argue Issue Bitterly

Effective at midnight tonight, all city relief aid in the form of food and fuel to striking Ford workers and plant employes forced out of work by the five-week old strike will be discontinued.

COUNCIL BACKS CONTROLER

City council in special session last night passed on that recommendation forwarded from a special meeting of board of control after it had been sponsored by Controler Mrs. Cameron H. Montrose and seconded by Controler James S. Gow.

The voting in support of the suppression of city-sponsored relief carried by an eight to five ratio.

Voting in favor of the discontinuation of relief to strike effected workers were Controlers Mrs. Montrose, Mr. Gow and Arthur L. Mason; Aldermen Miss Catharine M. Straith, John F. Martin, Ernest Davenport, Earl Mason and Albert Long.

Ballots against the recommendation were cast by Mayor Arthur J. Reaume, Controler Gordon B. Ellis, and Aldermen Thomas Brophey, Thomas Brannagan, and J. Al Kennedy.

Aldermen Don Brown and Herman Bradley were absent from this special session of council.

KENNEDY MOVE FAILS

This ballot followed the defeat of an amendment to the motion by Alderman Kennedy that Mrs. Montrose's recommendation, which had been passed by control board, be sent back to that body for reconsideration. Mr. Kennedy held that for a limited time the plan of feeding needy strike-effected families be continued. Alderman Brannagan supported the motion.

Voting for Alderman Kennedy's motion were Mayor Reaume, Controler Ellis and Aldermen Brophey, Brannagan and Kennedy.

Opponents to the motion, who carried the test by an eight to five majority, were Controlers Mrs. Montrose, Gow and Mason, and Aldermen Miss Straith, Mason, Martin, Davenport and Long.

The two ballotings concluded a bitter two-hour session in which council was split into two camps by the issue before the special meeting. Several times during the heated interchange of opinions expressions not pertinent to the recommendation before the meeting entered the clash of comment.

GAVE HELP FOR WEEK

Yesterday's special meetings of board of control and council were forced by the necessity of the situation. One week ago council agreed to forward relief aid to needy families for a period of one week. That period would have ended tonight midnight, and the special meetings were called to decide whether an extension would be granted or the relief discontinued.

Both board of control and council voted to stop relief to those effected by the strike at the Ford Motor Company plant here.

In supporting his contention that relief should be granted for an additional period, Mayor Reaume stated that council should contact the proper authorities at Toronto and Ottawa and put the question of strike relief up to them. He held that the City of Windsor should continue with its present relief plans until provincial and federal officials acted on his suggested proposition to them.

SUGGESTION OPPOSED

Controler Gow opposed this suggestion by the mayor, stating that if the city continued its relief of strikers that it will keep on doing it until its purse is empty, all the time receiving promises from both federal and provincial bodies that they would help in caring for the unemployed people in the strike area.

"If we say to the government 'we will do it and want you to share it' we will go on doing it until our purse

See COUNCIL—Page 4

Council

(Concluded from Page Three)

is empty—then they'll have to pay it anyway," Controler Gow pointed out.

Controler Mrs. Montrose and her supporters used this argument as the theme of their support for her motion. They held that both provincial and federal governments are as much responsible for the feeding of the needy strike families as the city of Windsor government is, and they should be taxed with an equal portion of the responsibility.

ACTION CALLED UNTIMELY

In his recommendation that Controler Mrs. Montrose's motion from control board be returned to control board for further consideration, Alderman Kennedy stated that "it would be very unfortunate if any change be made in the policy we adopted a week ago—that for a limited time those in dire need be fed."

"It is also unfortunate," he continued, "that on the very day that the employer and employe meet in a conciliation attempt that this limited program is threatened with being suspended."

After being assured by Mayor Reaume, that Alderman Kennedy's motion was in order, Alderman Brannagan moved in support of the motion.

GREAT INDUSTRIAL STRUGGLE

"The point is that Ford workers are engaged in the greatest industrial struggle in the country today," Alderman Brannagan opened his argument. "They are not fighting for themselves but for the working man and they are fighting all trust companies. If we decide to cut relief off it will mean that we are taking sides. We are telling women and children to go hungry.

"This strike is legal. Years ago the condition of the working people at the Ford Motor Company was nothing removed from serfdom. Three short years ago we *organized our* union there and for the last three and a half years the Ford Motor Company has done everything possible to prevent this legal trade union from functioning.

"In the past 18 months conditions there have been little better than they were 18 or 18 years ago. We want the right to work, decent wages and the chance to live as human beings. The Ford Motor Company in the last 18 months has done everything to make this impossible. If our people are to be starved into submission then those people will have to go back to working conditions which were terrible.

"If we (meaning council) make no more relief possible then we are saying to the Ford Motor Company and the people of this country that we don't give one damn about what happens to the people of this country. To me that is terrible. Let us forget our prejudices and the issues of the strike. Let us think of the men and women and return this recommendation to the board of control."

RESPONSIBILITY DISCUSSED

Controler Mason, who later sanctioned control board's action, stated that "I can't see why Windsor should pay for a situation which is of nation-wide importance." He added that although a very few had taken advantage of the relief opportunities during the past week, the relief rolls would grow each week as more strikers found their money dwindling away.

"There is no agency which will take care of the issue of feeding these people," Controler Ellis stated, "therefore the issue comes back to our doorstep. So we have to do what is right, decent and human. Whether we think it justified or not we cannot let these people go hungry. I predict if this motion is passed tonight that we will have to reverse our decisions in a day or two."

"I wish to take exception to what Controler Ellis just stated," Alderman Straith interjected. "He stated that there is no organization taking care of these people. First, the union has funds to take care of such a situation; and second, letters have gone out for voluntary donations to help the situation.

"I cannot see how we are justified in taking taxes from the taxpayer without his permission, and that is what we are doing by granting this relief."

SOME NON-UNION

In respect to Miss Straith's remarks Alderman Brannagan answered "We (meaning Local 200 U.A.W.-C.I.O.) take care of our own men as best we can. But there are men in the Ford factory who are not members of the union and we (meaning council) are concerned in them."

"I am not interested in trying to browbeat strikers by holding threats over their heads," Alderman Davenport broke in. "As far as the non-union man is concerned, if Local 200 is so concerned in seeing that a man eats, when he gets another job during the strike why is he taken off that job by the union's flying squad the day after he gets it?"

"Is that true, Mr. Davenport?" queried Mayor Reaume.

"That is not true," Alderman Brannagan protested.

"I ask Mr. Ellis if it is not true that I questioned a union head on the train and he did not deny that it was not true," Alderman Davenport replied.

"Yes, that is true," Controler Mason put in.

CITY'S POSITION

Changing back to the issue before the meeting, Alderman Davenport continued that "the city has no right to put itself right in the middle to pay the shot all the time. It is a precedent that I am opposed to."

"On different occasions I have heard mentioned that if we grant relief that we would be setting a precedent," Alderman Brophey broke in. "If we approve the motion of the control board we would be setting a precedent that we would be ashamed of. We would be tying the hands of the city welfare office in not giving food, fuel and medicine where vitally needed.

"One reason for supporting Alderman Kennedy's motion that impresses me is the need. Here in Windsor that has enjoyed prosperity in the past few years we should not scare at a few hundred dollars."

MEN TAKEN OFF JOBS

"I would like to explain to Alderman Davenport what was said about taking men off jobs," Alderman Brannagan stated, referring to his earlier exchange of words with Alderman Davenport. "I said that it was definitely untrue. We have, however, taken people such as bricklayers and carpenters off jobs where they were not being paid the proper pay."

"I was speaking to George Burt (regional director, U.A.W.-C.I.O.) on the train," Alderman Davenport retorted, "and his answer to me was this—men can get jobs outside the plant if they want to but they'll have to quit Fords and give up their seniority."

WOULD CONTACT OFFICIALS

Mayor Reaume interrupted this verbal tiff by dealing with his proposal of contacting provincial and federal officials in respect to relief for the families of the strikers.

"I think we should contact the provincial people first and put the question to them. I feel that the provincial government should make a pronouncement one way or the other on assuming a portion of the costs. We should first of all obtain the attitude of the officials regarding this situation before we do anything else."

He added that if the strike goes on for three or four weeks more, and if council passed the recommendation from control board, the council chambers would be filled with women and children and various organizations asking for help.

"I feel an honest attempt should be made by us here in some way to have the governments openly enumerate their policies on this situation before any action is taken." His Worship added.

STARVING FEARED

"As the mover of the motion I would like you to consider the man who is not in the union," Alderman Kennedy stated, as he returned to the discussion. "I can hardly believe that council will say in effect that the families of those not in the union should starve because of the strike."

"I think Mayor Reaume's idea on government aid is very poor," Alderman Brannagan commented. "If we can agree to retain this status quo until the government opinion is received—that is something."

"I don't want to see any great suffering," Controler Gow told council, "but many of these people who are now asking for strike relief have enjoyed good wages and prosperity during the past few years of war and sailed very close to the wind all the time. Are we as a city to undertake the burden of a swollen population?

"When we take this case to the government and say 'we'll do it and want you to share it,' we'll go on doing it until our purse is empty. Then they'll be paying for it anyway, so why not have them pay for a portion of it now?"

"PUBLIC OPINION"

At this juncture, Controler Mrs. Montrose raised a tempest among the "opposition" when she stated that "public opinion is against any strike aid."

"How many objections have you heard?" Alderman Brannagan asked.

"Hundreds," Mrs. Montrose replied.

"Hundreds?" interrogated Mayor Reaume.

"Yes—hundreds," Mrs. Montrose shot back firmly. And the controversy ended there.

After asking if there was any further comment on Alderman Kennedy's motion that the recommendation be referred back to the board of control, Mayor Reaume asked for a vote, which was lost. He then called for sanction or refusal of Mrs. Montrose's motion which had been approved earlier by board of control. It was approved and the meeting closed.

III-E(iv)

DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR

CANADA

CLIPPING BUREAU

SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES

Date OCT 9 - 1945 19........ Paper WINDSOR STAR

Factory Is Now Completely Closed

Lack of Lights, Heat, Power Is Major Fire Hazard to Property

Power house employes of the Ford Motor Company of Canada, Limited, joined the 10,000 striking production workers over the weekend, depriving the company's buildings and properties of light, heat and power. Security police, employed by the company, were barred early this morning, but are now permitted inside the plant.

FIRST TIME

However, for the first time in its history, the 245 acres of plant and property are almost immobilized insofar as heat, light, refrigeration and the more important factor of fire protection is concerned. The company generated all its own electric power and has no hook up with the Hydro for auxiliary power in case of emergency. Its vast power plant, large enough to supply a city the size of Windsor, was never permitted to shut down.

Shutting down of the power plant, it was stated this morning, means that the Ford factory cannot resume production operations for some weeks. Even though some settlement of the dispute were reached, it would still take a long time to get the plant back in operational condition, now that the power has been shut off and metals have cooled and other details affected.

The power house employes, most of them said to be members of Local 200, U.A.W.-C.I.O., which called the strike September 12, declared their willingness to join the strike about ten days ago. They were to come out when and if the Joint Policy Committee called them. The call came late Sunday night and the power plant has been dark since early Monday morning

Company officers, quartered in a downtown hotel and barred from their offices along with 1,000 office workers because of the continued picketing of the gates by union squads, had nothing to say for publication this morning. Civic authorities consulted agreed that the situation at the big plant was serious, however, because of the danger of fire which could only be fought effectively with the combined power of the company and city supply of water.

In case of fire breaking out, the supply of water now in the plant for fire fighting purposes would last only so long as it took the big gravity tanks to empty. These are reservoirs of water kept pumped to capacity all the time. They would not be adequate to fight a major fire outbreak.

MADE ARRANGEMENTS

"We have made arrangements to rush extra pumpers to the Ford plant in case of an alarm," city Fire Chief Clarence J. DeFields said this morning.

Security police, part of whose duty it is to watch for and report outbreaks of fire, were barred when they reported at Plant 2 this morning.

"Our pickets thought they were to let no one in at all," Robert Stacey, union picket captain, explained. "We did not mean that the guards should be kept out. The misunderstanding was soon ironed out and the police were admitted."

About 30 to 50 are reported to be employed in the power plant.

The strike, longest in the company's history, enters its fifth week tomorrow. Its effect has been to bring many appeals for financial assistance from families of workers.

At a special meeting of the council tonight, a board of control recommendation to aid the strikers' families comes up for ratification. The city, however, has made it clear that if it was asked to supply aid to any large number over a long period, its financial position will become threatened.

Assistance from unions in other parts of Canada continues to be pledged to Local 200. Among the latest are members of Local 241, Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, Timmins, and Local 641, U.A.W., Ottawa. In case of the Ottawa union, a seven-man committee is reported to be set up to canvass citizens of Ottawa in support of the Ford strikers.

A closed mass meeting of union employes held in the city market building Sunday discussed reports brought from Ottawa by George Burt, Canadian regional director of the U.A.W. Mr. Burt had gone to the capital to interest government officials in attempts at a settlement. Hon. Humphrey Mitchell, federal labor minister, has said he will confer with company and union, but only after the two have reached some common basis of approach.

FOOD SPOILING

Among other damage likely to follow a prolonged shutdown of the power house is the spoiling of food stored in the company's cafeteria. This is a dining-room service supplying a number of the officers of the company with lunch or in some instances used by those departments working overtime. It has a capacity of about 150 and food for this number is generally kept on hand, including meat. Refrigeration to preserve it is dependent upon the power house.

Telephone service into the plant was immediately affected by the power shutdown and telephone employes were permitted into the building Monday to make adjustments which would carry over the strike period. Presumably this was done by installing storage batteries.

At yesterday's meeting in the market building, Mr. Burt told the strikers that government was not carrying out its election pledges to enact adequate labor legislation. Private enterprise, "is on trial," the union leader explained. He said that Ottawa and Toronto were "passing the buck" to each other on the Ford strike.

Roy England, Local 200 president, criticised Hon. Paul Martin, secretary of state and member for Essex East. He recalled the good work done by Mr. Martin in previous Ford strike settlements.

"I regret the situation is now entirely different. Martin is not working in the same manner he did before," Mr. England charged.

Company offices today were opened in the Paramount Building where several accountancy department workers will take over a part of the office work interrupted by the strike.

A delegation from the Ontario Federation of Labor will present a brief calling for action in the Ford strike to Premier George A. Drew on Thursday morning. This will be followed by an executive meeting of the special Ford strike committee of the Canadian Congress of Labor in Toronto.

MAYOR REAUME

"Word has today reached me that approximately one ton of meat is stored in refrigerators of the Ford Motor Company," Mayor Arthur J. Reaume said today. "I immediately contacted the union officials and asked them if this was true, would it not be a fact that because of the closing down of the powerhouse, the meat might possibly spoil. I asked them if they would co-operate with the company in order that this meat might be moved elsewhere to prevent it from spoiling. The union officials have agreed."

At the same time, the mayor said he was sending a telegram to W. R. Campbell, president and general manager of the Ford Motor Company, advising him of the union position on the matter.

III-E(v)

Statement Issued By Police Boar

Following is the statement issued by the Windsor Police Commission this afternoon authorising police to escort Ford Motor plant guards through the picket line:

"EMERGENCY EXISTS"

"The Police Commission, after hearing both sides of the question, has decided that an emergency exists at the Ford plant which necessitates immediate action by our police force.

"The emergency consists in the stoppage by force of the entry into the plant of the company's plant protection staff of between 100 and 115 men except to the extent of five men only to whom the picket line would permit entry.

"The commission is satisfied that on the occasion of a continued frost much damage will be caused to both the plant and machinery of the company. There is also some danger of a gas explosion threatening damage not only to the company's property but also to the lives and dwellings of dwellers in the neighborhood of the gas container. For the guarding against this damage the company reasonably requires the admission to its plant of its plant protection staff for the purpose of, among other things, the operation of its power house plant which, in our opinion, is essential to the fire protection of both its plant and coal supply of over 50,000 tons.

MAKES COMPARISON

"If the men on strike were to gather around the plant with sledge hammers and torches to do the same damage that the frost will almost surely do, there would be no doubt of the existence of an emergency requiring immediate action without the prior proceeding of a charge being laid in court and the illegality of the act being determined by a court.

"We regard the situation that now exists as in essence the same.

"The commission has therefore given the chief of police the instructions set forth in the following resolution:

TAKE NEEDED STEPS

"Therefore, be it resolved, that the chief of police take all necessary steps that the one [illegible] fifteen members of [illegible] force referred to in [illegible] telegram dated Octo[illegible] afforded free ingress and [illegible] the company's premises [illegible] and that if it becomes ap[illegible] force would be necessary [illegible] purpose, that the [illegible] proper authorities th[illegible] insufficient for such purpose [illegible] forcing entry and that [illegible] assistance be given.

"Dated at the City of Wi[illegible] this second day of November, 194

III-E (vi)

Commission Gives Order To Take Guards Into Big Plant

Action Decided On By Board After Heated Debate Between Mayor Reaume, Judge Coughlin

Police intervention in the Ford strike, to escort security guards through the U.A.W.-C.I.O. picket lines, was ordered by the Windsor Police Commission an emergency session today.

The chief of police was instructed to provide men from his department to escort the company guards through the picket lines and, if he deemed it necessary, to call outside police aid.

Decision of the commission was announced at 12:45 p.m., following a short and stormy meeting of the commission during which Judge J. J. Coughlin, chairman of the commission, and Mayor Arthur J. Reaume engaged in frequent heated exchanges.

The resolution calling for police intervention was passed by Judge Coughlin and Magistrate A. W. MacMillan at a meeting which began at 9:15 a.m. and concluded an hour later. But the announcement of the decision was held up to allow Mayor Reaume, who had vigorously opposed the resolution, the opportunity to seek legal advice and to prepare a statement of his views which would be issued along with the commission's majority report.

HELD IN CAMERA

Though sessions of the commission, as were those of yesterday and the day before, were held in camera. Discussions today, however, became so loud at times that persons in the outer hall could hear the argument.

Argument became particularly heated at one juncture when the mayor tried to find out if other members of the police commission or the police chief had contacted Ontario Provincial Police with a view to getting outside help. The judge and magistrate declined to answer the mayor's question and advised the chief not to answer it, so that the meeting broke up with no statement on that point.

Mayor Reaume shouted that he felt he was entitled as mayor to ask the police chief a question and get an answer. Judge Coughlin replied that the chief must take his orders from the police commission.

I'M MAYOR

"I'm mayor of the City of Windsor, whether you like it or not, and I don't give a damn whether you like it or not," Mayor Reaume shouted at this point.

"Liar" was a word fired between the mayor and judge several times as the argument rumbled on.

Before this morning's meeting and before the mayor and judge had arrived, Magistrate MacMillan told the press that he had received unofficial word that the union at last night's meeting had rejected the proposal of Hon. Humphrey Mitchell, minister of labor, and had doubled its picket lines.

"FAT'S IN THE FIRE"

"That means," the magistrate said, "that the fat's in the fire."

When the meeting broke up at 10:15 a.m., Mayor Reaume went directly to the City Hall to consult with Lorne R. Cumming, city solicitor, about the mayor's power with respect to the police commission.

Mr. Cumming gave the mayor a written decision in which he stated that the police commission has full power to direct the police department and that the mayor would have to abide by the commission's decisions whether he agreed with the majority or not.

Mayor Reaume's statement declared that the company could have moved its guards into the plant by way of the river, where pickets had not been stationed. The request for an escort was really a subterfuge on the company's part, the mayor said, an effort to get the city police to aid the company in breaking the strike.

LEGAL OPINION

"In my view," Mr. Cumming advised the mayor, "the motive of the complainant in seeking to obtain police action rather than resorting to the civil courts are immaterial. The question is always one to be decided by the police commission in their discretion and regardless of your personal view of the wisdom of any decision with a view to the prevention of possible violence or other serious consequences, you are undoubtedly bound by the decision of the majority of the members of the commission."

Mayor Reaume, in his statement, declared that he was adhering to his original stand that if the company's civil rights were being violated they should apply to the civil courts for protection. The commission had taken this stand on several previous occasions, he recalled.

"As mayor and as a member of the commission," Mayor Reaume stated, "I oppose the provision of police protection. My reasons for taking this stand are based primarily upon a strong desire to prevent the outbreak of violence and bloodshed, which I am convinced may possibly arise as the result of any organized endeavor to break through the picket lines at the Ford Motor Company property."

Hundreds Join Lines

Rush To Plant In Flying Squad Cars

While the Windsor Police Commission debated the problem of whether to allow police to escort Ford security police into strikebound Ford Motor Company plant, picket lines at three gates swelled to some 1,500 with more on the way by early afternoon.

UNION TIPPED OFF

The U.A.W.-C.I.O. tipped off to the possibility of security police attempting to enter the plant, began reinforcing the picket lines at the main and middle gates of the Sandwich street power plant, and the main office. Biggest concentration of pickets was at the power plant main gate.

In a matter of an hour the line increased from a small, two-abreast line of less than 100 men, to an estimated 600 marching four abreast in that shuffling walk peculiar to picket lines.

FLYING SQUAD CARS

Flying squad cars of the U.A.W.-C.I.O. kept bringing in more picketers, including a few women; a union car with a public address system kept things lively with orders and [illegible] and union men marshalled cars and men to keep the street clear and the picket moving.

That trouble was expected if the police attempted to break through the lines was obvious and the union was prepared. Rocks the size of a man's fist, [illegible] signs of broken company [illegible] was ammunition dumped in the back of readily-available cars.

There was an air of tension. But by early afternoon that was all there was to it, just a slight case of jitters.

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Fail In Move To Get Men In Plant

One Officer Receives Black Eye In Skirmish in Front of Offices

City police led by Chief Constable Claude Renaud and Assistant Chief W. H. Neale, both in uniform, attempted to force their way into the main office of Ford Motor Company of Canada, Limited, but were thrown back by a greatly reinforced U.A.W.-C.I.O. picket line shortly before 3 p.m. today.

Weapons were not drawn on either side, and while a vigorous melee ensued for about five minutes, only physical damage was a black eye received by Constable Walter Hall of the city police. There was no sign of weapons in the hands of the picketers.

When the first attempt of the police to force a path into the offices was repulsed, Assistant Chief Neale and a constable retired to a police car where they filled their pockets with tear gas bombs.

However, Chief Renaud conferred with the assistant chief and the bombs were not used.

When asked what would be the next step, Assistant Chief Neale said he would report that they had met with resistance. He did not say to whom he would report, but as the chief was present, it was expected he would report to the police commission.

Within the "flying wedge" formed by the 15 polic officers were from 15 to 20 Ford Motor Company securit police. Apparently, it was proposed to force a wedge in th picket line to allow the security police throug.

RECEIVE TIP-OFF

Tip-off on where the police would attempt to force an entrance was given when the security police formed up in the parking lot across from the main Ford offices on Sandwich street.

Prior to this time, it was expected they would attempt an entrance into the powerhouse. Reinforced union picket lines indicated that the police assault was expected from that point.

However, when the Ford security police formed up in the vacant parking lot, the pickets moved over in front of the main offices.

"COME ON BOYS"

When the police arrived just before 3 p.m., they called over to the Ford security police and said: "Come on boys."

Then they moved against the picket line which was jammed solidly with men forming a solid mass in front of the main office doorway. No weapons were visible on either side.

The skirmish lasted about five minutes and ended with the police being forced back against the wall of the Ford laboratory on the south side of the street. The police were badly disheveled.

Before the police moved against the picket line there was no preliminary address or warning expressed by the chief constable. While the skirmish lasted, a union sound truck exhorted the pickets to force the police back.

The police constables were loudly "booed" by the pickets as they moved back from the scene of the skirmish and waited further instructions.

SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES

OCT 24 1945 19 Paper TORONTO TELEGRAM

ILLEGAL PICKETING CONTINUES UNCHECKED.

Federal officials desiring to enter the Ford plant at Windsor in the discharge of their duties have, it is stated, opened negotiations with the picketing strikers for permission to go through their lines. It is humiliating for the government to have to thus publish to the world the fact that its authority does not operate in Windsor except by permission of law breakers who have assumed to limit the rights of the public to pass quietly on their legitimate business.

The officials who want to enter the plant are members of the Unemployment Insurance Department staff, and they wish to do so in order to secure the insurance books of the employes so that they may determine what of the workers have been laid off, though not participating in the strike, as a result of the work stoppage by the strikers. Non-striking workers who thus lose their employment are entitled to benefits under unemployment insurance. Barring of the insurance officials by the picket lines would mean that workers who have been laid off would lose immediate payment of the benefits to which they are entitled.

It is obvious, in the interests of both workers and owners, that illegal picketing should stop. No assistance towards this end was given by Arthur Smith, K.C., Progressive Conservative member for Calgary, when he told the strikers that their mistake was in not calling a strike of the office staff and declared that if they did so their picketing of the offices would be legal. Mr. Smith's opinion of the law must be questioned.

It has been held by the courts that picketing is legal for the purpose of securing or imparting information. It is illegal when the picket lines beset a property for the purpose of denying freedom of ingress and egress. In the Windsor case the picket lines have placed the Ford plant in what Minister of Labor Mitchell has described as a state of siege. What Mr. Smith urges is that the siege be established beyond question.

Responsibility for enforcement of the law falls upon the Ontario government. So far as taking steps to enforce negotiations, Premier Drew has said that under the War Measures Act control in that regard is vested in the federal government. That may be the case, but the War Measures Act does not impede the Ontario government in taking such steps as may be necessary to bring picketing within bounds.

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SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES

Date NOV 3 - 1945 19

Paper WINNIPEG FREE PRESS

POLICE BEING RUSHED TO WINDSOR

Situation At Ford Plant Tense As New Hundreds Swell Picket Lines

Windsor, Ont., Nov. 3. (CP)—Eyewitnesses last night described scenes around the strike-bound Ford Motor Company of Canada as "more like a Mardi Gras than anything else" with picket lines swollen by hundreds of additional men and women in a "morale" demonstration following announcement provincial police and R.C.M.P. are being sent to Windsor. Observers said girls from Windsor plants not directly connected with the strike and even some milkmen were milling about the plant.

The big question among labour sources was whether all Windsor area plants in which the united automobile workers (C.I.O.) is organized would be closed to demonstrate union solidarity. The joint policy committee of U.A.W. local 195 was reported meeting to decide whether such action would be taken.

All through the night police cars filled with provincial police officers roared along a dozen different highways toward Windsor and similarly R.C.M.P. officers headed for the border city.

All Windsor tensely awaited the next development in the strike which yesterday witnessed the first open clash between pickets and police since U.A.W. local 200 called the strike Sept. 12.

Seek to Batter Way Into Plant

Acting on instructions from the city police commission, Chief Constable Claud Renaud led a squad of 15 policemen in an unsuccessful attempt to batter an opening in the closely-massed pickets so Ford security guards could enter the plant.

The police assault was directed at the main entrance to the office building against pickets estimated to number as many as 2,000. Moving in wedge formation with the security guards in their wake, the uniformed constables at first appeared to be making some headway.

But suddenly the mass of pickets seemed to erupt and expand and the police were jostled back to the opposite side of the street. After the five-minute skirmish, the security guards left the scene and most of the policemen left too.

The police commission's decision to order police to escort the security guards through the picket lines was taken in the face of strong opposition from Mayor Arthur Reaume, who was witness of the police-picket brush yesterday afternoon.

Commission Takes Action

The action was favored by Judge J. J. Coughlin, commission chairman, and Magistrate A. W. MacMillan and they passed a resolution on the question at a morning meeting yesterday. Announcement that the decision was to be carried out did not come until after a second meeting at the noon hour after the mayor had consulted the city solicitor as to his powers in connection with the police commission.

The solicitor, Lorne R. Cumming, said in a written opinion that the commission has full authority to direct the police force and that the mayor was bound by the decision of the majority. The mayor said in a statement that if the company's civil rights were violated it should [illegible] protect its rights in the civil [illegible]

R.C.M.P. Providing 125 Men

Ottawa, Nov. 3. (CP)—The Royal Canadian Mounted Police is providing approximately 125 men to assist Ontario provincial police in maintaining law and order at the Ford motor plant at Windsor, Ont., it was learned authoritatively here last night.

It was understood here the Ontario provincial force which Ontario Attorney-General Blackwell said in Toronto would go to Windsor also would total about 125 men.

The federal government had agreed previously to provide an R.C.M.P. detachment equal in numbers to that supplied by the provincial force if intervention in the Windsor area was necessary.

Officials said that in supplying the men the R.C.M.P. was performing its usual function of assisting provincial forces if they found they did not have enough men to handle a situation.

It was understood that the federal government regarded the Ford situation as "serious," but not serious enough to warrant the sending of troops into the area.

It also was stated there was no chance of the government taking over the Ford plant, as in the case of the packinghouse dispute. This step was taken in the packinghouse strike because it involved a commodity essential to the everyday life of Canadians and other United Nations overseas.

State of Emergency, Says Blackwell

Toronto, Nov. 3. (CP)—Attorney-General Leslie Blackwell of Ontario said last night it had been

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decided to send all available Ontario provincial police to Windsor, Ont., where 8,000 automotive workers of the Ford Motor company are on strike.

Mr. Blackwell, in his statement, said he believed that under the circumstances a state of emergency existed in Windsor.

The attorney-general gave two reasons for ordering government police to Windsor. They were:

1. The maintenance of law and order;
2. Protection of the Ford Motor company's property, destruction of which might cause loss of life.

In the latter connection it was felt that should a frost occur, much of the plant's equipment was liable to irreparable damage, and a large gas tank might explode with consequent loss of life and extensive property damage.

Mitchell Proposal Rejected

Ottawa, Nov. 3. (BUP) — The United Automobile Workers union has rejected his four-poin proposal to settle the seven-weeks-old strike at the Ford Motor company plant at Windsor, Labor Minister Humphrey Mitchell told parliament yesterday.

THE EVENING TELEGRAM ★

VOL. LXV., NO. 166 30 PAGES TORONTO, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 5, 1945 [illegible] PRICE THREE CENTS

PICKETS BARRICADE FORD

Ring Of Seized Vehicles Stretches For Half-Mile Pickets Threaten Drivers

Nearly 10,000 Workers From 28 Windsor Plants Join Strikers — Barricade Includes City and Greyhound Buses, One Police Car — No Police Near Plant

Windsor, Ont., Nov. 5—Threatening to overturn cars of passers-by, [illegible] pickets seized private automobiles to forge a cordon of steel around gates of the sprawling Ford Motor Co. plant today in anticipation of an attempt by 250 Provincial Police and RCMP to escort security guards into the plant.

Police estimated that some 2000 vehicles were jammed fender to fender for a half-mile along Sandwich street, Drouillard road and laneways leading to the river front. Most of the main travelled routes in the city's east end were tied up. It was reported a Windsor police cruiser was seized with the constable at the wheel and moved alongside of other vehicles.

Nearly 10,000 strikers had manned the picket barricade shortly before dawn, some of them women.

Today, tonight and tomorrow 15 other unions affiliated with the AFL and the Windsor and District Trades and Labor Council will hold meetings. They include transportation workers, building trades, railway brotherhoods and musicians and theatrical workers numbering about 6,500. About 10 Canadian Congress of Labor unions representing another 3,000 workers have meetings scheduled for tomorrow night.

The motor vehicle barricade extended some 300 yards in front of the main plant and company offices on Sandwich street. It started with cars of union members and grew during the morning as pickets on nearby streets directed private cars and trucks and buses into the snarl, threatening to overturn vehicles if the drivers refused to move into the jam.

DRIVER INJURED

One unidentified driver, an elderly man, suffered cuts about the head when he refused to obey an order to drive in to the barricade. Four youths wearing UAW buttons jumped on the running board, the windshield was broken and he was cut about the head, apparently by flying glass. He left his car in the barricade and disappeared in the crowd.

Pickets said the barricade would remain for some time, and a union sound truck advised owners of cars in the barricade to drain their radiators to prevent possible damage from frost overnight.

Included was every type of passenger car, at least eight Windsor city buses, two greyhound buses, and various-sized trucks, including one loaded with soft drinks.

Pickets patrolled nearby streets directing more and more cars into the hopeless snarl. Scores of business men driving to work were directed into the barricade.

The nearest policeman was a city constable well outside the area patrolled by pickets. He was on regular traffic duty. None of the police reserves who came here over the week-end were seen near the plant.

EARLY MOVE UNLIKELY

Tension mounted amid union grumbling at anticipated arrival on the strike scene of mounted police. Union spokesmen said the federal forces were expected "at any minute."

Mounted police officials would not comment, but unofficially it was learned no direct effort to break the picket lines was likely.

At Chatham Lt.-Col. E. M. Arnott denied that any plans were being made at No. 4 Infantry Training Battalion Centre to despatch soldiers to Windsor for guard duty in strike-bound areas. In Windsor there had been reports that a military force was to be sent there.

Fifteen drivers of the Windsor-Detroit tunnel bus service voted to strike but withheld action pending developments in the AFL trade union voting.

CLOSE 28 PLANTS

Pickets from Local 200 of the United Automobile Workers of America, who have patrolled the Ford plant entrances since they went on strike last Sept. 12, were joined today by workers from some 28 other Windsor plants in which UAW Local 195 called a sympathy strike this morning.

STRIKERS WEAR HELMETS

Some of the pickets wore helmets and at least one carried a respirator, apparently in preparation for possible use of tear gas.

In addition to the barricade at the main entrance, motor vehicles were jammed about the entrance to the power plant.

A union sound truck directed pickets where to place freshly-arrived vehicles. Passengers left the buses when they saw there was no hope of getting through. Some of the bus drivers remained in their seats. One bus was a Tecumseh-Windsor bus bringing persons to work here.

Doctors' cars, bakery and other food trucks and cars bearing American licenses were waved on and were not directed into the barricade.

Cheers greeted members of Local 195 when they moved up to take their places on the lines. A union brass band played, its first number being "Rule Britannia" and its second, "Solidarity Forever," the UAW song.

Only small forces of pickets were on duty at the 28 plants in which Local 195 called strikes.

THOUSANDS LATE FOR WORK

Thousands of workers using the regular transportation system in Windsor were late for work and hundreds were seen foot-slogging their way along the main streets.

And while this traffic jam was caused, George Burt, Canadian president of the UAW-CIO, told the strikers that, "We will light a fire here that will stretch from coast to coast."

This he announced over a public address system, at the scene of the strike as he urged picketers to maintain the picket line.

"We will show Wallace Campbell (president of Ford Motor Co. of Canada) and all other industrial companies where they will get off at. It is regrettable that after five and one half years of war we must now fight at home," he said.

Burt wired leaders of opposition parties in the House of Commons to unite in opposing the use of police in connection with the Ford strike. Wires were sent to John Bracken, Progressive Conservative; M. J. Coldwell, C.C.F.; Solon Low, Social Credit; Fred Rose, Labor-Progressive.

Veteran unionists from Kirkland Lake and UAW-CIO plants in Detroit are augmenting the picket lines to-day while at the scene on duty are members of the St. John's Ambulance Corps of Windsor.

8,500 STRIKE IN SYMPATHY

Ranks of strikers in the Windsor area have been swollen to 18,500 with the decision of 8,500 members of Local 195 UAW to walk out in sympathy with the Ford strikers.

The sympathy strike, decided on yesterday, closes 28 other Windsor plants including those of the Chrysler Corporation of Canada, Ltd., Canadian Industries Ltd., Auto Specialties, Gar Wood, Kelsey Wheel, Gotfredson and Truscon Steel. The three Chrysler plants are the largest of those affected after Ford. They employ 3,000 men.

Previously the international executive board of the UAW in Detroit had refused consent that Local 195 members be allowed to strike and at Nanaimo, B.C., Alex MacArthur, chairman of the advisory committee for the striking Windsor workers, said it was not the policy of the international union to have Local 195 come out in support of Local 200.

"But," he added, "I suppose the

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House Told Windsor Fire Hazard Might Affect All Canada

Labor Minister Mitchell flew yesterday to Windsor, Ont., to make another attempt to settle the Ford left requests came from both sides of the Commons for appointment of a government controller to take charge of the plant.

Clarence Gillis (CCF-Cape Breton South), Lt.-Col. David Croll (L-Toronto Spadina), former mayor of Windsor, and Angus MacInnis (CCF-Vancouver East) were among those demanding appointment of a controller to bring the company and employers together for discussions before trouble occurred.

Minister Departs.

They made their requests after Mr. Mitchell left his Commons seat for his trip with the request that no one say anything that might make his already "difficult task more difficult."

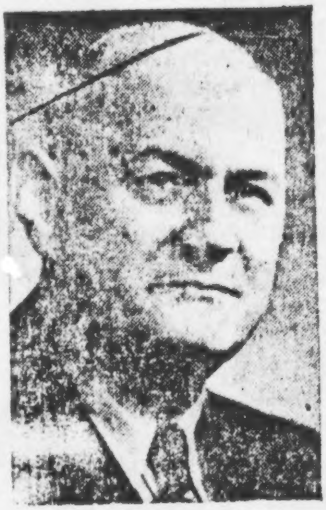
The decision to send Mr. Mitchell to Windsor was announced by Finance Minister Ilsley, acting Prime Minister, who said Premier George Drew of Ontario had requested that a minister of his government and one of the federal government go to the strike to attempt a settlement.

Mr. Ilsley also told how the Ontario government had asked that the Dominion assure support to provincial forces sent to Windsor to maintain law and order. The federal government had agreed to send a detachment of Royal Canadian Mounted Police solely in the interests of maintaining law and order.

Fire Hazards.

He outlined the danger of the fire hazards at the plant, reading letters in which the Canadian Underwriters' Association called on the province to take steps to remove the hazards resulting from the strike. Insurance on the plant amounted to $35,000,000.

Accompanying Mr. Mitchell to Windsor were his secretary, George Greene, and J. S. McCullagh, assistant director of the industrial relations branch of the Labor Department. It was expected they would be joined there by Leslie Blackwell, Ontario attorney-general.



Labor Minister Mitchell

Mr. Gillis first sought to have the House adjourn to discuss the Ford strike. Speaker Gaspard Fauteux suggested the matter could be brought up at a later time when the House resumed study of air force estimates.

Fears Spreading.

"I am concerned about this matter spreading across the country, perhaps within 48 hours," said Mr. Gillis. "If there is a clash on the picket line and some one is hurt in Windsor, you are liable to have a stand right from Vancouver to Louisburg.

"I am telling you that organized labor in this country recognizes that the Ford strike is not merely a struggle on the part of the Ford workers for union security or for a slight increase in wages, it is the official demonstration on the part of industry in this province to smash the unions and trade union agreements.

"They are not going to sit idly by and see that take place in Windsor because they recognize it as the initial wedge being driven in, action that will be followed throughout the country.

"We ask the government to take some immediate action, to accept some responsibility, to send some one in there with authority who could take charge of that plant and get them back to work."

Mr. Gillis said the Ontario government had not sufficient labor legislation to meet the situation. This brought from Don Fleming (PC-Toronto Eglinton) the statement that Ontario had the best labor legislation of any province.

Col. Croll said something should be done immediately to bring the two parties together. The company and the union had turned down the government's proposal for the appointment of an umpire to decide on contentious questions.

To avoid bloodshed—barricades were being thrown up around the plant—he urged that the government appoint a controller immediately.

"We don't want winners or losers in this strike. All we want is civil justice."

He urged establishment of conciliation machinery that would serve as part of the employment and National Selective Service offices, and that such machinery be handled by the topnotch conciliators in the country.

Mr. MacInnis said the responsibility of bringing the parties together was mainly that of the federal government. The federal Labor Department did have sufficient power to have kept the parties conciliating before the strike was called.

He felt the Labor Department should insist that the company enter into an agreement with the employers. Mr. Mitchell said he could not take sides. That was true, but there were three parties in the dispute, industry, labor and the con-

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ier.

Mr. MacInnis said instead of joining with employers in moves to reduce wages the government should remember that wages were frozen during the war. It should seek to maintain wages and raise them in the lower levels.

Above all it should see that compulsory collective bargaining legislation and compulsory union security legislation was provided either by the federal authority or in co-operation with the provinces.

Need for Trained Men.

There was a need for trained men as chairmen of conciliation and arbitration boards. Mr. MacInnis said C. P. McTague (former judge and chairman of the National War Labor Board) was an excellent chairman and he was sorry Mr. McTague left a position for which he "was well fitted to enter politics for which he was not so well fitted."

If there was going to be industrial peace action along these lines would have to be taken. The workers had enjoyed the security of full employment during the war. They now were entering a period where increasing numbers were facing permanent unemployment. They wanted some security.

Define Responsibility.

John Blackmore (SC-Lethbridge) said the responsibility for the situation should be defined. The Ontario government held the Dominion responsible. The Dominion held the province responsible. Labor Minister Mitchell had followed a "vacillating policy." He had not declared whether or not the Dominion government favored union security.

Mr. Blackmore did not believe the provinces should give up their rights to legislate on labor matters. The province of Ontario should enact union security legislation. If the Ontario government recognized the right of the Dominion to deal with the matter the Dominion government should pass an order-in-council providing uion security.

"Unwarranted Reflection."

Mr. Fleming said gross misstatements of fact had been made in the debate. In references to Premier Drew, Mr. Gillis had "cast a most unwarranted reflection on a very honorable man." Inflammatory statements had been made, even in the face of a most difficult situation.

"It ill becomes any member to indulge in inflammatory references such as we heard from the member for Cape Breton South," he said.

In saying the Windsor situation could not occur in any other province Mr. Gillis either spoke without knowledge or without care.

"Ontario has the best labor legislation of all the provinces of Canada," said Mr. Fleming.

The main drive for the National Labor code had come from the present Ontario government. Had Ontario's views prevailed in 1943 the code would have applied to all industries and would have been made permanent.

Reads Letters.

Mr. Ilsley said that in the case of a request by provincial authorities for the dispatch of additional police in a matter of this kind it was not the usual practice for the federal government "to look beyond the provincial request."

He then read copies of letters from J. J. O'Brien, manager of the Canadian Underwriters' Association, to Mr. Justice St. Laurent and to Attoney General Blackwell of Ontario, stating that if protection was not given immediately a fire loss of "calamitous" proportions would readily occur.

Mr. O'Brien said the association felt steps should be taken to ensure that maintenance men who could reinstate the fire-fighting equipment and all other protective equipment should immediately be allowed to return to the plant.

He added:

"It might be well to note that a continuation of the present situation in this and possibly in other plants under similar circumstances would lead to disruption of the present insurance rate structure and consequential heavy imposts upon the premium paying public of Canada."

Mr. Ilsley also read a statement from the federal supervisor of insurance supporting the Underwriters' Association in its contention that a fire hazard existed.

John Bracken, Progressive Conservative leader, said the House and the public would be pleased to know that the police action taken was not for the purpose of taking sides in the dispute but for the protection of life and property and the maintenance of law and order.

When the House went into committee on the war and demobilization bill, Mr. Gillis turned the discussion back to the Ford dispute and placed the blame for the seriousness of the situation on the Ontario government.

The unions of Ontario were new but in other provinces, particularly in Nova Scotia, the unions had been through the same battle before and would rally to the support of the Ford workers financially and morally.

Mr. Drew is prepared to promote civil strife in Windsor," said Mr. Gillis.

No matter what might be said the intervention of the police was on the side of the employer.

If there was trouble human life would be in danger and that was more important than $35,000,000 insurance.

Unless the government was prepared to appoint a controller it should let the status quo prevail. The thing now had reached the stage where men were no longer reasonable. There was little use in ministers going to Windsor because they could talk to no one. They should have gone weeks ago.

Situation at Plant.

The text of part of Mr. Ilsley's statement to the House follows:

I (Mr. Ilsley) asked the superintendent of insurance to make further inquiries today to find whether the situation had changed and to bring the report on the situation down to date. He made inquiries, I think of the Canadian Underwriters' Association, and as a result had sent me a memorandum which reads in part as follows:

"Strike conditions have greatly increased the liability of the property to damage by fire.

Two elevated gravity tanks, the company's private water supply, and the yard hydrants are out of commission.

"The entire plant is without protection except such as the Windsor brigade can afford but the distance from city water is so great and the mains are so small for a plant of this size that it is almost useless.

"The only protection at the present time is from extinguishers but there is no heat on in the plant so that these are in danger of freezing and will have to be drained soon. All hand hose connections are now useless; there is no heat, light, power or domestic water in the plant.

"The electrical alarms are all our of commission; the normal staff required to maintain protection in the plant is about 40 men per shift, or 125 men in all, and this has now been reduced to one supervisor and four men.

"The plant's fire department and patrol cars are out of commission. A big coal handling bridge is in danger from a pile of burning coal and heat may buckle the bridge. The bridge is insured but the burning coal is not insured.

"A gas reservoir with a capacity of 500,000 cubic feet is water sealed and is now without any heat to prevent freezing; freezing may rupture the sides and allow the gas to escape."

I might also inform the House that perhaps something could be accomplished in the settlement of this dispute if a minister of this government would accompany a minister of his government to Windsor and see whether something could be done. I suggested that the premier of Ontario support his telephonic request by a telegram and I understand that a telegram came in after I entered the chamber which I have not had an oporutnity of seeing. If the premier of Ontario in his telegram makes a request in accord with the request he made by telephone, this government will be prepared to have the minister of labor accompany a minister from the Ontario government to Windsor to see whether anything can be done, even at this stage, to settle this dispute

Adjournment Motion.

Earlier, the motion for adjournment was made by Clarence Gillis who said "immediate action" was necessary for the formulation of a policy to prevent "civil strife" in the Windsor area, scene of violence last Friday when police attempted to break through a picket line and enter the big plant.

Speaker Fauteux ruled the matter was not of "urgent importance within the rules of the House" because later in the day the House could discuss the same matter in committee of the whole on the war and demobilization expenditure bill

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35, NO. 56 28 PAGES IN TWO SECTIONS WINDSOR, ONTARIO, CANADA, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 7, 1945 TELEPHONE 4-1111 THREE CENTS

BARRICADES AT FORD PLANT ARE REMOVED BY STRIKERS

Traffic Moves On Sandwich Street

Police, Car Owners Help Union In Untangling Jam of Vehicles

The massed exodus of approximately 1,500 cars, trucks and buses which have jammed Sandwich street and Drouillard road in the vicinity of the Ford Motor Company started early this morning and by noon traffic was snaking its way along Sandwich street for the first time since Monday mornidg.

Instructed by union leaders to break up their automotive blockade, picketers regretfully allowed the owners of cars and trucks to start removing their vehicles from the labyrinth about 9 o'clock this morning.

By noon single lines of traffic were managing to travel at snail-pace through dozens of cars and trucks still parked in crazy quilt fashion along Sandwich street.

S.W. and A. officials hope to have such regular runs as the Tecumseh and Lauzon buses back on schedule this afternoon. The Lauzon service has been considerably curtailed since the traffic blockade two days ago, and the Tecumseh buses have been rerouted away from this greatest traffic congestion in Windsor's history.

A huge jam of cars had been packed into a half mile of the street since Monday and numbered close to 1,800. They comprised privately owned passenger vehicles, trucks and buses. Their owners are scattered across the city. Many of the cars are locked and have to be left where they stand while the others are moved around them.

Union members and city police are facing a two-day task in extricating some cars and restoring them to the proper owners. Before a car is surrendered, the driver is required to sign a card agreeing that the car is restored in good condition. Any refusing to sign do not get their cars.

The blockade, justified by the union on the grounds that it prevented "bloodshed" by barring police action, can be compared to a huge log jam with hundreds of "kingpin" cars or trucks delaying the job.

Union leaders, pleading almost desperately with the pickets, finally restored a measure of control and the majority of the several thousand pickets, assisted by city police, began work on the cars.

BURT GETS RESULTS

It took the combined efforts of several leaders to get the cars moving. A personal visit to the picket lines by George Burt, Canadian regional director, finally brought results.

"We must maintain public sympathy," he told the strikers. "As yet there is no assurance that Provincial Police will not be used. But unless the barricade is removed, the Canadian Army will be called in."

This forthright warning and the appearance in the city yesterday of Hon. Humphrey Mitchell, federal minister of labor; Hon. Leslie E. Blackwell, Ontario attorney-general has had the effect of greatly settling the turbulent situation that existed Monday.

"TREMENDOUS EFFECT"

An address yesterday by Mayor Arthur J. Reaume to the union's Joint Policy Committee, also was reported by union leaders to have had a "tremendous effect" on the behavior of the pickets.

1945
Local 200
Strike

Acts After Rejecting Offer By Firm; Mitchell Leaves

Labor Minister Abandons Effort To Conciliate Dispute Here; Will Report to Cabinet

Hon. Humphrey Mitchell, Canada's minister of labor, has returned to Ottawa to make a full report to the Dominion cabinet on his efforts to settle the strike at the Ford Motor Company of Canada, Limited.

Local 200, U.A.W.-C.I.O., has issued a call to all unions in Canada to participate in a one-day strike in support of the Ford of Canada workers, following rejection of a proposal by the company to arbitrate.

International officers of the U.A.W., and national leaders of Canadian unions including George Addes, U.A.W. secretary-treasurer; Pat Conroy, C.C.L., secretary-treasurer; C. H. Millard, national director of the steelworkers and C. S. Jackson, national director of the electrical workers, will meet here this afternoon at 4 p.m. to discuss the proposed national strike.

MITCHELL WILL NOT RETURN

Mr. Mitchell announced that he has no plans for returning to Windsor. This is taken to mean that all hope of mediating the 60-day strike which has 20,000 idle in this area, has been abandoned.

The minister's departure climaxed an ominous 24 hours which has brought Windsor face to face with the gravest situation in its industrial history.

A mass meeting of all union labor in the Windsor area has been called for 7 o'clock tomorrow night in the City Market Building at which strike action in this area will be discussed.

BLACKWELL GOES TO TORONTO

Hon. Leslie E. Blackwell, Ontario attorney-general, [illegible]ho has been with Mr. Mitchell throughout the past week in Windsor, also has returned to Toronto.

The departure of the ministers followed the flat refusal last night of a set of company proposals for settlement of the strike by arbitration. The union's negotiating committee first rejected them then the larger and more representative Joint Policy Committee endorsed that position and asked for the one-day sympathy strike.

Mr. Mitchell's departure for Ottawa was by his private plane which brought him here last Monday and which has been standing by at the Windsor Airport. In his week of effort here, the bluff and tireless minister has exhausted every means he could think of to bring peace in the dispute. For the first time in a Ford of Canada labor disturbance, the advice and counsel of Henry Ford II, the head of the United States company was sought by a minister of the Crown.

CABINET IN DIFFICULT POSITION

Ottawa reports indicate that the Canadian cabinet is now in a difficult position with respect to the strike. Having sought to gain a change of policy with the company and succeeding in obtaining the offer of arbitration proceedings, Mr. Mitchell believed there was some hope of acceptance or exchange of proposals by the union. With the flat refusal of the union, the situation has changed and the union and not the company now appears to be the chief obstacle to further steps toward a settlement.

While this may not prevent direct action by the government, it may influence the nature of whatever action is taken.

ASKS ARBITRATION BY JUDGE

The company's offer is that all points be arbitrated before an Ontario Supreme Court judge, except those which properly come under the jurisdiction of regional and national war labor boards.

This would mean, if accepted by the union, that the point of union security would be decided by the judge but that all matters pertaining to remuneration, such as over-[illegible]me pay, vacations with pay and so forth, would be dealt [illegible]th under the Wage Control Order of the War Measures Act, still in effect.

The union's stand is that it will not bargain until union security is granted.

"We want the same union security that is granted Ford workers in the United States," Roy England, president of Local 200 said: "We are willing to submit all other points in dispute to arbitration."

MOSHER WIRES BLACKWELL

The Star learned yesterday from A. R. Mosher, president of the Canadian Congress of Labor from his office in Ottawa, that he had wired Hon. Leslie E. Blackwell, Ontario attorney-general as follows:

"Many thousands of organized workers in Ontario and thousands of others throughout Canada are in an angry mood because of the presence of provincial police in Windsor.

"Whether or not an early settlement of the Ford strike can be achieved, it is urged that provincial police be withdrawn immediately to relieve the growing resentment and permit constructive forces to function more effectively in an effort to settle the strike and achieve industrial peace."

Mr. Mosher warned, however, that no one in the C.C.L. has the authority to call its affiliate members out on strike. The affiliated unions, he indicated, are masters of themselves.

In the A.F. of L. unions there is also evidence of growing sympathy for the Ford workers and some affiliates of this body such as the street railwaymen in Windsor have already signified their willingness to join a strike in support of the Ford workers.

NO REPLIES YET RECEIVED

There were no responses to the latest demand for a one-day stoppage as the request has not had time to receive study by unions across Canada. In a few instances, one-day strikes already have been staged in support of the Windsor workers.

YESTERDAY'S DEVELOPMENTS

Yesterday's events took the following course:

Shortly after 12 noon, a telephone message was received from Henry Ford II. It was relayed to Mr. Mitchell by Wallace H. Clark, company personnel manager. Just before 3 o'clock Mr. Mitchell, accompanied by Mr. Blackwell, J. S. McCullagh, federal conciliation officer and O. G. Greene, the labor minister's secretary left the minister s suite in the Prince Edward Hotel.

They went next door to the Canada Building to the office of the company's solicitor, John B. Aylesworth, K.C., where they met with company officers.

Within an hour there came, without any advance notice, the company's mimeographed announcement of proposals they were making for a settlement. It was the first official press release the company has issued since the strike began almost two months ago. Leaving the Canada Building office, Mr. Mitchell announced to reporters that he was now going to see the union. Within half an hour he presented the company's offer and within another hour it was rejected by Local 200's negotiating committee with the flat assertion that they were standing pat on their demand for union security.

Almost at the same time as the company offer was released the union also released a statement in which it emphasized union security as a prerequisite to any negotiation offer. While the two statements were released almost simultaneously they were the result of long preparation by each of the parties and neither party knew beforehand the contents of the others announcement.

The company's statement follows:

In an anxiety to avoid, if possible, the grave danger of bloodshed inherent in the present strike and picketing situation and also with the desire to get into large scale production of new cars and trucks and afford employment in its Windsor plants at the earliest possible moment, the company submits the following proposal as a solution to the existing difficulty:

1. The union immediately to discontinue all picketing of the company's premises and at once to co-operate with the company in putting the powerhouse back in operation.

2. The company as quickly as possible to prepare its plants for resumption of work.

3. The company to return its employes to work as quickly as possible and without discrimination.

4. The company and the union to submit the points in dispute between them concerning a new collective bargaining agreement to an arbitrator to be appointed by the Minister of Labor for Canada from among the Judges of the Supreme Court of Ontario whose decision upon the points in dispute and with respect to the wording in any particular of the agreement to be negotiated to be final and binding upon the company and the union—save that all matters over which the Regional War Labor Board for Ontario or the National War Labor Board has jurisdiction shall not be decided by or before said Arbitrator.

5. Pending the conclusion of the new agreement to be negotiated as above provided, the collective bargaining arrangements pertaining to the company's Windsor plants to be the same as those in effect on 12th September, 1945.

6. This proposal shall cease to be binding upon the com-

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n-Wide Strike Urged

(Concluded from Page One)

ay at midnight on Monday the 12th day of November, 1945, unless acceptance thereof by the union is communicated to the company prior thereto.

FORD MOTOR COMPANY OF CANADA, LIMITED,
(Signed) D. B. GREIG,

COMMITTEE RECEIVES TERMS

The negotiating committee of the union received these terms in a room set aside for them at the Prince Edward Hotel. They were left alone to discuss them after a brief talk by the minister.

"We are standing pat on our original demand for union security," Mr. Burt said, as he emerged from the meeting, an hour later.

"We will submit our recommendation to a meeting of the policy committee tonight and recommend that it be accepted by them. The only proposal which we deem reasonable is one guaranteeing to the union the features of union shop and check-off. The decision of our negotiating committee on this was unanimous."

The faces of the committee members were grim as they came from the meeting at which the company's proposals were discussed. Each in turn nodded emphasis to the statements given to the reporters by Mr. Burt. There seemed to be no dissent from the forthright rejection of the company's offer.

"We don't think it will be necessary to place our recommendation before a mass meeting of the rank and file. The men on the picket lines these past weeks know the basis on which we will agree to negotiate. That basis is union security and it is union security we want."

BELIEVE OFFER APPROVED

"Did the company's offer have the approval of the minister? (Mr. Mitchell)," a reporter asked.

"We don't know that but we suspect it had his blessing," Mr. Burt answered.

"We expect to see the minister and convey our report to him before we go before the negotiating committee tonight," Mr. Burt added.

"Does this mean that we will have other strikes by unions who have taken strike votes?" he was asked.

"A lot of them are ready to back us up. We don't want more strikes but we may need the backing of other unions in this matter," he answered.

"Would you say that the union and the company are now as far apart as ever on agreement?" he was asked.

"Yes, I would say so."

BRIEF STATEMENT BY MITCHELL

Following Mr. Burt's statement, Mr. Mitchell met the press at 8:45. He made the following brief statement:

"After a long and earnest discussion with Mr. Burt and Mr. England, they want the opportunity to consult with the ranking officers of the U.A.W.-C.C.L. unions."

Mr. Mitchell said he would remain available to the union for the rest of the evening if they wished to confer with him further.

He emphatically denied the truth of a report from Ottawa broadcast without any explanation, that the strike in Windsor had been settled. The same network which broadcast the statement acknowledged within a short time that it was not true.

It was evident that the "long and earnest" talk had produced no change in the union's attitude, explicitly set forth in their statement of the afternoon and reading as follows:

"The following is the union formula to settle the dispute:

"The company intimated several days ago that it would accept any reasonable proposal.

"It is understood that Mr. Henry Ford II, who is now taking an interest in the matter, will see to it that the branch of the Ford empire here bargains in good faith with the union.

"The union would like to know if bargaining in good faith means the same in Canada as in the United States, particularly with respect to union security? When the Ford Motor Company bargained in good faith in the United States it agreed to give union security.

"In order that the powerhouse cannot be used as an excuse for refusal to bargain in good faith, the negotiating committee is prepared to recommend that as soon as assurance is given of union security to the Ford workers here to the same degree as it is granted to their fellow-workers in the American parent company, that the powerhouse be opened and the office workers allowed in.

"With respect to other demands, the union is prepared to recommend that negotiations proceed after the issue of union security is resolved.

"We are also disturbed at reports concerning the introduction of compulsory arbitration measures. Labor is opposed to this both in Canada and United States.

"Members of the National C.C.L. Ford Committee who are here to report to its affiliates throughout Canada, have been informed and are in accord with this proposal.

"GEORGE BURT."

16-Year-Old Veteran Wants Youths Drafted

PITTSBURG, Calif. — Here's one veteran who thinks a year's compulsory military training would be good for youths. Pte. John M. Nolan, Jr., of Cedar Lake, Ind., says: "I believe it would teach the youth to be self-reliant and teach them how to work, besides giving the nation additional protection during times of emergency."

Nolan, 16 years old, is about to be discharged from the army because he is under age.

Durham Will Repair Library Building

DURHAM.—At the town council meeting this week a delegation from the Library Board sought a furthe grant for repairing and decorati the library building. The council vo $250 for this purpose.

The council accepted with re the resignation of Constable M dcnt, owing to ill health.

Council voted that $30,000 be put into the Victory Loan.

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FORD REOPENS POWER PLANT

Calls Employes Back to Work

Move Made After Union Assures Men Won't Be Pulled Out Again

Powerhouse employes of the Ford Motor Company of Canada, Limited, were called back to work at 1 o'clock this afternoon, following discussion of reopening of the power-house by company and union officials. It had been closed since October 7 and the advent of freezing weather offered the threat of serious damage to the entire Ford plant which is at present without heat.

Eighteen power plant employes entered the plant shortly after 1 o'clock. Each carried a slip from union headquarters authorizing him to return to work. These slips admitted them through the picket line.

The Ford company, in a statement released shortly before noon, announced the reopening of the power plant, the statement declaring that the union had given assurances that the power plant, once reopened, would not be closed again by the union calling out the workers there.

Shortly after the company statement was made public, a statement was issued under the signature of Roy England, president of Local 200 (the Ford local), and Thomas MacLean, assistant regional director of the U.A.W.-C.I.O., saying that the union was "glad that the company has finally agreed to open the powerhouse following the offer made by us some days ago without reservations."

COMPANY STATEMENT

"Following a statement by the union, and discussion with union officers, the company is taking immediate steps to reopen the powerhouse serving its Windsor plants.

"In reply to the union's recent proposal that the powerhouse be reopened, the company made the point that it must have assurance that the powerhouse, once reopened, would not be closed again through union action.

"The union has stated publicly that its offer to reopen the powerhouse "stands without reservations." Following that public statement, the company made contact with Thomas MacLean, assistant regional director U.A.W.-C.I.O., and Roy England, president of Local 200. Those officers said that the union is anxious that the powerhouse be reopened so that the plants may be protected and future jobs shall not be endangered through possible damage to equipment.

"The company accepts these statements as assurance from the union that the powerhouse, once reopened, will not be closed again through action by the union.

"Accordingly, company executives and union officers have arranged that the powerhouse employes needed to place the powerhouse in operation shall report for work immediately."

UNION STATEMENT

"We are glad that the company has finally accepted its responsibility and agreed to open the powerhouse following the offer made by us some days ago without reservations.

"Having accepted that responsi-

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ests of the workers, the shareholders and the nation, they should now accept their further major responsibility by negotiating in good faith on all of the 22 points in dispute.

"Reopening of the power plant in itself will not produce the vehicles that the country is waiting for.

"All the powerhouse employes will be returning to work who were working in the powerhouse on October 7 when it was closed."

START OPERATIONS

Within two hours after the Ford Motor Company agreed to start operations in their huge power plant, 18 employes filed past two security guards and into plant grounds.

Previously, union officials had filled out special passes to be handed to the nearly 100 employes who man the giant plant.

A picket captain, surrounded by several men from the picket line, grouped around the power plant gate checking union cards and the special passes before the men were allowed to enter the grounds.

Company officials and union leaders agreed that work would start at 1 p.m. and within five minutes the 18 union employes had entered.

COAL TRUCK ADMITTED

They were soon followed by a two-ton truck carrying the first load of coal that had passed the power plant gates since Local 200 called the strike early last September.

H. P. Bickhart, superintendent of the power plant, stood inside the wire gate selecting the men he wanted on the first shift. Several others who had heard of the reopening hurried to the plant but were told to return on other shifts.

Roy Babcock., Local 200 official, supervised the filling of the new forms which were issued a few moments before the employes were allowed into Ford grounds.

While the men filed past the guards, the small picket line of less than 100 men continued their circling march before the power plant gate, warning that non-union employes would not be allowed into the power plant.

STRIKERS ASK FUEL

U.A.W.-C.I.O. Local 200 officers are confronted with requests by striking union members for fuel along with the weekly food vouchers distributed by the local. No policy has yet been laid down by the union on requests for fuel.

While there were no major developments yesterday, as the strike completed the first day in its eleventh week, both company and union issued statements charging the other with responsibility for breakdown of negotiations.

EYES ON LOCAL 195

Indications that the strike will be a long-drawn-out tieup led today to reports of early consideration of a return to work of members of U.A.W.-C.I.O Local 195, now striking in sympathy with the Ford workers.

Unless there are developments pointing to an early end of the Ford strike it is expected that union officials may return to work the 8,500 union members who left their jobs in 27 Windsor plants on November 2 in support of the Ford strikers, out since Sept. 12.

"There is no development in that direction at all," said a C.I.O. spokesman today. As far as he was aware he said, no consideration had been given to a return of the workers outside the strikebound Ford company.

Fire Chief Clarence J. DeFields has assured municipal representatives that he is not worried about the coal fire He claims any fire there could be easily handled.

NO DANGER CHIEF SAYS

The fire in the Ford Motor Company's coal pile, on the riverfront, has resulted in some concern on the part of patients in the East Windsor Hospital, but Fire Chief Clarence J. DeFields gave assurance today that there is no danger, at present, to any surrounding buildings.

"There is no danger of an explosion or of the fire spreading to building in the neighborhood now," Chief DeFields said. "If the fire becomes dangerous, the fire department will go in there—and we don't expect any trouble."

Chief DeFields said he advised the Ford Motor Company of the present state of the coal pile fire three days ago, but had received no request from that company for help.

WON'T WAIT

Up to the present, the chief said, his department has hesitated about entering the Ford property without the company's permission. But if the fire becomes dangerous, he said, the fire department wont' wait for anybody's permission.

Strong winds might whip up a fire that would be dangerous, but that condition hasn't arisen up to the present, the chief said.

"The fire is too far gone new for us to put it out," the fire chief said, "but we could check it, with the use of a steam shovel. Pouring water on a fire like that would be worse than useless."

If the mayor orders it or if the company requests it, the fire department will attempt to check the fire, and the chief anticipates no trouble in getting into the plant to put out the fire, he said.

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Local 200 Officials Reveal Voting Was 72 Percent in Favor of Return

The back-to-work movement of Ford Motor Company of Canada, Limited, employes began almost as soon as the result of the vote to go back was announced last night.

Members of Local 200, U.A.W.-C.I.O., voted by 72 percent against 28 percent to resume work.

The pickets were called off last night shortly after 10 o'clock.

Members of the negotiating committee of Local 200 will meet Ford Motor of Canada Limited officials at 2 o'clock this afternoon to discuss returning of men to work at the Ford plants, it was learned late this morning. The meeting will be held at the Prince Edward Hotel.

Members of the supervision staff of the Ford company did not wait to be called officially by the company heads. Some of the supervision men got right on the job and went to the plant to do their part in preparing the big factory for the resumption of operations.

FORD CALLS BACK SUPERVISORS

The company today called back to work all factory supervisors, and all employes of steam, labor and plant protection departments to report for work on their regular shifts, Friday, December 21.

All office employes will report back to work at the plant office on December 26, the day after Christmas.

The company announced that as promptly as circumstances permit, it will call all others back.

There has been considerable damage due to cold and frost in the different buildings. Machinery is in poor shape, floors have buckled, dust and dirt have settled on everything. It will take some time to get the place cleaned and in repair to resume normal operations.

This morning the gates of the plant were opened wide and watchmen were on duty. It was different to the scene for the last 100 days, when the gates were closed and pickets marched around and around outside the locked gates.

The strike lasted 99 days, the men going out on September 12 and voting to resume work on December 19. This is the 100th day since the walkout closed operations. It has been the longest and most crippling strike in Canadian automotive history. It has been one of the longest strikes on record in this country.

VOTE TAKEN TUESDAY, WEDNESDAY

Tuesday and Wednesday the members of the union voted to accept the Dominion and Ontario government proposals that they resume work and negotiate with the company. Then, any disagreements that cannot be negotiated are to be arbitrated by a Justice of the Supreme Court of Canada.

The arbitrator is to be Hon. Mr. Justice I. C. Ran

This morning the company executives were still in th temporary quarters in the Prince Edward Hotel. They have been there since the strikers kept them from the offices of the company. The executives plan to move back into their own offices as soon as these can be made ready.

In addition to supervision men, cleaning squads are among the first to go into the plant. It will be their job to get the premises and machines in shape for the regular employes. This will take some time as the plant has been closed for three months and the long idleness has not done the machinery any good.

The problem of getting adequate heat all through the plant is a major task. When the strikers shut down the power house on October 7, the heating and lighting were cut off. Although the power plant has been working since November 23, the usual amount of heat was not going to all parts of the factory and offices.

The men will be going back to work as swiftly as the

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company can make ready for them. After the cleanin squads get things sorted out, departments will be called a they can be put to work.

The strike involved some 10,000 workers at the Ford plant. All of these are not members of the union.

No announcement was made of the number of men who voted on Tuesday and Wednesday. The union does not announce figures, thus not stating how many actually voted.

In addition to members of the union, there are many hundreds of Ford employes who are not members of Local 200. These men did not wish to be on strike, but were out of work due to the strike. These men did not vote as the ballot was limited only to members of the union.

Any estimates as to the number voting are guesses.

NO DEMONSTRATION

The announcement of the vote result was made by Roy England, president of the local. He spoke to about 100 union stewards and other members at union headquarters. There was no demonstration.

Pickets on duty at the various plant gates were called off immediately. Word of the vote results was telephoned to company officers and the Hon. Humphrey Mitchell, federal labor minister. It was Mr. Mitchell, along with Hon. Charles Daley, Ontario labor minister, who originally suggested the settlement plan and who urged the men to take a second vote on it. Following a minor change in the plan suggested by union officers, the second ballot was taken Tuesday and Wednesday of this week. The original plan was defeated by a vote of 52 percent against, 48 percent for, in a vote conducted November 29 at the Windsor Arena.

No indication has been given of the number who voted. The union said last night that 25 percent more votes were cast in this election than in the previous one.

PLAN THEY ACCEPTED

The plan accepted by the men is as follows:

1—The minister of labor shall appoint an "Umpire of Labor Relations," to whom shall be referred by either of the parties, during the period pending the [illegible]ution of a collective bargaining agreement, any alleged breach of the conditions of this plan or any injustice alleged by an employe with respect to conditions of his employment and the decision of such "umpire" shall be final and binding on both parties.

2—The minister of labor shall appoint an arbitrator from among the judges of the Supreme Court of Canada to whom may be referred by the parties any points remaining in dispute between them following a period of collective bargaining negotiations (not to exceed 10 days or such longer period as the parties may eventually agree to) concerning a new collective agreement and his decision upon the points in dispute with respect thereto and with respect to the wording in any particular of the agreement to be negotiated shall be final and binding; save that all matters over which the Regional War Labor Board for Ontario or the National War Labor Board has jurisdiction, shall not be decided by said "arbitrator."

3—The company shall reopen its plants and recall the employes back to work as rapidly as possible and without discrimination and in accordance with seniority principles. The union shall declare the strike at an end.

4—Upon compliance with this direction, collective bargaining is to be resumed forthwith, and such points, if any, upon which the parties cannot agree, shall be referred to the "arbitrator" and to be dealt with as indicated herein. In order to expedite negotiations and in order that the "arbitrator" may be familiar with the details of the matters at issue between the parties, he shall be present at collective bargaining meetings.

MUST DECIDE 21 POINTS

There are 21 points to be negotiated. Many of these will be dealt with in a comparatively short time. Others are certain to go to the arbitrator, having failed of settlement in all previous negotiating sessions between union and company. Still others will go to war labor boards. Following is the list of subjects to be decided under the government plan:

Acceptance of the international union as bargaining agency.

Union security and checkoff.

Adequate annual wage.

Effective grievance procedure.

Seniority.

Promotion or demotion.

Foremen and assistant foremen not to do work of employes.

Extent of authority of safety and health committees.

Labor-management committee.

Committee on reconversion.

Two weeks vacation with pay.

Increased rates of pay for time worked in excess of regular hours, and on Sundays and statutory holidays.

Increased minimum compensation for reporting for work when work is not available.

Payment of wages on company time.

Severance pay.

Time study review,

Injury allowance.

More liberal leave-of-absence clauses.

Seniority of persons who have served in His Majesty's Forces.

Duration of contract.

International union to be party to agreement.

WORST TIEUP ENDED

Last night's announcement ended the most serious and prolonged industrial tieup in the city's history. The 10,000 production workers have lost an estimated $6,000,000 in wages and at one time the strike caused 20,000 to be without jobs. This was for four weeks between November 5, and December 3, when 8,500 other auto workers in Windsor were out in sympathy with the Ford of Canada workers. During the entire period of the strike, the great majority of the company's office staff of 1,000 have been unable to work because they were barred from their jobs by union pickets. Some were able to carry on in rented office and hotel space. Officers of the company occupied a suite of rooms in the Prince Edward Hotel for the duration of the strike.

The men first left their jobs on the morning of September 12, following dissatisfaction with the report of a conciliation board which sat in Windsor to consider long-standing differences between the company and the union. The strike continued without

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hope of settlement until October 15 when a meeting was arranged in Toronto between union, company and federal and provincial government labor ministers. After three days this failed to bring agreement. Meanwhile, on October 7, powerhouse employes joined the strikers, cutting off all power for lights, heat and protection services.

POLICE AND BARRICADE

On October 25, the union cut the number of plant police admitted through the picket lines from 40 to 5 on each shift. On November 2, after repeated requests from the company, the Windsor Police Commission ordered local police to force the lines but they were unsuccessful. The following day, at the request of the Windsor police department, 105 R.C.M.P., and 105 Provincial Police began arriving to "maintain order." On Monday, November 5, Local 195, called out its 26 plants in sympathy. The same day union pickets seized cars of private citizens and barricaded all streets leading to the company's plants.

This serious situation brought Hon. Humphrey Mitchell and Hon. Leslie E. Blackwell to Windsor by plane. They remained for a week and were successful in dispersing the blockade but failed in settlement attempts, even though they brought into the conferences the advice and counsel of Henry Ford II of the Detroit company.

Then began a series of proposals and counter-proposals, both company and union taking part. All failed to bring results until on November 27 the latest government plan was suggested. In the meantime the union voted to return the powerhouse employes to work in order to protect their jobs should the cold weather inflict damage in the unheated plants.

In every instance the crux of the problem has been the outright granting of union security with checkoff of dues. This now will almost certainly go to the arbitrator along with other points which may not be settled by negotiation.

AROUSED WIDE INTEREST

No strike in this area has aroused so wide an interest. The telephones at The Star rang steadily last night and everyone sighed happily when told of the results.

The strike on which ballots were counted last night was the longest and most serious of four major work stoppages in four years of troubled relations between the company and Local 200 since they signed a collective bargaining agreement January 15, 1942.

FIRST WALKOUT

All 14,000 production employes were idle from November 24-30, 1942 in a strike over the issue of equal pay for equal work.

Plant No. 1, employing 5,000 workers, was closed April 22-25 over speed-up charges.

And this 1945 strike, which began September 12, had its genesis in the strike which closed the Ford works and kept some 14,000 idle for all but three days from April 20-May 10, 1944, in a dispute over interpretation of grievance procedure in the bargaining contract.

When the 1944 walkout began the company terminated the contract on the grounds it was breached by a general strike. Work was resumed on the basis of the old contract with some changes in grievance procedure. The agreement was to be provisional pending negotiation of a new one.

CONTINUED TALKS

Negotiations continued through 1944 and early into this year but without success. Labor Minister Mitchell finally appointed Justice S. E. Richards, of Winnipeg, as a commissioner to negotiate an agreement but conferences he called between company and union broke down in June. He reported early in August suggesting that because of bad feeling between the two parties negotiations be dropped until October 15 to permit a cooling off period.

A mass meeting of Local 200 members Sunday, August 26, rejected the Richards report and called for a strike vote to enforce union security and other demands. The vote August 30-September 1 favored a walkout. While the vote was being held Mr. Mitchell appointed a conciliation board.

PUBLIC HEARING

It held public hearings in Windsor the first week in September but its report, issued at Ottawa September 11, did not favor adoption of union demands for a union shop and compulsory checkoff. The union policy committee met that night and the strike began at 10 a.m., September 12.

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Windsor, Ont.—The Ford Motor Company of Canada and The International Union, United Automobile Aircraft and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, Local 200

Agreement following a strike and arbitration recorded in previous issues (L.G. Jan., 1946, p. . . .), to be in effect from February 15, 1946, to March 31, or September 30, 1947, and thereafter subject to two months' notice. The company recognizes the union as the sole collective bargaining agent in respect to wages and other conditions of employment for all eligible employees for the duration of the agreement or until certification of another bargaining agency.

Check-off: effective February 1, 1946, a compulsory check-off for all eligible employees (whether members of the union or not) shall be set up to continue for the duration of the agreement and be a condition of continuance in or entrance into the company's service. Any employee shall have the right to become a member of the union by paying the entrance fee and complying with the conditions and by-laws of the union. The amount of the check-off shall be such sum as may from time to time be assessed by the union on its members according to its constitution for general union purposes and shall not extend to a special assessment or increment in an assessment which relates to special union benefits or any entrance fee.

"No strike, general or partial, shall be called by the union before a vote by secret ballot supervised by an officer of the Department of Labour for Ontario appointed by the Minister of Labour for that porvince shall have been taken of all employees to whom the agreement applies and a majority voting have authorized the calling of a strike within two months from the balloting." The union shall repudiate any strike or other concerted cessation of work whatsoever that has not been authorized and called by the union by any group or number of employees and the union shall declare that any picket line set up in connection therewith is illegal and not binding on members of the union. Should the union violate either of the above conditions it shall be liable to the penalty of a suspension of the check-off, in the case of any unauthorized strike by the union or an unauthorized general strike or concerted cessation of work by employees, which it does not repudiate or of a picket line in connection therewith in respect of which it does not declare, for not less than two and not to exceed six monthly deductions; and in the case of an unauthorized partial strike or cessation of work by employees, for failure to repudiate or declare, not less than one and not more than four monthly deductions. Employees participating in any such unauthorized strike or concerted cessation of work shall be liable to a fine of $3 a day for every day's absence from work and the loss of one year's seniority for every continuous absence for a calendar week or part thereof.

Hours of work: employees engaged on continuous operations shall be allowed a lunch period of 20 minutes. Two 10-minute rest periods during each shift shall be granted the workers contingent upon strict adherence to the time limits of such.

Wages: subject to any law or regulation having the force of law, scale of wages and classification may be the subject of a supplementary agreement. An employee shall be paid 5 cents per hour in addition to his regular hourly rate for the performance of work commenced between the hours of 1 p.m. and the following 5 a.m. but no overtime or extra time premium applies to such additional payment.

The desirability of a group medical, hospital and life insurance scheme for the benefit of the employees is agreed to and if arrangements are not completed within 6 months, the local may at its own expense make provisions for such benefits and the company shall upon employee's authorization make the necessary deductions monthly.

Provision is also made for the appointment of stewards and committeemen, seniority rights and grievance procedure.

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UNIT: #3 - KEY EVENTS
III - (F)
ASBESTOS STRIKE: 1949

CONTENT	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
ASBESTOS STRIKE: 1949: The difficulty with this topic is for the teacher to decide if the main purpose is to study Asbestos as another key event in Labour History or to examine it as part of a changing Quebec. Several questions emerge from the latter stance: Was this the beginning of the deterioration of the Duplessis Era? Was Asbestos the key that unlocked the door to the Quiet Revolution? Or was Asbestos part of a change already begun? To what extent was Asbestos a reflection of a changing social and economic order? These various themes could allow this study to be implemented in several areas of the curriculum. Thus, the teacher can best decide where the topic will be studied and what themes will be pursued. The strategies developed here will be to examine cause and effect relationships - Thus, a suggested theme might be:			
"Violence at Asbestos: Who Was Responsible?"	The strategy outlined here is only one of several that the teacher may consider. The final choice will depend on the ability of the class, interest and time available.		

CONTENT	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
	When this decision has been made the teacher can decide how much and what background information should be given to students.		
Causes: - Elimination of asbestos dust; - 15¢ per hour general increase; - Rand Formula; - Vacation benefits; - Company contribution to social security fund. - Right to consultation in cases of promotion, transfer or discharge. Events of Strike: - Students can develop a list of key events, while researching. It might be interesting to observe how students interpret key events.	Some students can be assigned the role of historians to research documentary evidence in an effort to piece together what happened at Asbestos and to determine who was responsible for the violence. These few "historians" will quickly see that conflicting evidence and interpretations emerge as they examine copies of the newspaper articles. They will observe that different viewpoints are represented in these articles. Moreover, these students should be able to list the major events of the strike.	Newspaper Articles: Appendices III-F(i) to III-F(xxxii) On Strike I Abella (ed.) Toronto: James, Lewis & Samuel, 1974.	To make a list of causes of the Asbestos Strike. To gather a list of events and personalities of the Asbestos Strike from primary sources.
Leading Personalities: Listed below are some of the more prominent figures: Jean Marchand: Secretary-General of Canadian Catholic Confederation of Labour. Maurice Duplessis: Premier of Quebec. Antonio Barrette: Quebec Minister of Labour. George K. Foster: General Manager of Canadian Johns-Manville in Asbestos. Randolph Hamel: President of Federation of Mining Employees.	To assist in clarifying some of these views, other students should adopt the roles of leading figures involved in the confrontation. The teacher may wish to assign students to a role for matters of efficiency. These students should also read the newspaper articles, so they can represent the views of their historical personality as accurately as possible. The documents may not explain the views of every personality on every matter. However, as students assume their new personality they	"Labour Unity in Quebec", by S. Jamieson, in Canadian Dualism, Mason Wade (ed.) Toronto: University of Toronto & Laval, 1960. "Priests, Pickets and Politics" by Blair Fraser, in Macleans. #13. July 1, 1949. The Asbestos Strike. A Canadian Johns-Manville pamphlet, 1949.	To adopt and present the views of another person although they may differ from your own views.

CONTENT	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
Joseph Charbonneau: Archbishop of Montreal. **Albert Bell:** Chief of Asbestos Police. Issues: What should be the role of provincial police and R.C.M.P. in industrial disputes? When should the government intervene in industrial disputes? Is there ever a time when strikers should disobey the law? When is a strike a conspiracy? When should strikebreakers be used? Is violence a viable means to bring about change? Is violence always physical? Is it alright to use violence for self-protection? What should be the role of the Church in labour disputes? What was the role of the Church at Asbestos? Why did the C.C.C.L. become militant? (Teacher and student can add to this list.)	should be able to give a fairly accurate representation of the views of that person on most matters. Students working as historians should be allowed to question these historical personalities. Student historians may question each historical figure privately or a "press conference" might hold more impact. If a "press conference" is held a strong student should serve as a Chairman to ensure a fair distribution of questions so that all student historians have an opportunity to offer questions and so that all points of view are given equal hearing. Adequate preparation of questions will add to the quality of the exercise as will depth of research and sincerity on the part of the role players. Such preparation under the direction of the teacher will allow most issues to be aired. Students serving as historians should now be in a position to develop an interpretation to the question: "Violence at Asbestos: Who was responsible? A written paper might conclude their assignment. However, the teacher might ask for verbal presentations of their interpretations and allow those playing historical figures to ask questions.		To develop questioning ability. To practice verbal expression. To practice clarifying the issues. To practice listening to the views of others. To be able to state the issues. To snythesize a body of material into a clear and a meaningful statement. To articulate and to offer evidence for an historial interpretation.

CONTENT	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
	Another effective method might be to hold a Seminar. Have an interpretation given to one-half of the class. The "historian" can defend his view and the participants can offer their interpretations and evidence. This scholarly exchange of views can be very stimulating. The rest of the class can be working on another assignment on the next topic. The next day, the two groups can exchange roles with another person(s) serving as the "historian" for the second half of the class.		To develop responsibility so as to work independent of teacher guidance.
Results: (affecting workers) - 10¢ per hour increase. - Respect for seniority of striking workers on the part of the company. - Company to employ all strikers without discrimination. - 4 paid holidays a year. - All strikebreakers to remain employed. - Company could discriminate vs strikers convicted in in court. (Affecting Quebec). - Unions filling vacuum of leadership for working class in Quebec. - French Canadian intellectual community brought to side of labour. - Unified labour in Quebec.	It might help to allow students to view some other views on Asbestos. Appendices III-F (xxxiii) to III-F(xli) offer some editorial views. This allows students to compare and evaluate their work. The teacher can also find some other interpretations from history books. Some teachers may wish to develop a strategy based on the editorials.		To promote some self-evaluation.
	Finally students should compile some list of results. These might only be in relation to union and management or they might relate to the milieu of Quebec as a whole. Appendices III-F(xlii) to III-F(xliii) will assist here. Teacher might ask if the results made the hardships of the		To be able to list some results of the Asbestos Strike.

APPENDIX III-F(i)

CLIPPING BUREAU

DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR
CANADA

FEB 15 1949

SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES

SHERBROOKE RECORD

Date..........................19.......... Paper..........................

Workers In Thetford Mines Area Join Men At Asbestos As Negotiations Break Down

Music And Dancing Provide Entertainment For Strikers

By CUTHBERT JONES
Associate Editor,
Sherbrooke Record

Asbestos, Que., Feb. 15.—Quiet reigned througn this Eastern Townships mining centre today although some 2,100 employees of the Canadian Johns-Manville Company, Ltd., or the vast majority of the breadwinners of the town, were on strike for the enforcement of a new labor contract which would grant the workers wage increases, a union-administered social security fund and greater syndicate control over the operations of the company.

The streets appeared normal with no more people than ordinary in sight, except in the vicinity of the municipal hall, which has become the headquarters of the strikers. Here the members of the National Syndicate of Asbestos Workers, whose executive called the strike at midnight Sunday (Monday morning) when negotiations with the company broke down, are holding day long sessions which take on the nature of an old-fashioned barn dance.

Fiddlers, accordion players and their associates provide almost continuous music for the jig dancers, impromptu quartets and other artists who are providing the entertainment for the striking members of the Syndicate. So far, the strikers are in the best of good nature and a general holiday spirit prevails around the strike headquarters. There have been no threats of violence, the picket lines at the mines and the mill being confined to small, almost token groups, who check the bona fides of the pump men, maintenance workers and employees of the company supplying electricity to the mines, all of whom are permitted to enter without molestation.

There has been no effort on the part of the company to operate any of the mines or plants. Yesterday the clerical employees at the main office situated uptown and of the engineering staffs were at work as usual but the staff of the mill office was prevented from entering. However, arrangements were completed during the day between company officials for the issuance of the necessary passes for these workers to enter the mill and the routine work connected with timekeeping, etc., was resumed today.

One of the chief topics of conversatio around the streets naturally was concerning the possible duration of the walkout and several decidedly conflicting views were presented.

For their part company spokesmen were non-committal. The strike had taken place before the normal processes of conciliation and arbitration had been completed and the next move was up to the Syndicate officials. As to the possibility that the strike was illegal, having been called before the report of the arbitration board was received, they indicated that this was rather a theoretical question, at the present moment at least, although it might affect proceedings at a later date.

Union officials, of course, declared that the men were united in their determination to remain away from the pits until their sweeping demands were granted completely.

But the man in the street was not so sure. The general impression gathered from conversations with the ordinary member is that the strike was organized by a small group of fanatics and radicals who are determined to extend their personal power at the expense of the miner and mill worker. To the average employee the prospect of a long walkout is none too pleasant, and a certain degree of discontent is apparent owing to the belief that some of the demands presented are decidedly excessive.

One source of concern is the reported heavy stockpiling of milled asbestos and asbestos products during recent weeks. On this matter, the lo[illegible] concern and firms operating in other areas have nothing to say, but the general impression is that the great activity of the past few months has been in preparation of the long-threatened walk-out. Rumors circulating on the street say that jobbers, wholesalers and fabricators have their warehouses full and that storage space throughout the continent holds stock sufficient to supply the processors for months ahead.

In view of this fact, the workers are examining their own resources. Some of them have small cash reserves which might carry them along for a few weeks, but for the most part the workers' supply of liquid assets is decidedly limited. This is especially so in view of the practice of a large number of the miners who bought their own homes, making small down payments and obligating themselves to reduce the capital due in monthly instalments. Union resources are said to be limited with little possibility of paying extended strike benefits to the unemployed workers. Merchants report they are carrying all the credit they can stand at the present moment and that it will be impossible for them to extend any large charge accounts to their patrons. In fact, the two local dairies have announced that unless the strike is settled within a week, they will suspend deliveries and resort to a cash and carry basis.

Unemployment insurance is, of course, unavailable to the workers, such payments being prohibited to those directly connected with a strike and as all employees are governed by a single contract, each man is considered on strike. The only group who may receive benefits are the employees of an outside contractor, about sixty in all, who has the contract for sinking a shaft at the mine. With the closing of the mine, this company suspended operations. Ironically enough, the recent pick-up in employment has adversely affected a number of workers. During the fall and early winter, the power company supplying the mill was forced to curtail power deliveries owing to low water and mill operations were cut down to four days a week, while a large number of men were laid off. These men were entitled to unemployment insurance. With power supplies restored to normal a few weeks ago, this group was recalled. Now they are deprived of the benefits they would have received if they had not resumed work.

APPENDIX III-F(i)

DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR
CANADA

CLIPPING BUREAU

ISPUTES

SHERBROOKE RECORD

Date FEB 15 1949

Asbestos Chief of Police Albert Bell reports that as yet his men have found no additional burdens, while the 16-man company security guard has not been strengthened.

The general reaction to the Syndicate demands is unusual to say the least. The demand for a 15-cent an hour increase is viewed as unwarranted by the company, which claims its minimum rate of 85 cents an hour for laborers compares favorably with that prevailing in any other mine in Eastern Canada, the same argument prevailing for piece rate workers. Strangely enough the majority of the men appear to agree with this view. A similar feeling also exists insofar as the night work differential of five cents an hour, double pay for Sundays, the nine-day paid holidays and the increased holiday benefits. The ordinary worker, when interviewed, indicates that these would all be very nice and much appreciated but that they are not a prime concern.

The chief point of division, even among the men, is the proposed levy of three per cent on the gross pay of each worker for a security fund to be administered by the union, this to replace certain benefits which are now provided by the company. Opponents of the scheme, workers as well as company officials, fear that this would place too much money in the hands of what might be insecure officials. On a weekly payroll of $100,000, which is believed slightly below the normal for the company, the levy would be $3,000 or $156,000 annually. The compulsory check-off for all workers, whether members of the Syndicate or not, would produce some $3,200 monthly or about $37,000 annually. Together the levies would place $193,000 in the hands of the union executives in the Asbestos area each year.

The company, naturally, is opposing the clause which demands the Syndicate review all cases of promotion, transfer and dismissal, claiming this deprives them of the right to operate their own business. A similar view is taken of the clause which would give each and every employee the right to accept or reject the standard production rates laid down by the company.

Apparently an innocuous clause, the thirteenth demand, that of changing the date of the contract from February 1 to January 1, is obviously designed to permit of industry-wide bargaining, the contracts in the Thetford area being operative for the calendar year.

The majority of the workers regard the clause providing for company action to remove the dust menace which is claimed to produce a variety of silicosis as superfluous. Already the company has spent some $450,000 in this respect while another project in-

CLIPPING BUREAU

DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR
CANADA

SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES

Date FEB 17 1949 19......... Paper SHERBROOKE RECORD

Johns-Manville Company Says Federation Wants To Tie Up Asbestos Industry

Company Statement Declares Industry-Wide Bargaining Sought by Syndicate—Workers' Representatives Decline Comment.

Special to the Record

Asbestos, Feb. 17—Syndicate claims that dust conditions are a primary cause of the asbestos strike have been described by the Canadian Johns-Manville Company as "merely a diversion designed to bid for public sympathy and to conceal the real aim which is to tie up the entire asbestos industry in Canada with industry-wide bargaining."

This statement was issued last night by the company, whose 2,100 employees are among the 5,000 asbestos workers here and in the Thetford Mines area who are on strike. Removal of dust conditions is one of thirteen conditions the syndicate is seeking in a new work contract.

The company statement was the only over-night development in the strike which began here Sunday night and at Thetford Mines on Monday night. Yesterday, Labor Minister Antonio Barrette termed the strike illegal.

Syndicate spokesmen, contacted this morning, declined to comment on Mr. Barrette's declaration which was contained in a telegram sent to Rodolphe Hamel, president of the employees' federation.

Picketing is continuing at the mines.

The text of the Canadian Johns-Manville statement follows:

Leaders of the National Federation of Employees of the mining industry now claim that dust conditions are one of the primary reasons for the illegal strike involving 2,100 workers at the Canadian Johns-Manville mill, mine and plant at Asbestos.

This claim is merely a diversion designed to bid for public sympathy and to conceal the real aim which is to tie up the entire asbestos industry in Canada with in-

Asbestos dust

get the Provincial Department of Labor to establish an industry-wide court of arbitration.

The facts are as follows: Over the past three years Canadian Johns-Manville Company, Limited has spent nearly $1,000,000 at Asbestos for the most modern means of dust elimination. The Company has installed an extensive Cottrell electrical dust precipitation system, air suction fans and air filters. A dust control engineer and assistants are constantly employed by the Company to maintain dust control and the Company has been complimented by the Provincial Department of Health on the efficiency of its dust control methods at Asbestos.

Conciliation proceedings leading to the renewal of a labor contract between Canadian Johns-Manville and the National Federation of employees of the mining industry, which represents the workers in the company's mine, mill and plant at Asbestos, ended on Thursday night, February 10. At that time the company and the union agreed to plans for submitting the points under discussion to arbitration as required by Quebec law in cases where conciliation procedures fail to achieve an agreement.

Employees of Canadian Johns-Manville however, without warning went on strike at midnight, February 13. This strike has been declared illegal by the Provincial Department of Labor.

The principal union demands included an increase of 15 cents per hour to a minimum base rate of $1.00 per hour, a contribution by the company of three per cent of gross payroll to the Federation as a social security fund, a five cent per hour bonus, nine paid holidays and added vacations. Other matters under discussion deal with the union's seniority demands, the so-called "Rand formula," and rights of management.

Rates at the mill, mine and factory were increased by 17 cents per hour, October 1, 1947, 10 cents per hour January 1, 1948, to provide a base rate of 85 cents.

The present rate structure compares favorably with prevailing rates in comparable industries throughout the province.

Canadian Johns-Manville intends to obey the law in these matters and has declared its readiness to arbitrate the negotiations according to law and when order is restored. This could have been done while the men remained at work without loss of pay. It still can be

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CANADA

CLIPPING BUREAU

SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES

Date FEB 16 1949 19

Paper SHERBROOKE RECORD

Labor Minister Barrette Says Strike Of Asbestos Workers Is Illegal One

Quebec, Feb. 16.—(P)—Labor Minister Antonio Barrette today condemned a strike of 5,000 Quebec asbestos workers involving five companies.

Mr. Barrette said the strike was illegal because the workers concerned, members of the National Federation of Mining Industry Employees, have refused to submit their case to arbitration.

The Labor Minister said the Federation, affiliated to the Canadian Catholic Confederation of Labor, seeks a wage increase of 15 cents an hour and other conditions.

Mr. Barrette recalled that he had intervened personally in a dispute in the Quebec asbestos industry, one of the world's main sources of supply, late in 1947. He said he thought settlement of the dispute with increases totalling 27 cents an hour by January last year had "settled the case."

He said asbestos workers are now on strike after break-down of negotiations with their employers and failure of conciliation by Labor Department officials.

The Minister declared that the next legal stage for the dispute to follow was appointment of an arbitration board to decide the case. He said the workers have refused to submit to arbitration.

If they continue to refuse arbitration, said Mr. Barrette, the Labor Department will be forced to recommend cancellation of the Federation's bargaining certificate by the Quebec Labor Relations Board.

Mr. Barrette said he has sent to Rodolphe Hamel, president of the employees' Federation, a telegram advising that the strike must be condemned as long as there is no recourse to arbitration.

The telegram said that the department is willing to take steps to set up an arbitration board but cannot do so until work is resumed.

It added that a recommendation of loss of certification will have to be made unless workers abide by the law.

Mr. Barrette said that the asbestos workers at present receive a basic wage of 85 cents an hour and an average wage of about $1.00

The companies concerned are Canadian Johns Manville, Asbestos Corporation Limited, Johnson Company, Flinkotes Mines Limited and Bell Asbestos Company.

Company and union officials reported today there was no change in the situation in the Asbestos or Thetford Mines areas where some 5,000 asbestos workers are on strike seeking higher wages and other demands.

Picketting is continuing at the mines involved, Canadian Johns-Manville at Asbestos and a group of mines in the Thetford district.

So far there have been no attempts to break the deadlock which followed futile negotiations to agree on a new work contract.

APPENDIX III-F(iv)

CLIPPING BUREAU

DEPARTMENT OF
LABOUR
CANADA

SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES

Date FEB 19 1949 19.. Paper QUEBEC CHRONICLE TELEGRAPH

Injunction Against Picketing Is Issued In Asbestos Walkout

Sherbrooke, Feb. 19 (Special) — A court injunction to prevent striking employees of the Canadian Johns-Manville from picketing and committing other illegal acts against the company has been issued here by Judge Cesare Gervais of the Superior Court of St. Francois.

At the same time, it was learned that the company has instituted an action of $500,000 for damages against the striking asbestos workers.

Striking employees invaded the company offices and were refusing admittance to company officers or clerical workers, company officials said here yesterday.

The strikers who walked out Feb. 13, formed a picket line around company offices at noon after drawing their final pay for work done before the strike started. When office workers left for lunch the strikers invaded the offices, officials said.

It was believed a request would be made by authorities in Asbestos for provincial police reinforcements to help maintain order. No indication was given, however, whether the Labor minister and Premier, as Attorney General, decided to send the reinforcements.)

Some 2,400 employees were on strike. They were joined on Feb. 14 by employees of three other asbestos producers in the eastern townships of Quebec, virtually halting all asbestos mining in the area. The Eastern Townships produce 85 percent of the world's asbestos.

Mayor Albert Goudreau of Asbestos said there was no disorder, but the pickets were still preventing company officials from entering the offices. He added, however, that company police were on hand to make sure the pickets did not disturb anything in the offices.

Police Chief Albert Bell said the town was quiet, with the strikers picketing in an orderly manner.

[illegible]

APPENDIX III-F(v)

DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR

CANADA

CLIPPING BUREAU

SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES

Date FEB 19 1949 19 Paper MONTREAL STAR

Police Rushed To Asbestos Strike Scene

Provincial Force Sent On Behalf of Firm

One hundred Provincial police, drawn from Montreal and the Eastern Townships are being rushed to Asbestos, Que., in view of the aggressive action taken yesterday by the strikers at the Canadian Johns-Manville Company plant. There has been a strike affecting 2,400 employes on since midnight Sunday, and while the mine has been picketed the office personnel had been allowed to continue work in the main building until the payroll was completed.

When this was completed yesterday the strikers raided the office building, refused to admit the clerical staff and settled down in possession. Last night they were reported as playing cards in the offices.

The strike having been declared illegal by the Quebec Minister of Labor, the company asked for police protection and the ejection of the strikers from the company's premises.

Orders were given to Inspector General Norbert Labbe, who has had considerable experience in handling strikers, to get a force of 100 Provincial police together and proceed at once to Asbestos. He sent out orders for men in the Eastern Townships to converge on Asbestos and left Montreal today wth 50 men.

CLIPPING BUREAU

DEPARTMENT OF
LABOUR
CANADA

SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES

Date FEB 22 1949 19........ Paper TORONTO GLOBE AND MAIL

Police Drunk, Indecent, Caused First Disorders, Asbestos Council Says

Asbestos, Que., Fe[illegible] (CP). — The city council, through Secretary-Treasurer J. H. L. [illegible], said today it is sending a formal protest to Deputy Director Hilaire Beauregard of the Quebec provincial police concerning conduct of his officers in the strike of asbestos workers in this Eastern Townships centre.

The 150-odd provincial police officers were sent into Asbestos Saturday, and, council claimed, everything was peaceful until their arrival, despite the fact some 5,000 asbestos workers are on strike and picketing plants and mines of various asbestos companies.

The workers ask an additional 15 cents an hour, which would raise the basic pay of workers, most of them members of the Canadian Catholic Federation of Labor, to $1 an hour.

Meantime at Quebec it was announced that the Quebec Labor Relations Board had cancelled the bargaining certificates of the National Federation of Mining Industry Employees and four affiliated unions of the striking asbestos miners.

Previously the Quebec labor department had branded the asbestos strike "illegal" because the workers had not submitted their grievances to an arbitration board before calling the shutdown.

The strike started a week ago Sunday night. The only incident up to Saturday was when pickets took over the pay office of the Canadian Johns-Manville Company after being paid off Friday.

But, said the Asbestos Council's secretary, disturbance started with arrival of provincial police. Many of these men, Mr. Oliver claimed, were drunk, and committed indecent acts in the streets and caused disorder in public places. They also, he claimed, used violence in their dealings with company employees and also with company police.

The provincial police were sent into the area at the request of the Johns-Manville Company and on orders of Premier Maurice Duplessis acting as Quebec attorney-general.

Action followed week-end notice from the board that the labor organizations must take their 5,000 members back to work by today or lose their official recognition as labor agents.

The stoppage of work in this area, which supplies 85 per cent of the world's asbestos, spread during the week-end to the Bell Asbestos Co. workings at Thedford Mines, which were shut down by the company to avoid trouble when the place was picketed.

Bell employees are not members of the striking union. Shutdown at Bell left only one other mine in the area working. It is at near-by East Broughton, and employs 175 men.

Quebec, Feb. 21 (CP).—Jean Marchcand, secretary-general of the Canadian Catholic Confederation of Labor charged in a signed statement today that a number of provincial police constables who arrived at Asbestos Saturday in connection with a strike of miners were "in a state of inebriation more or less advanced."

The Catholic union secretary said that the "leaders of the union had to do everything to prevent the strikers from resorting to violence against these representatives of order stimulated a little too much by alcohol."

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DEPARTMENT OF
LABOUR
CANADA

CLIPPING BUREAU

SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES

Date FEB 22 1949 19 Paper SHERBROOKE RECORD

Union Loses Certification But Strike At Johns-Manville Mine Is Continuing

Strikers in Asbestos had not returned to work this morning in spite of the fact that certification of the unions has been revoked by the Labor Relations Board on the basis that the unions declared an illegal strike.

Developments are at a standstill and the Canadian Johns-Manville company is at present keeping only a maintenance office staff.

The Asbestos town council at a special assembly held yesterday objected to the conduct of the Provincial Police, in a protest which reads as follows:

"Understood that on the 14 of February, 1949, a strike was called in Asbestos in the asbestos industry.

"Understood that during the week 14 to 19 of February all that occurred was in a peaceful manner in Asbestos.

"Understood that during the 14 to 19 of February, on a demand made by the Canadian Johns-Manville Company a detachment of some 150 provincial policemen were sent to Asbestos, allegedly to protect its properties and salaried employees.

"Understood that at their arrival, a great number of these policemen were under the influence of alcohol.

"Understood that a certain number even rendered themselves guilty of indecent acts in the streets of the town and also were the cause of disorder in public places.

"Understood that in certain cases the provincial policemen used violence against the employees working at caretaking during the strike and also against the constables of the Canadian Johns-Manville.

"Understood that these acts were accomplished without warning and with evident thought of provoking trouble.

"It is unanimously resolved by members present to protest to Mr. Hilaire Beauregard, provincial police director over the conduct of his men and that a copy of this resolution be sent to the different radio stations and newspapers for publication."

It is understood that the C.J.M. did not inform the Asbestos police of the alleged damage of $500,000 done to their property, declared and said that the assembly ignores all damages which could have been caused.

In Quebec yesterday, Jean Marchand, secretary-general of the Canadian Catholic Confederation of Labor, charged in a signed statement that a number of Provincial Police constables who arrived at Asbestos Saturday in connection with a strike of miners were "in a state of inebriation more or less advanced."

The Catholic union secretary said that the "leaders of the union had to do everything to prevent the strikers from resorting to violence against these representatives of order stimulated a little too much by alcohol."

The union official said that detectives had also arrived at Asbestos but that "their roles does not seem to be well defined."

Marchand said the "display of force on the part of the government" was "not justified."

Officials of the Quebec Association for the Prevention of Industrial Accidents over the week-end expressed fears that a continuation of the strike at the asbestos mines would lead to a serious shortage of safety accessories, including asbestos articles such as suits, gloves, protective curtains and similar products whose normal wear is limited.

Arthur Gaboury, secretary general of the Quebec Safety League, and T. H. Miller, assistant general manager of the association, commenting on the effect of the strike so far, said that a prolongation of the walkout might necessitate some "rationing of existing stocks. Said Mr. Gaboury: "The danger, of course, lies in the uncertainty whether all plants and government fire fighters, especially foresters, have enough equipment and asbestos accessories on hand to face such a shortage."

A. B. Proven, chairman of a group of safety officials of the association, known as class 15, said over the week-end "without asbestos accessories, the present rate of industrial accidents in the Province of Quebec will rise sharply."

III-F(viii)

CLIPPING BUREAU

DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR
CANADA

SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES

FEB 22 1949 .19...... Paper HALIFAX CHRONICLE
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HALIFAX HERALD

City Formally Protests Quebec Police Conduct

ASBESTOS, Que., Feb. 21 — (CP) — City Council today said it will send a formal protest to the Quebec Provincial Police concerning conduct of officers during the current asbestos workers' strike here.

More than 150 Provincials were sent here Saturday and, Council stated, all was peaceful until their arrival. Secretary-Treasurer J. H. L. Oliver claimed many of the Provincials were drunk and committed indecent acts in the streets and caused disorder in public places.

They also, he declared, used violence in their dealings with company employees and company police.

The 5,000 striking workers, most of them members of the Canadian Catholic Federation of Labor, are asking an additional 15 cents an hour which would raise basic pay to $1 an hour.

The strike has been branded "illegal" by the Quebec Labor Department because the workers had not submitted grievances to an arbitration board before calling a shutdown. Today, the Quebec Labor Relations Board cancelled the bargaining certificates of the National Federation of Mining Industry Employees and four affiliated unions of striking asbestos workers.

The strike started nine days ago, and, according to police here, was peaceful until Saturday. Only incident was when pickets took over the pay office of the Canadian Johns-Manville Company after being paid off Friday.

The Provincial Police were sent into the area at the request of the Johns-Manville Company and on orders of Premier Maurice Duplessis, acting as Quebec attorney-general.

Action followed week-end notice from the board that the labor organizations must take their 5,000 members back to work by today or lose their official recognition as bargaining agents.

The stoppage of work in this area which supplies 85 per cent of the world's asbestos spread during the week-end to the Bell Asbestos Company workings at Thetford Mines which were shut down by the company to avoid trouble when the place was picketted.

MAR 10 1949

SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES

SHERBROOKE RECORD

Labor Minister Barrette Reiterates Willingness To Mediate In Strike

Return of Workers

Quebec, March 10.—(P)—Labor Minister Antonio Barrette said last night he is willing to act as mediator in the province's strike of asbestos miners provided the strikers return to work.

Mr. Barrette repeated his offer, made at the start of the strike a month ago in a telegam addressed to Hon. Tancrede Labbe, minister without portfolio and mayor of Thetford Mines, and Albert Goudreau, member of the Legislature for Richmond and mayor of Asbestos.

Dispatch of the telegram followed a meeting between a municipal delegation from Thetford Mines, Premier Duplessis and the labor minister. The delegation was headed by Mr. Labbe.

The telegram said the asbestos strike had been called without recourse to arbitration and to restore legality to their position workers would have to go back to their jobs.

Mr. Barrette said if they did so he would recommend that the certificates of their unions as bargaining agents be restored by Quebec Labor Relations Board.

The labor minister said he is also prepared to act as mediator in the dispute and seek a "just and advantageous settlement."

He said he would do everything possible to obtain "full justice" for the workers and felt certain Premier Duplessis would "co-operate in this task."

Through newspaper advertisements and in a letter to employees, the Canadian Johns-Manville Company at Asbestos renewed its appeal to workers to end their illegal strike and come back to work.

The advertisement emphasized the illegality and uselessness of the strike while the letter notified the employees that the company is planning to open its doors for employment in the future and asked them to signify whether or not they want to return to work.

Forms on which workers could indicate their view on the question of going back were enclosed with the letter. Workers were advised not to sign their names when sending back these forms.

The letter said the company believes the majority of workers want to go back. It said the company was prepared to consider the various problems which led to the strike but only after work has been resumed.

It warned that a prolonged strike might affect rights and obligations in programs such as the retirement plan, group and health insurance and seniority.

Approximately 50 Provincial Police are still in Asbestos, guarding the mill and escorting those workers who have gone back to their jobs. There are between 100 and 120 in this category.

While there has been no serious violence, some non-striking employees, including a foreman, have been molested, company officials said last night, while others have been intimidated.

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SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES

Date MAR 1 6 1949 19

MONTREAL STAR

Riot Law Threatened At Asbestos

Dynamiting of Tracks Charged To Strikers

ASBESTOS, Que., March 16 — (Star Special) — A spokesman for the Quebec Provincial Police said in Montreal today the riot act would be read to the strikers at the Canadian Johns-Manville company plant here who were allegedly responsible for dynamiting of two feet of railway track Monday and beating up of a company engineer late yesterday afternoon, if further trouble occurs.

Inspector General Norbert Labbe of the Quebec Provincial Police was expected to arrive here later today to take charge of the investigation into the two recent disturbances.

Help for Strikers

THE Canadian Catholic Confederation of Labor, Quebec section, voted $200 last night to assist the Asbestos mines strikers.

Jean Marchand, secretary-general of the C.C.C.L. said that plans are being made to send food to the 2,100 men, on strike for a month. A first truckload of food is to be sent to Thetford Mines this week-end, he said.

SIZE OF ASSEMBLIES REDUCED BY ORDER

Meanwhile, authority has been given the 40 Provincial police on duty to prevent meetings of more than five strikers around company property. Those strikers refusing to comply with police orders will be taken to Sherbrooke, where charges will be laid.

J. Beauchemin, an engineer of the Canadian Johns-Mansville Co. was attacked by a large group of strikers in front of the town hall late yesterday afternoon. He was on his way from the plant to the company offices. According to available reports the men who

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Date March 16, 1949. Paper THE MONTREAL DAILY STAR

RIOT LAW

(Concluded from Page Three)

denly converged on him and started to beat him up.

He was taken to the local hospital but was able to return to his home a short time later. The incident marked the first time that bodily harm had been done to a person since the strike began on February 14.

R.C.M.P. Men are Withdrawn

Sgt. J.A. Turgeon, commanding officer of the R.C.M.P. detachment at Sherbrooke, told The Star today that he had sent two men to Asbestos at the request of the company to look into the dynamiting but his men were withdrawn in view of the investigation by the Provincial police.

The dynamiting removed a section of tracks, about two feet long, from the 3½ mile long line, which is operated as a common carrier under a Quebec provincial charter, Several blasts were heard by residents of the district late Monday night, but the damage was not discovered until yesterday when the crew of a snow plow spotted the gap. Had the plow been travelling faster, damage might have been very serious.

Dynamiting railway property is an indictable offence under the Criminal Code and Section 517 of the code provides that every one found guilty of removing, displacing breaking or injuring any rail in a manner likely to cause danger to valuable property, without endangering life or person, is liable to imprisonment for life.

Crowd of 500 Mill About in Town

Reliable sources at Asbestos told The Star that large groups of miners, close to 500 at times, are milling in the town's streets, trying apparently, to stop those who have returned to work from entering the company plants. This, it is pointed out, does not constitute picketing, since the men are at some distance from the gates of the Johns-Manville Co.

In all, more than 2,000 men are on strike and only about 150 have returned to work. The company has twice invited the men to return and officials have promised to resume negotiations "with those who may legally represent the men" after a "peaceful return to work."

An injunction against picketing issued almost one month ago by Mr. Justice Cesaire Gervais, of Sherbrooke, has been renewed and is now effective until April 5. The strike has been declared illegal and the

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bargaining certificates of the Federation of Employes of the Mining Industry has been revoked by the Quebec Labor Relations Board. This action left the strikers--another 3,000 men areout in other Eastern Townships centres--without qualified negotiators.

Arrests are Expected Within 24 Hours

Provincial Police on the scene refused to give out any further details in regard to their investigation, but The Star has learned from private sources that a number of arrests will probably be made within 24 hours, probably in connection with yesterday's attack on Mr. Beauchemin.

In the meantime, in a further effort to settle the strike, Mayor Albert Gaudreau and other members of the Asbestos council saw Provincial Labor Minister, Hon. Antonio Barrette yesterday afternoon, but no official announcement about the talks has been made.

Albert Bell, chief of the Asbestos police force, in a telephone interview this morning said that as far as reports of the dynamiting are concerned "there's nothing to it". Had dynamite been used, he said, it would surely have caused more damage than destruction of a couple of feet of tracks. He also said that yesterday's incident was "nothing serious" and he reported things as "quiet". Chief Bell also voiced his opinion that the whole charge of dynamiting was an effort to discredit the strikers.

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SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES

Date MAR 17 1949 19 Paper QUEBEC CHRONICLE TELEGRAPH

MEDIATION SAID "IMPOSSIBLE" IN WALKOUT, UNTIL ASBESTOS WORKERS RETURN TO JOBS

Quebec Minister of Labor Antonio Barrette this week told a delegation calling upon him here that it would be "impossible" for him to act as mediator in the Eastern Townships' asbestos industry strike, "under the conditions specified by the labor unions," the Minister revealed in a press statement he issued last evening.

"They wanted a guarantee that all their principal demands would be met before the workers return to their jobs," he explained, "that is to say, before the strikers conformed themselves to the law."

Mr. Barrette has insisted all along, it will be remembered, that nothing at all can be done before the strikers return to work because the strike has been an illegal one since its outset due to no recourse to arbitration having been attempted, as is required by law, before it was declared.

Must Be Impartial

"It is the duty of a mediator to act with justice and in a thoroughly impartial and unprejudiced way", the Minister told reporters, adding: — "If, before the workers return to their jobs in the course of a strike which is fundamentally illegal, I accepted ahead of time their principal demands, I would not only be lacking in my duty but would become an accomplice in the committing of serious illegalities, instead of being a mediator. In all honesty, under the circumstances, it is impossible for me to act as a mediator", Mr. Barrette pointed out.

The Minister then reviewed the situation of the past few weeks in the five following paragraphs.

"This strike, for about a month now, has paralyzed all activities in the asbestos industry and the losses suffered by both the workers and the employers amount to hundreds of thousands of dollars. It must not be forgotten, furthermore, that this strike also is having a serious effect on the economy of the various areas involved, on their populations and on the province as a whole.

Law Ignored

"It is incontestable, and a number of labor leaders have admitted it, that the strike is illegal because the fundamental dispositions of the law have been ignored. It seems hardly necessary to stress the vital importance of respecting the law and duly constituted authority in the best interests of the workers themselves.

"No one of good faith can deny that it always has been a pleasure for me to devote myself to the welfare and prosperity of the laboring classes and numerous beneficial realizations are there in that particular domain to prove the truth of what I am advancing. I am a workman myself and I know and share their legitimate aspirations. But I always have believed — and I still continue to do so — that the respect of the law and constituted authority comprises the best foundation possible for the legitimate revendications of the workers. It is a matter of record, which no doubt will be remembered by all, the beneficial effect which resulted in my intervention regarding the revendications of the workers in the textile industry.

"I offered, about three weeks ago, to act as mediator to try to solve the present strike in the asbestos industry. And I repeated my offer a second time last week.

Made Several Offers

The first time my mediation offer was made to Rodolphe Hamel, president of the National Federation of Mining Industry Workers, Inc., and to Armand Larivee, president of the Asbestos Syndicate. It was made in the presence of Albert Goudreau, M.L.A., and of Gerard Tremblay, the Provincial Deputy Minister of Labor. My second offer of mediation was made to the municipal councils of Asbestos and Thetford Mines, the two towns concerned by the strike. Neither of my mediation offers were accepted by the leaders of the strikers."

Mr. Barrette, in the earlier part of his statement, had recalled that the latest delegation to have called upon him, the one which saw him earlier this week, came from the town of Asbestos and consisted in its Mayor, Albert Goudreau, M.L.A., Aldermen Joseph Veronneau, Charles Kown, Fernand Therrien and Felix Boutin, and Municipal Police Chief Albert Bell.

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DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR
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SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES

Date MAR 19 1949 19...... Paper Montreal Herald

Mine Boss Attacked By Asbestos Strikers

Special to The Herald

ASBESTOS, QUE.—Violence flared anew in this strike-bound district yesterday when striking miners—out of work since Feb. 14—attacked a mine superintendent at nearby Black Lake.

Provincial Police said the injured man was 37-year-old Lionel Piuze, superintendent of the British Canadian Mill and son of the former director of the Provincial force, Col. P. A. Piuze.

Witnesses to the attack on the young mine superintendent placed the blame squarely on the shoulders of a group of striking miners, apparently part of the same faction that already has been blamed for the dynamiting of a spur line of the Canadian Johns-Manville Co. here and intimidation of police officers.

Officers of a special squad of Provincial policemen — here since Feb. 19 to enforce order among the striking miners and protect company property—said they had dispatched several of their force to investigate the reported attack on Piuze which apparently occurred on Black Lake's Main st. shortly after 5 pm.

Witnesses to the attack said Piuze was dragged from his car, pummelled severely and then thrown into a jeep which roared out of town.

Piuze, said to be suffering from rib injuries and various cuts and bruises, was back in his home some hours later after hailing a passing taxi when the strikers threw him out of their car.

The reported attack on Piuze is not the first act of violence reported since the strike began.

Earlier, a mining engineer suffered a fractured leg and several minor skirmishes have resulted between company officials and members of the striking unions.

Demands of the strikers include a 15-cent-an-hour wage increase and various social benefits.

The mine companies have repeatedly reiterated their decision to refuse to negotiate until the strikers — numbering about 5,000 men—return to their jobs.

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DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR
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MAR 19 1949 SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES SHERBROOKE RECORD

Date . . . . 19 . . Paper

Why Follow Strike Leaders Who Defy Our Laws?

March 17th, 1949.

To All Canadian Johns-Manville Men and Women at Asbestos:

THIS is to keep you informed of developments of the illegal strike at C. J-M's mine, mill and plant.

As you know, this strike was called without warning and in defiance of the laws of the Province of Quebec at midnight on February [illegible], 1949.

After this illegal strike was called, a number of C. J-M employees expressed the desire to return to work.

Because of C. J-M's interest in all employees, a letter was sent to each one of you on March 9th, 1949. With this letter was attached a slip on which, without signing your name, you could indicate whether or not you wished to return to work.

Intimidation by Strike Leaders

As a result of this letter, the leaders of the strike tried to intimidate you C. J-M men and women.

After a strike meeting on March 10th, 1949, a number of employees notified us that strike leaders had taken the following action:

1–They demanded that all letters sent to employees be turned over to the strike leaders immediately.

2–They threatened that unless you did this you would be kept from attending future meetings.

3–They further threatened to deprive you of membership in the Syndicate.

No matter what action the strike leaders say they will take against you as an employee, the company will always protect your right to return to work.

There is no closed shop agreement under which the strike leaders can decide whether or not you have a job.

Free Men and Women

As free men and women, you should not be coerced by anybody.

You have the right to decide for yourself whether you wish to return to work.

Laws Must Be Obeyed

As we have done for years, we are always ready to consider with your lawful representatives any problems between us.

But work must be resumed first, in accordance with the laws of the Province.

Half-Million Dollars Lost

This illegal strike is now in its 33rd day. It has already cost this community and C. J-M employees who are out of work over $500,000.

We sincerely regret the loss in wages and the hardship brought upon the community by this illegal and unnecessary strike.

Employees Want to Work

Before the strike leaders intimidated you, many C. J-M employees returned the slip which we sent with our last letter to you. Of the slips returned, 97 percent are in favor of returning to work without delay.

How do you feel about it?

It is up to you to decide for yourself whether or not you wish to return to work.

Canadian Johns-Manville Company Ltd.
Asbestos, P.Q.

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DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR
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SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES

Date MAR 2 5 1949 19...... Paper WINDSOR STAR

Police Said Beaten Up By Strikers

Provincial Force Deputy in Montreal Charges Assaults

MONTREAL, (CP)—Deputy Director Hilaire Beauregard of the Quebec Provincial Police in a statement today charged that members of his force have been "brutally and criminally assaulted" during the six-week-old strike of asbestos miners in the Asbestos, Que., district.

TOURS DISTRICT

The director issued his statement following a tour of the district where some 5,000 workers are on strike. He went to investigate charges of "certain persons" that provincial police sent there for duty during the strike were guilty of abuses and intimidation.

He found "these reports and rumors come from persons who are certainly not inspired by the spirit of truth." He reviewed disturbances and injuries that have developed since the strike began and said "it is not the strikers who require medical treatment but members of the provincial police."

"When the attorney-general, Premier Duplessis, gave us instructions to go to Asbestos there were, at the moment, abuses contrary to public order, since a certain number of strikers had broken into the office of the Canadian Johns Manville Company and had forced out employers and employes," said the statement.

LAW AND ORDER

"Members of the provincial police, doing their duty, went to Asbestos with formal instructions to have law and order respected and to act with humanity and discernment.

"There were numerous abuses during the strike. First of all, part of a railroad track was dynamited; then, several planks covered with nails were hidden, in the snow, on a public road leading to a 500-foot precipice. Moreover, a Mr. Beauchemin was assaulted; a jeep belonging to the company was overturned in the street; again, Mr. Pluze (an official of the company) was assaulted, contrary to the criminal code, before the eyes of his wife and children, and treated in a brutal and inhuman manner.

"We are convinced that these unfortunate incidents would never have taken place had there not been a strike, and all these incidents prove, once again, the need of provincial policemen at such spots.

"In recent days, members of the provincial police, doing their duty, went to serve a warrant for an arrest. Fantastic rumors that were published in regard to this matter indicate a lack of good faith on the part of those who inspired them, since it was not the strikers who were assaulted but members of the provincial police. Moreover, the wife of one striker attacked Provincial Policeman Andre Labbe and split his head with a telephone. It is not the strikers who require medical treatment, but members of the provincial police who have been brutally and criminally assaulted.

TAKE SIDES

"I find it unfortunate that certain people, who should realize the necessity of maintaining law and order, are falsifying the fact and take the part of the strikers instead of rendering justice to the persons assaulted, especially when they are members of our police force accomplishing their duty and executing the orders of the court.

"I owe this rectification to truth in all justice, to my policemen."

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DEPARTMENT OF
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CLIPPING BUREAU

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MAR 26 1949 SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES

Date MAR 26 1949 19 Paper TORONTO GLOBE AND MAIL

Quebec Police Deny Intimidating Strikers

Montreal, March 25 (CP). — A high authority in Quebec's provincial police force replied today to charges of abuse and intimidation by his men in the Asbestos strike area with a flat denial and declaration that members of the force have been "brutally and criminally assaulted."

Deputy Director Hilaire Beauregard, back from a personal tour of the strike-bound area in the Eastern Townships, said incidents of violence proved the need of the special detachment and that the force was properly carrying out its duty.

Police were sent into the area soon after the strike of 5,000 Asbestos miners began six weeks ago. The principal company affected is the Canadian Johns-Manville, at Asbestos, Que., where some 2,100 are on strike. Employers of other companies in the same area also walked out.

The strikers, members of the Catholic Syndicate of Asbestos Workers, have sought a wage increase of 15 cents an hour to fix the basic hourly pay at $1.

Director Beauregard said reports and rumors of police intimidation and abuse came from persons who were certainly not inspired by the spirit of truth.

Provincial officers first went to Asbestos when strikers broke into the Johns-Manville office and forced out both employers and employees, said the director.

Other incidents followed. A part of the company's railway track was dynamited. Nail-studded planks were hidden under the snow on a public road leading to a 500-foot precipice. Two company officials were assaulted on different occasions, one of them beaten in front of his family. A jeep was overturned.

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SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES

Date MAR 28 1949 19...... Paper MONTREAL STAR

Duplessis Denounces Walkout

A general condemnation of the asbestos strike in the Eastern Townships which is "fundamentally illegal and contrary to the laws of this province," was made here on Saturday by Premier Maurice Duplessis, discussing recent events in connection with the walk-out, at a press conference.

"There can be no doubt in the minds of persons of good faith," the Premier said, "that the strike in certain asbestos industries is fundamentally illegal because the strike leaders refused to have recourse to arbitration, as provided by the laws of our province."

Law Governs Disputes

"The laws of the province authorize strikes," he said, "provided that essential conditions mentioned in them have been observed. It must not be forgotten that strikes invoke many inconveniences. Not only do the employers and employes suffer from the suspension of activities, but the general public is also called upon to suffer. Merchants, business men, municipal corporations and school commissions, all are called upon to pay their share of the loss."

Among negotiations which must precede tre calling of a strike, Premier Duplessis mentioned the recourse to arbitration. "On the arbitration board to be named are represented employers and employes," he explained. "Before this board all parties concerned are enabled to submit their views or grievances."

"At the same time", Mr. Duplessis said, "the employers and employes can discuss their common problems and find satisfactory means to solve them."

Claims Credit for N.U.

The Premier said that the present improvements in the labor legislation of the province were due to the National Union governments. Before them, employers and employes complained of the delays entailed by arbitration procedure. He said that thanks to the recommendations of Hon. Antonio Barrette, Minister of Labor, the delays had been reduced to a minimum and arbitration boards proceeded as rapidly as possible.

Returning to the asbestos strike, Mr. Duplessis said it was evident that the strikers had refused to conform with the prescriptions of the law by refusing to have recourse to arbitration. "This refusal to conform with the laws has brought about disorders," he said. "If the laws are not observed," he continued, "other individual rights are ignored, contracts are flouted, and there exist no more the guarantees of stability essential to the general welfare of the population. The workers are the first to suffer from this state of things."

Cannot Sanction Violations

"It is evident that the Attorney-General of the province, responsible for the observance of the laws, cannot accept to be an accomplice in violations of law. When laws are not observed, the consequences are disastrous, from all points of veiw, national, economic and labor."

"I am certain," Mr. Duplessis said, "that the vast majority respect the laws and are respectful of authority. In too many cases they are victims of the reprehensible actions of a small group o men who, I hope, do not realiz the immense dangers of the non observance of the laws."

He asserted that under Nationa Union administration, wages o Quebec workers had been increase at the rate of $60,000,000 a year.

"We consider that the unions operating within the framework of the laws enacted by the Legislature, are not only a sacred right of the workers, but a necessity. Workers have the right to unite for their mutual protection, but always within the provisions of the law for otherwise the result is anarchy."

"In the asbestos industry," Mr. Duplessis said, labor conditions have been greatly improved since 1944. That there is still a possibility of improvement, I do not deny, but perfection is not attained at once.

"I regret for myself and the National Union, that a certain newspaper of Montreal, in the course of this unhappy strike, has thought fit to distort the facts," Mr. Duplessis said, "to have recourse to demagogic appeals similar to those employed by Communists, in their efforts to depreciate the laws and encourage sabotage.'

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DEPARTMENT OF
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CLIPPING BUREAU

APR -5 1949

SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES

Date APR -5 1949 19 Paper OTTAWA MORNING JOURNAL

Says Duplessis' Strike Handling 'Dictatorial'

Charges that Premier Duplessis of Quebec was using "dictatorial" methods in his handling of the Asbestos strike at Asbestos, Que., were heard Monday in the Commons.

Joseph Lafontaine, Liberal member from the Quebec Eastern Townships riding of Megantic-Frontenac, levelled the charge and described the strike, under way two months, as "just". He was behind the Asbestos miners.

CCF-er Raises Question.

The discussion was provoked by Claire Gillis (CCF—Cape Breton South), who quoted reports from French-language newspapers which he said "are not carried in the English-speaking section of our press". He said Quebec Provincial Police in the area were dealing with the public in a manner which "left much to be desired".

He quoted a translation from a despatch in Montreal French newspaper which said the Asbestos town council had adopted a resolution protesting that the provincial police, numbering 150, had been under the influence of alcohol, had committed "indecent acts" on the streets of the town and had caused "disorder in public places".

The resolution also charged that the police had "used violence" against maintenance employes and constables of the plant, committing these acts "without warning and with evident thought of provoking trouble".

Labor Minister Mitchell said he was taking no sides in the dispute, but he hoped it would be settled speedily and settled with justice to the employes. He hoped common sense would prevail.

The dispute came completely within the jurisdiction of the Provincial Government.

His department always stood ready to assist anyone who sought assistance, whether employer or employe.

Mr. Gillis said the strike had been orderly and peaceful for the first week, with maintenance men keeping the fires and other equipment operating in the plant.

Then the Quebec Government sent in a "large body" of Provincial Police, without any demand from the town for such protection, and they took over the plant, ousting the maintenance men. Their actions in dealing with the public "left much to be desired".

He said the strike arose from demands for wage increases and union security, something which had been granted by law in most provinces. Reports in the French-language newspapers indicated it was a situation in which the Federal Government should take interest.

He further quoted a French newspaper as saying the provincial police were paid $50 a week by the Johns-Manville Company, in addition to their regular pay from the provincial government.

30 Years Behind Times.

The kind of thing that was taking place in Asbestos was at least 30 years behind the times. The workers were members of the Catholic syndicates. They were not radicals or Communists They were part of the regular labor movement.

He believed it was time for Mr. Mitchell to investigate what was going on in Asbestos. The way the provincial police were being used put them in the category of "armed thugs".

He felt Premier Duplessis should be made to realize that he is living in Canada and not in some totalitarian state.

The strikers were not asking for anything that had not been granted unions across the country. They wanted the Rand formula for union security which had been adopted in Ontario.

Ross Thatcher (CCF—Moose Jaw), speaking in French, said the Quebec government had declared the strike illegal and had cancelled certification of the unions. It was surprising that the English-language newspapers had not given fuller coverage of the strike.

He, too, declared that the strikers maintained discipline even in the face of provocation by the provincial police, who had been charged with drunkenness and indecent acts.

It appeared, he added, that Mr. Duplessis had put the police at the disposal of the company, which he described as a cartel. The Progressive Conservatives and their leader Ivan Sabourin in Quebec supported such tactics.

Mr. Thatcher called on all French-speaking Canadians to support the workers in their demands.

Angus MacInnis (CCF—Vancouver East) declined to accept any suggestion that the asbestos strike was of no concern to the Federal Department of Labor even if it was outside its jurisdiction. He also warned industry that anyone who ignored the rights of labor was "fooling himself". Labor would have its voice heard.

He recalled the promise of former Premier Hepburn of Ontario to destroy the CIO in Canada. Mr. Hepburn was gone; the CIO remained "a force for good". Any one who disregarded such lessons was "blind". If the provincial government was wise, it would mend its ways.

Mr. MacInnis urged Mr. Mitchell to do anything he could to help the situation.

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DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR
CANADA

CLIPPING BUREAU

SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES

Date APR - 5 1949 19..

Paper WINDSOR STAR

C.C.F. Raps Duplessis Over Strike

Like Hepburn Trying To Drive C.I.O. Out, MacInnis Charges

From The Star's Ottawa Bureau

OTTAWA — Activities of the Duplessis provincial government in Quebec in the strike at the Johns-Manville Company plant at Asbestos, Que., were likened in the Commons yesterday to the efforts of Mitchell Hepburn, former Ontario premier, to drive the C. I. O. out of this province.

30 YEARS BEHIND

Angus McInnis, C. C. F., Vancouver East, drew the comparison after his fellow C. C. F. member from Cape Breton South, Clarence Gillis, charged the Duplessis government "is 30 years behind the times" in dealing with the seven-weeks-old Asbestos strike.

From 3,000 to 4,000 employes have been on strike in Asbestos for the past seven weeks. The French press and clergy have supported the stand of the strikers.

Mr. Gillis termed it a "disgraceful situation" that has not had the attention it should from the English language press.

Hon. Humphrey Mitchell, minister of labor, told the House that Mr. Gillis, Mr. MacInnis and Ross Thatcher, C. C. F., Moose Jaw, another speaker, had rendered a "public service" by bringing the situation before the House. But the strike was entirely within the jurisdiction of the provincial government and there was nothing Ottawa could do, he added.

150 POLICE SENT

Mr. Gillis said the strike was over pay increases and union security. The company, he claimed, had refused to deal with the union, a branch of the Catholic Syndicate, and the Quebec provincial government, without any request from municipal authorities, sent some 150 provincial police to the town.

The Asbestos municipal council protested the arrival of the police, continued Mr. Gillis. The council charged the police were drunk and disorderly on duty. Also it was claimed the company was paying a bonus of $50 a week to each of the policemen. The officer in charge of the police told the council "this was very common procedure in many strikes" in Quebec.

"I do not think this kind of thing is possible in any other province today," declared Mr. Gillis.

The time has passed, continue Mr. Gillis, when a company ca deny labor its elementary rights t organize and carry on collectiv bargaining.

'HIRED THUGS'

"In my opinion," he said, "th action in Asbestos puts the pro vincial police there in the categor of hired thugs. I think it is tim we got rid of that kind of thin and brought home to Mr. Duplessi that he is living in Canada and no in some totalitarian country wher he can kick people around th way he is doing at the present."

Mr. MacInnis said that any com pany that thinks it can refuse t recognize trade unions today i "just fooling itself."

Continued the Vancouver mem ber: "Some years ago we had an other premier in Canada who se out to destroy a labor organization In 1937, about 12 years ago Mitchell Hepburn staked his political life on the fact he was going to destroy the C. I. O. Today does anyone hear of Mitchell Hepburn? The C. I. O. is a strong organization for good in Canada and is in the vanguard of supporting our democratic institutions."

PRIEST'S STAND

Mr. MacInnis quoted the local parish priest at Asbestos as saying "If I were a miner I would be on strike, and in these circumstances, I would have a perfectly clear conscience. Moreover, without being a miner, I am with them to the end, and they know it."

The priest, Father Camirand, was further quoted as saying: "The miners of Asbestos and their chaplain (Father Camirand) refuse to consider the Encyclicals Rerum Novarum and Quadregisimo Anno simply as worthless old historical documents, good only for the museum. Also, according to these pontifical teachings, our miners should have enjoyed for a long time advantages which they now claim and which are obstinately refused them without even an offer of compromise."

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DEPARTMENT OF
LABOUR
CANADA

CLIPPING BUREAU

SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES

Date APR 22 1949 .19 Paper OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

Strikers Will Not Give Up Firm's Homes

By The Canadian Press

ASBESTOS — President Rodolphe Hamel of the National Catholic Mine Workers Syndicate said yesterday that striking asbestos workers of the Canadian Johns-Manville company here "will not give up company-owned homes."

The union president said the strikers had been served with an ultimatum by the company — "either return to work or move out of the homes."

The company's asbestos mine has been idle since Feb. 13 when the union ordered the walkout in a wage dispute. The union is seeking an increase of 15 cents an hour in basic pay to raise the rate to $1.

About 50 homes are owned by the company, but many of them are rented by company officials A company spokesman said that about 100 persons—strikers and their families—have been asked to leave unless the strikers return to work.

The spokesman said the strikers at present are not paying rent.

Mr. Hamel said the workers will not return to work or move out of the houses until a "reasonable understanding has been reached with the company."

Urges Cancellation

QUEBEC — Labor Minister Antonio Barrette late yesterday dispatched a telegram to the Canadian Johns Manville Company at Asbestos urging the company to cancel notices of eviction given to striking employes living in company houses.

Condemns Strike

NEW YORK — Lewis H. Brown, chairman of the board of Canadian Johns-Manville Company Limited, yesterday characterized as "an attempt to take over management functions" the strike involving 5,000 asbestos workers in Quebec's eastern townships. The strike has been under way for 10 weeks and has affected Johns-Manville plants at Asbestos, Que.

Mr. Brown issued a prepared statement at an informal meeting here of company stockholders. He maintained that the issues in the dispute "are basic principles involving property ownership and management and are not matters of wages and working conditions."

Mr. Brown said that extension of the strike for many more weeks may force the shutdown of a number of asbestos fabricating plants and make another 100,000 workers idle. He said this would result in suffering and hardship for perhaps as many as 400,000 persons dependent upon earning from these jobs.

He continued: "We affirm our loyalty to the principles of collective bargaining. We have always been ready and willing to negotiate with a lawfully-constituted local syndicate when production has been resumed at the company's mine, mill and plant at Asbestos.

The revised catechism also states that persons who know that the "Catholic church is the true church . . . and refuse to join it cannot be saved."

Then it says that this does not mean that all non-Catholics are condemned, saying that persons "who remain outside the Catholic church through no grave fault of their own and do not know it is the true church, can be saved by making use of the graces which God gives them."

On Own Authority

In reference to the ouster of the instructors, Archbishop Richard J. Cushing said Boston College "acted on its own authority."

He added that "weighty points of dogma are not debated in headlines nor made the occasion of recrimination and immoderate attack on constituted authority."

The Archbishop also barred Rev. Leonard Feeney from the altar for "grave offences against the general laws of the Catholic church."

On the question of worker-employer relations, the old Catholic catechism said "the duty of servants or workmen to their employers is to serve them faithfully and honestly, according to their agreement . . . The duty of employers to their servants or workmen is to see that they are kindly and fairly treated and provided for . . . and justly paid their wages."

The new statement says:

"Employers who defraud laborers by not paying them a just, living wage keep what belongs to others and are guilty of grave injustice not only to the employe, but also to the members of his family . . . Employes who waste time during working hours, do careless work, or neglect to take reasonable care of the property of their employers violate the Eighth Commandment."

Roman Catholics also are told that as citizens they should vote, pay "just" taxes and take up arms in defence of the country unless they are "convinced from adequate and unquestionable evidence that the war is unjus.."

DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR
CANADA

CLIPPING BUREAU

SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES

Date APR - 1 1949 19...... Paper VANCOUVER PROVINCE

Claims Police In Strike Town Paid $50 Bonus

(From the Spectator's Ottawa News Bureau by Ross Munro.)

Ottawa, April 5--A C.C.F. member of Parliament informed the Commons on Monday that according to French-language newspapers Quebec Provincial Police are being paid a bonus of $50 a week each by the Johns-Manville Company in the current strike against the organization at Asbestos, Que.

The member, Clarence Gillis of Cape Breton South, said that these reports "are not carried in the English-speaking section of our press."

Because of this it is about time, he declared, that the federal government was made aware of what is taking place in the asbestos town, where the strike has been going on for two months.

He also quoted a story from the Montreal Le Devoir which said that a "great number" of the 150-odd policemen sent to Asbestos were under the influence of liquor and "a certain number even rendered themselves guilty of indecent acts in the streets of the town and also were the cause of disorder in public places."

Gillis charged that the Duplessis government sent the provincial police into the town without solicitation by the municipality.

"I think it is time that the federal Minister of Labour and his department begin to check to find out exactly what is taking place in that province. I think the time has long passed in Canada or elsewhere on the North American continent when a company can deny the elementary rights that have been granted by law throughout this country to protect every section where workers desire to organize and can legitimately do so under the laws that we have passed.

"In my opinion this action places the provincial police of the Province of Quebec in the category of hired thugs. I think it is time we got rid of that kind of thing and brought home to Mr. Duplessis that he is living in Canada and not in some totalitarian country where he can kick people around the way he is doing at the present time."

Ross Thatcher (C.C.F.—Moose Jaw) took up the cudgels after Mr. Gillis and wondered what kind of treatment organized labour in Canada will get if George Drew comes to power with the help of Mr. Duplessis. He also declared that Ivan Sabourin, the Progressive Conservative leader in Quebec, is the lawyer for the asbestos company.

Following up the argument, Angus MacInnes (C.C.F.—Vancouver East) stated that if the authorities in the Province of Quebec "are wise they will heed what is said here to-day."

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DEPARTMENT OF
LABOUR
CANADA

CLIPPING BUREAU

SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES

Date APR 16 1949 19.... Paper MONTREAL STANDARD

More Food Is Sent to Strikers

Walkout Arouses Uproar at Quebec's Laval University

An additional food truck reached strike-bound Asbestos early this afternoon, a gift of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation. Money for the food was collected from CCF members of Parliament and Ottawa and Montreal members of the party. Included in the contents of the truck were candy and oranges as Easter presents for the miners' children.

Another food truck arrived from Shawinigan Falls, a gift of the National Catholic Syndicates there.

Meanwhile, provincial police officers still in Asbestos are attending a religious retreat at the Iroquois Club. Rev. L. Trudel, chaplain of the force, went to Asbestos from Montreal to conduct the retreat.

According to Rev. P. Camirand, chaplain of the miners' union, the proposed $100,000 strike fund is "building rapidly."

The two-month-old strike also has been the cause of an uproar this week at Laval University in Quebec. Following the example of McGill and University of Montreal students, Laval students held a meeting and started a subscription in favor of the striking miners and their families.

"We are sympathetic toward the cause of the Asbestos miners but we do not discuss the legality of the strike," said one of the speakers at the meeting. The speech was reported in the local newspapers. The publication was criticized by some students who said the sending of money to the strikers did not mean that the Laval students approved of the strike, which has been declared illegal by the Quebec government.

Decide to Resign

The uproar became general when a group of professors decided to send their resignation to the rector of Laval University, Msgr. Ferdinand Vandry, as a protest against the students' attitude.

After a conference with the rector, the professors agreed to withdraw their resignations temporarily and wait developments.

The students organ, Le Carabin, came out on Wednesday morning with an editorial entitled "We Are in Favor of the Asbestos Strikers." The newspaper was submitted to Msgr. Vandry by Rev. J. Lesage, moderator of the University and the whole edition of Le Carabin was immediately suppressed.

Following this, it is reported that a group of Laval professors who are not in sympathy with their colleagues who submitted their resignations, went to Asbestos and addressed a meeting of strikers, declaring that they strongly approved of the strike and would back the strikers until they are victorious.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR
CANADA

CLIPPING BUREAU

APR - 1949 **SUBJECT:** TRADE DISPUTES

Date APR - 1949 19...... Paper HAMILTON LABOUR DIGEST

Catholic Union Fights For Pay Hike at Quebec Mines

Montreal.—There was a time when Catholic unions were accused of not being aggressive enough.

The change that has taken place is illustrated by an article published in the "Daily Star" and calculated to churn up public sentiment against the strikers at the asbestos mines.

These members of the Federation of Employees of the Mining Industry walked out on February 14 to back up demands for a wage increase and other improvements.

The giant Johns-Manville Company and other operators have refused to negotiate and are being supported by Premier Duplessis in their efforts to smash the strike.

The 'Star" declared that provincial police have been "brutally and criminally assaulted while performing their duty" at the town of Asbestos.

Wives of some of the strikers also took part in the battles, it was said.

On the other hand there were charges that the police were intimidating and abusing the strikers and their families.

Union leaders declared that the strike won't end until the mine operators give a written guarantee of at least part of the demands.

All elements of organized labor are backing up the union. Truck loads of food have been donated for the strikers.

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DEPARTMENT OF
LABOUR
CANADA

CLIPPING BUREAU

SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES

Date APR 29 1949 19

Paper MONTREAL STAR

Firm is Hiring Workers on Regular Basis

Company Executive Issues Appeal To Strikers

By Fred Kaufman
(Star Staff Reporter)

ASBESTOS, Que., May 2 — More than 700 employes are at work in the Canadian Johns - Manville Company's mine, mill and plant despite the fact the strike is continuing.

The company made the announcement today and said the number of workers concerned constituted a "full shift." The shift, it added, had been in operation for two weeks.

Two thousand employes of the company, along with 3,000 men from four other concerns, have been on strike here for higher wages and other demands since February 13, and there was no indication today the walkout was coming to an end.

Meantime, George K. Foster, vice-president of the company, warned today that in recent weeks because of a general reduction in business there had been a considerable lessening in the demand for asbestos fibre products. It is on account of these developments, he said, that regular employes are being urged to return now and not suffer further hardship. All persons incidentally who are now being put on the payroll are assured that they are hired on a regular basis. It was not disclosed how many of the 700 are from the company's original labor force.

STATUS OF REGULAR EMPLOYES STRESSED

Stressing that the company was anxious to protect the status of regular employes, Mr. Foster added:

"A continuing and increasing number of persons is now seeking employment. As this back to work movement grows, it will become increasingly difficult for us to maintain the positions and seniority of those of our regular employes who, for various reasons, do not return to work.

"We are making a serious effort to resume full production and at the same time protect the jobs of our regular employes. Therefore, we urge our regular employes to help us protect the status of their jobs by reporting for work without delay."

He also added that he hoped it would soon be possible to start a second shift.

FAILURE TO AGREE TO PROLONG STRIKE

Mr. Foster added, however, that "failure of the officers of the C.T.C.C. (The Canadian and Catholic Confederation of Labor) to agree to a formula for settling the strike means a prolonging of strikebound inactivity."

"This formula for settlement was proposed by the highest church and state authorities," Mr. Foster said. "Johns-Manville had agreed to the formula and was willing to go even further," he added. Commenting on the refusal of the officers of the C.T.C.C. to accept the plan, Foster said: "The plan offered an opportunity for our employes to return to their jobs and provide for their families without further useless delay. It is with consternation that we find the officers of the C.T.C.C. have rejected the formula proposed by the highest church and state authorities.

"Refusal of the strike leaders to join in this effort caused it to fail. They are the cause of added hardships and misery from which our employes already have suffered too long."

But as far as union leaders are concerned, they are standing by their previous statement that "we will stay on strike until we get what we demand."

Armand Larivee, president of the local syndicate, told The Star today that he was encouraged by the report issued by Msgr. J. C. Leclerc, of St. Hyacinthe, president of the Commission of Social Studies, in which he urged the public to aid the strikers by subscribing to funds which will be used to buy food.

ARCHBISHOP'S MOVE PROVES ENCOURAGING

Reports that Archbishop Joseph Charbonneau, of Montreal, had authorized the taking up of special collections during or after the services in all Roman Catholic churches in his diocese has been received with enthusiasm by workers. No food shipments, however, have arrived in this district for more than a week and while not desperate, the situation is certainly not good.

Strong Provincial Police detachments are still being maintained throughout the district. A curfew from 1 a.m. to 5 a.m., imposed by the Town Council last week, has helped to check window smashing and similar nuisances in the town itself, but there are reports that such mischief is continuing in nearby towns such as Danville, Kingsey Falls and Stoke.

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CLIPPING BUREAU

DEPARTMENT OF
LABOUR
CANADA

APR 30 1949

SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES

ST. CATHARINES STANDARD

Date..........

Talks Fail; Strike Now On 'To End'

Spokesman for Miners Sees No Possibility Of Settlement Now

The strike of 5,000 asbestos workers in the Eastern Townships took a new turn today as negotiations broke off and the Sacerdotal Commission for Social Studies, under the signature of its president, Msgr. Jean-Charles Leclaire, appealed to all associations to collaborate with religious authorities in the organization of a collection for the needy families of the striking miners.

Meanwhile, Jean Marchand, secretary of the Confederation des Travailleurs Catholiques du Canada, said today that the breakdown of negotiations between the company and the union means "it's a strike to the end. Now, there is no possibility of a settlement."

Labor Minister Antonio Barrette announced that negotiations broke off at 10:15 o'clock last night when Theo Lesperance, legal adviser for the CTCC said there was no point in continuing.

"During the course of our discussions over the choice of a third abitrator," Lesperance said, "it appeared that the Johns-Manville Co., represented by Yvan Sabourin, KC. intended to keep the right to exercise certain forms of reprisals. This point became an obstacle, and as it was impossible to clear it up in a satisfactory fashion, we put an end to the discussions."

Meanwhile, George Foster, vice-president of the Canadian Johns-Manville Co., said today that all group, health and accident insurance policies of the strikers would be maintained and company-owned homes would not be taken away from the men, even though they were unable to pay their rents.

"It distresses me," Foster said, "that this prolonged strike has brought about hardships to our employes, to the town of Asbestos and other Eastern Townships communities. It is all the more distressing because nothing is ever gained by a strike that cannot be gained over a bargaining table while employes are at work and continuing to earn their salaries."

Sabourin said in a statement today it is "very strange that arbitration is refused."

He said company pay scales provide a minimum of $7.65 a day and an average salary of about $10 a day. He said the doors of the company plants remained opened to 400 or 500 workers and that demands for work being received from all sides soon could not be met.

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DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR
CANADA

CLIPPING BUREAU

SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES

Date MAY 5-1949

Paper MONTREAL STAR

10 Policemen Injured in Fray

One Officer Kidnapped, Held Prisoner in Asbestos Church

Bulletin

Asbestos Police Chief A. Bell late today freed Provincial Det. Ubald Therrien, held prisoner in a church basement by strikers. Police reported also Det. Marcel Favreau, who accompanied Therrien at the time of the kidnapping, was disarmed at gunpoint at a strikers' road block.

ASBESTOS, Que., May 5—(Star Special)—Ten policemen were injured and another kidnapped as violence swept through this seething Eastern Townships strike town today.

A Canadian Press report said a 12-year-old boy was injured by police tear gas bombs. Provincial Police Deputy Director Hiliare Beauregard, however, denied the report.

In the latest flare-up, these developments had occurred:

Ten policemen injured, but there were no reports as to how they had been hurt.

Another officer kidnapped, presumably by strikers, and being held a prisoner in the basement of the Asbestos Church.

Provincial Police ordered 200 men recruited from Montreal, Quebec and the surrounding districts for emergency duty. The men will join forces at Sherbrooke later today and try to break through the strike area.

TOWN CUT OFF BY ROAD BLOCKS

The town of Asbestos was cut off from traffic by striking miners and sympathizers.

Blockades were set up on all roads outside the town by strikers.

Police gave orders to all detachments: no guns and no gas bombs. The order was intended to avert bloodshed.

Gravel trucks were used in staggering fashion at each strike blockade, surrounded by 200 to 300 men at each. The men were armed with stones.

STRIKERS CHARGE CHILD INJURED

The report of the injured child, denied by police, came from the Canadian Press which quoted Rodolph Hamel, president of the strikers' union, as saying his son, Jacques, was hurt when police "got excited" and threw tear gas bombs at a crowd of pickets. He said the boy's hurts were not serious and no one else was injured.

Two cars were reported to have been set afire on the St. George road, one of the highways leading into town where pickets set up blockades to prevent non-strikers from going to their jobs at the Johns-Manville plant. It was not known whether the cars were owned by police or other persons.

Meanwhile, in the town itself, pickets numbering between 800 and 900 marched about the Canadian Johns-Manville Company's strikebound plant this afternoon in open defiance of a court injunction which earlier banned all picketing and other demonstrations.

Crowds of strikers and citizens—police estimated the throngs at well over 4,000—milled about the streets of this town and police officers said "anything might happen".

LOCAL PROVINCIAL POLICE SEND MEN

The Provincial Police in Montreal announced every available man had been sent to Asbestos. A full force of constables sent to this strike town earlier was reinforced this afternoon by newly-arrived members of the detective bureau.

Meantime, the Canadian Press reported that Hon. Antonio Barrette said in Quebec he had been asked to complete an arbitration board to hear a dispute between the Quebec Asbestos Corporation, of East Broughton, Que., and its 300 employes. The minister will name a chairman for the board later today.

Mr. Barrette said that the company concerned is not involved in the present Eastern Townships strike of 5,000 asbestos workers and is not to be confused with Asbestos Corporation of Thetford Mines, Que., whose 2,000 workers are on strike.

When it was announced yesterday that employe and employer representatives of the East Broughton Company had requested that the Labor Minister name an arbitration chairman, it was understood that Asbestos Corporation of Thetford Mines, one of five companies involved in the strike and a major asbestos producer, was the company concerned.

The misunderstanding was cleared up this morning and the Labor Minister issued a brief statement to clarify the identity of the East Broughton Company and that he will name the arbitration chairman to study its case later today.

The Quebec Asbestos Corporation employes still are on their jobs and have been in negotiation with their employers over working conditions.

MONEY COLLECTED IN CHURCHES RECEIVED

A high police official, meantime, said he had received reports that money collected by the Catholic churches last Sunday had reached Asbestos. The money was col-

See ASBESTOS Page [illegible]

lected to assist the families of strikers. There was no confirmation of this, however.

A company spokesman said a group of workers from Thetford Mines — a nearby town where other companies are on strike — had arrived here and joined the local strikers. This new group was estimated to include between 100 and 200 men.

The appearance of a strong picket line around thé company today called a halt to the resumed production schedule for the time being, according to reports.

Company officials, who estimated pickets numbered several hundred, said the men who decided to resume work despite the walkout did not attempt to cross the picket lines this morning.

MORE THAN 750 AT WORK IN PLANT

The Johns-Manville concern reported earlier that more than 750 men were at work in its plant, some of them new workers and the rest men who had abandoned the strike.

The workers struck in February to gain demands for a 15-cent-an-hour wage increase to bring basic pay to $1 an hour.

In connection with arbitration for Asbestos Corporation workers, Mr. Barrette said in Quebec it was his understanding that Raymond Caron, Company representative, and Mr. Lesperance had failed to agree on selection of a chairman for the board on which both have accepted to act.

It was understood that the 2,000 members of the Catholic Syndicate grouping Asbestos Corporation workers would return to their jobs as soon as Mr. Barrette has named the arbitration board chairman.

A similar proposal for settlement of the strike affecting more than 2,000 employes of the Canadian Johns-Manville Company fell through last week after six meetings between Mr. Lesperance, representing the workers, and Yvan Sabourin, K.C., Montreal lawyer representing the company.

CLIPPING BUREAU

DEPARTMENT OF
LABOUR
CANADA

SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES

Date MAY 6 1949 19........ Paper SHERBROOKE RECORD

Quiet Is Restored As 200 Provincial Police Move Peacefully Into The Town

Nearly 100 Arrests Are Made — Strikers Quit Barricades Before Police Arrived In Early Morning.

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By ALAN RANDAL, Canadian Press Staff Writer.

Asbestos, Que., May 6—(CP)—Flying squads of Provincial Police rushed about this strike-bound industrial town today picking up miners believed involved in yesterday's violence and inspector-general Norbert Labbe said "the total of those now under arrest is near 1[illegible]0."

Labbe, in charge of the 200-odd Provincial Police reinforcements who arrived here at 2 a.m. following clashes with police and miners at barricades, said the arrests have been going on ever since the reading of the riot act this morning.

Until Hertel O'Brady, justice of the peace and clerk of the court for St. Francis, read the act from the steps of Ste. Aime's Roman Catholic church, police were unable to arrest anyone without warrants.

Immediately afterwards the flying squads went out to the homes of miners who have been on strike for nine weeks.

The men were brought into police headquarters by twos and threes where they were identified by policemen injured in the clashes when miners set up road blockades to keep strike-breakers out of town.

Among the injured policemen at headquarters was Lieut. Emile Contant who suffered a broken arm in one of the affrays.

As the strikers were identified they were taken off in groups of 25 or 50 in police patrols to jail in Sherbrooke, 40 miles away. They will be arraigned this afternoon.

Among those arrested were seven youths found hiding in a parish hall. Newspaper men who were present said police officers waded in with their fists before the youths were taken into custody and carried away in police cars.

Another group of 50-odd found in the basement of Ste. Aime's church were brought to the church steps to join the handful of people who heard Mr. O'Brady read the riot act which bans street gatherings of more than two persons.

When police arrested them they confiscated a hoard of home-made blackjacks, clubs, crowbars and stones.

The riot act, which provides a maximum of life imprisonment for violators, is expected to remain in force until the turbulent spirit which brought about yesterday's clashes quiets down.

Meantime police prepared to escort into the Johns-Manville Company plant a number of workers who began congregating in the square at Danville four miles away as early as 7 a.m. to start the 8 a.m. shift.

President George Foster of the Johns-Manville Company said "we can expect a lot of men to go back to work today."

The end of twenty hours crammed with violence, tension and uncertainty came to a peaceful end early today at the strike-bound town.

At 2.35 a.m. a 50-car motorcade with nearly 200 heavily-armed Provincial Police reinforcements rolled unmolested into town.

They came quietly by an unblocked back road, unaware that only a short time before main-road blockades had been abandon[illegible]

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DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR
CANADA

CLIPPING BUREAU

Date MAY 6 1949 SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES

Paper OTTAWA EVENING JOURNAL

Provincial Police Rush About Town Arresting Men

Riot Act Gives Police Authority Without Warrants

By ALAN RANDAL.

ASBESTOS, Que., May 6.—(CP)—Flying squads of Provincial Police rushed about this strike-bound industrial town today picking up miners believed involved in yesterday's violence and Inspector-General Norbert Labbe said "the total of those now under arrest is near 100".

Labbe, in charge of the 200 Provincial Police reinforcements who arrived here at 2 a.m. following clashes with police and miners at barricades, said the arrests have been going on ever since the reading of the Riot Act this morning.

Until Hertel O'Bradey, Justice of the Peace and Clerk of the Court for St. Francis, read the act from the steps of St. Aime's Roman Catholic Church, police were unable to arrest anyone without warrants.

Bans Gatherings.

The Riot Act bans gatherings in the streets of more than two people. It was read from the steps of a church by Hertel O'Bradey to a handful of people. Union meetings do not violate the act, but no meetings will be permitted until tomorrow.

This is the brief passage from the Criminal Code read by Mr. O'Bradey.

"Our Sovereign Lord the King enjoins and commands to all who are here present to disperse immediately and return peacefully to their homes, or legitimate occupations, under threat of being found guilty of an infraction that may be punished by life imprisonment. God Save the King."

Mr. O'Bradey, whose jurisdiction includes Asbestos, was asked by the Provincial Police to read the act. If he had not read it he would have been liable to penalties himself.

The Criminal Code provides a two-year sentence for any agent of the peace who fails to read the act when informed that a state of riot exists in his jurisdiction.

Immediately after reading the Riot Act the flying squads went out to the homes of miners who have been on strike for nine weeks.

The men were brought into police headquarters by twos and threes where they were identified by policemen injured in the clashes when miners set up road blockades to keep strikebreakers out of town.

Suffered Broken Arm.

Among the injured policemen at headquarters was Lieut. Emile Contant who suffered a broken arm in one of the affrays.

When the strikers were identified they were taken off in groups of 25 or 50 in police patrols to jail in Sherbrooke, 40 miles away.

Among those arrested were seven youths found hiding in a parish hall. Reporters who were present said police officers waded in with their fists before the youths were taken into custody and carried away in police cars.

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When police arrested them they confiscated a hoard of home-made blackjacks, clubs, crowbars and stones.

The Riot Act is expected to remain in force until the turbulent spirit which brought about yesterday's clashes quiets down.

Meanwhile police prepared to escort into the Johns-Manville Company plant a number of workers who began congregating in the square at Danville four miles away as early as 7 a.m. to start the 8 a.m. shift.

President George Foster of the Johns-Manville Company said "we can expect a lot of men to go back to work today."

The end of 20 hours crammed with violence, tension and uncertainty came to a peaceful end early today at the strike-bound town.

At 2.35 a.m. a 50-car motorcade with nearly 200 heavily-armed provincial police reinforcements rolled unmolested into town.

They came quietly by an unblocked back road, unaware that only a short time before main-road blockades had been abandoned by strikers who yesterday fought off police and isolated the town.

The reinforcements, coming to the aid of 60 Provincial Police already in Asbestos on strike duty, were prepared to open the roads by force if necessary and to read the Riot Act to gatherings of more than two persons.

Advised To Open Roads.

Under the early-morning urgings of Father Rodolphe Camirand, padre of the Asbestos Workers' Federation, the strikers did a complete about-face.

For one hour around midnight the road blocks of gravel trucks and cars were left unmanned while 1,500 blockade pickets went to mass and then attended a meeting called to "instruct and reorganize" them.

At the meeting, to the accompaniment of cheers and back-slapping, they were told to "hold fast, don't let the police in".

They marched gaily back to the blockades, armed with wooden clubs improvised from chair legs and tree branches. Less than two hours later the road blocks were again abandoned.

Father Camirand told the men:

"Go home and stay home until further notice. It is useless to offer physical resistance in the face of so much police strength. You should go to bed now because you have done good work this long day and deserve a rest."

The men dispersed quietly. By the time the first police cars moved into Asbestos the dark streets were quiet and deserted. The tension and uncertainty were broken. At their headquarters in the Iroquois Club, police laughed and joked among themselves while reporters and photographers swarmed about.

Yesterday's outbreaks of violence—most serious since the strike of 5,000 workers began Feb. 13—brought the police reinforcements here armed with tear gas bombs, Sten guns and the usual service revolvers.

26 Persons Injured.

Twelve of Asbestos' detachment of 60 Provincial Police and 14 of the strikers were reported injured.

Deputy Director Hilaire Beauregard, at headquarters in Montreal, said his men were beaten, some into unconsciqusness. Others were disarmed and handcuffed with their own manacles. Police cars were overturned in the clashes.

Greatly outnumbered, the captured officers were taken off to the union hall and there taunted by strikers before being released.

Beauregard is understood to

have talked by telephone with Father Camirand late last night, telling him of orders to read the Riot Act.

Rodolphe Hamel, president of the Asbestos Workers' Federation, said 14 of the strikers were hurt, none seriously, by tear gas bombs thrown by police. Hamel said his 12-year-old son suffered a head cut in the same way.

Hamel said one reason for setting up road blocks and for yesterday's unexpected resumption of picketing was the strikers' fear that they would lose their jobs by influx of outsiders.

Late last night Raymond Pellerin, local secretary of the Asbestos Syndicate, in a statement said the union regretted the clashes but did not admit responsibility for the incidents.

He said the strikers respected all police officers in uniform and if any policemen were seized it was because they at first refused to identify themselves.

During the day 800 to 900 pickets threw their lines around the huge Canadian Johns-Manville plant, which normally produces more than 50 percent, of the asbestos mined in the Eastern Townships' "Serpentine belt". The Johns-Manville Company is the only big industry in this town of 8,000 people.

Resumption of picketing was in direct defiance of a court injunction extended to May 31.

O[illegible] Wage Dispute.

The long strike, declared illegal by the Quebec Labor Department, began over a wage dispute as the main issue. The men, refusing an arbitration board, demanded an increase of 15 cents an hour in basic pay to bring it to $1.

About 2,500 workers have been affected here and the same number in smaller plants in the Thetford Mines district, 50 miles away. The various syndicates of the workers are affiliated with the Canadian Catholic Confederation of Labor.

Assembly of police reinforcements last night was at Sherbrooke, 40 miles from Asbestos.

There the cars were lined up outside the courthouse, and special extra deputies were sworn in.

Before midnight the cars and a big blue-black prisoners' van quietly began leaving the city, all loaded with police.

Until late in the night it was almost impossible for anyone, except strikers, to get into or out of Asbestos.

This correspondent successfully made the trip into the town from Danville, three miles away, on the third attempt. Grim-faced pickets at the blockades turned back the car on both early tries as they did with other reporters.

Three sets of blockades were set up along the main roads. At the first some 150 strikers were gathered about the road-blocking trucks and cars. At the second and third there were 50 to 60 men each.

The first outbreak of violence yesterday came when a car with four plainclothesmen was trapped by a ruse. They were allowed to pass one blockade only to be confronted by another farther along the road.

Hemmed in by the two blockades, the officers could offer little resistance to the overpowering number of strikers.

Inside the town throughout the day all was reported quiet. Early reports of minor encounters between the strikers and non-strikers could not be confirmed later.

The Canadian Johns-Manville Company made no effort to get its working employes into the plant.

The company claims a present staff of 750, against a normal 2,400 or 2,500. Those working are said to be returning strikers and newly hired hands.

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REGINA LEADER POST

ariety of factors obscure reasons for asbestos strike

By ALPHONSE SAUMIER

ASBESTOS, Que., May 11 (Special).—Sorting out facts about the asbestos strike that has been troubling the eastern townships district for the last three months, is a very disappointing assignment. There are so many factors involved it is practically impossible to lay a finger on the more important reasons for this labor fight.

Politics, unions, religion, all are interwoven in this puzzle. The known facts: The Asbestos Workers' federation formed two years ago is fighting for higher wages, social security funds, union security, mitigated closed shop, more paid holidays, the removal of asbestos dust in mines and mills.

The Johns-Manville company, major asbestos producer in the district—about half of all tonnage in eastern townships comes from Asbestos—is leading the field as far as dust removal. New devices have been installed and plans for a $250,000 expenditure in this field are reaching the final point. In other mines conditions are very poor. A paper by Burton Ledoux has been published and distributed throughout the province on conditions in East Broughton as to occupational disease. Syndicates affiliated to the asbestos federation have ignored their claims in this field over the last month or so.

As to wage boosts, the difference seems to be rather superficial. No real negotiations were tried. Rodolphe Hamel, president of the federation, on meeting the Johns-Manville officials said the demands of the federation were to be granted or else.

Conciliation under supervision of a labor department representative was as brief. Decision to strike was taken at a meeting on Feb. 13. Union heads say 1,800 attended the meeting. Company officials say they learned that when the strike vote was taken not more than 200 union men were in the hall. The vote was taken around 11 p.m.

A few days later, the president and secretary of the Asbestos local tendered their resignations. They were reinstated later. As the legislative session was going on, echoes of the strike kept things going for a while. Premier Duplessis failed with his labor code (bill No. 5) but put through his bill No. 60—an extract of the labor code concerning the municipal and civic employees. Also in labor's memory, the Montreal school teachers' strike was broken by Mr. Duplessis.

Political Mixup

Union officials claim the company and the government are working hand in hand in the present labor situation. The Progressive Conservative party is tied in through Ivan Sabourin, K.C., ex-chief of the party in the province who is a strong Duplessis ally and Johns-Manville lawyer. They also tie up the Liberal party through Hugh O'Donnell, K.C., son-in-law of Prime Minister St. Laurent.

O'Donnell is Quebec Asbestos corporation legal advisor and brother-in-law of E. E. Spafford, general manager of that company. The 300 employees of that company, also members of the Catholic syndicates and affiliated to the Asbestos Workers' federation, have not yet struck. They have put their case to an arbitration board and are waiting results.

Quebec Social Crediters, Union of Electors, are numerous in the whole district and have openly clashed with Mayor Albert Goudreau of Asbestos, member of Duplessis' government. Strike leaders are mostly members of this "third" party and it is believed Hamel is a partisan.

Field Of Speculation

Recent statements of a switch to C.I.O. by asbestos workers when the C.C.C.L. cannot support them financially opens a new field of speculation.

Some people are of the opinion Gerard Picard, president of C.C.C.L., is supporting this strike, claimed illegal by the labor department only to taunt Mr. Duplessis for his anti-labor laws and that Hamel is the mastermind behind the whole thing and has operated in such a way as to obtain support of the clergy and C.C.C.L.

Others believe this is a test case and is part of a scheme to strengthen Catholic union movements in the province.

Finally others say Hamel is after more prestige and power for himself.

Of course, on the union side, there is only one explanation. Their leaders are conscientious and have chosen this line of action in good faith.

Company's Attitude

Police intervention can be qualified as a mere incidental or a willful attack to destroy the syndicates at the request of the company. A company official told me that "J-M refuses to negotiate with the federation but is ready to deal with syndicate representatives who will be his own employees." This tends to support speculation the company is really trying to destroy the federation.

When an attempt was made in Quebec to set an arbitration board, it seemed impossible in advance that results would be favorable. The company wished to retain rights of reprisals in the form of maintaining the court actions against the employees, the certification of a local syndicate and not the federation, and keeping the "scabs" hired since the strike has started.

Mistrust, Uneasiness

As one can see, the whole thing is so thoroughly mixed up, it is practically impossible to see through this situation. Being in the middle of it, it is difficult to get much information. There is mistrust and uneasiness all around. The company and syndicates have refused point blank to answer questions put to them by reporters immediately after the strike started, and have given no reason as to why the information was withheld.

Most of the facts stated in this dispatch were never published in news form. Most of the deductions or speculation were never voiced publicly. People around here very seldom express a strong opinion on either side of the question. Statements by the company and the union and labor department concern only minor facts of very little importance as to the real cause of the whole trouble.

Clergy's support was easily obtained through the syndicates' chaplains.

Social Crediters are using the strike as a campaign argument but make little headway.

MAY 11 1949

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CLIPPING BUREAU

DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR
CANADA

SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES

Date MAY 16 1949 19.... Paper MONTREAL STAR

Police Brutality Charges At Asbestos to Be Probed

Premier Appoints Noel Dorion, K.C. To Conduct Public Inquiry in Issue

By Fred Kaufman
Star Staff Reporter

SHERBROOKE, May 16—In a surprise development, special prosecutor Noel Dorion, K.C., sent here by the Attorney-General of Quebec to act in the trial of 14 union leaders arrested in connection with last week's violence in Asbestos, announced before the beginning of the trial that he had been ordered by Premier Maurice Duplessis to hold a public inquiry into charges made yesterday by the Canadian and Catholic Confederation of Labor that Provincial Police had acted in a brutal manner while making arrests.

Jean Drapeau, who is acting jointly with Theodore Lesperance, Montreal lawyer, and C. Fortin on behalf of the accused, vigorously objected to this "unusual procedure", but Judge Aime Chasse, who was presiding, said that in view of the publicity given by the press and radio to the statements by the C.C.C.L., he believed such an enquiry would be in the best interests of justice.

Mr. Dorion then proceeded to call Sgt.-Det. Ubald Legault to the witness stand. In reply to a question, the latter testified that he, together with two other detectives, had arrested Rodolphe Hamel, president of the Federation of the Employes of the Asbestos Industry, one of the men facing trial today and that no "brutality" whatsoever had been used in making the arrests.

HEATED ARGUMENT BETWEEN DEFENCE, CROWN

When the detective proceeded to step down from the box Mr. Drapeau immediately jumped to his feet and inquired why he hadn't been given a chance to cross-examine the witness. Mr. Dorion replied it was not a trial but merely an enquiry to refute certain charges made by the union. The defence lawyer then appealed to the judge and after more heated argument between Crown and defence, His Honor ruled that any of the accused who voluntarily wished to take the stand at this time may do so when the policemen have finished with their testimony.

POLICEMEN DENY CHARGES AT INQUIRY

In all, Mr. Dorion called four Provincial Policemen to the stand n the enquiry. All testified to the ffect that they had strict orders ot to molest any persons arrested nd none of them, they said, had one anything that the C.C.C.L. ad claimed.

Judge Chasse then told the defence that if it was desired, the accused in court could be called upon to testify in the same manner.

Upon being called to the stand, one of the men said that he had been hit by a policeman, but, he admitted, that this had been the case a couple of weeks ago, not ast Friday as had been charged. Mr. Dorion cross-examined the witness. Mr. Drapeau, however, was not permitted by the court to cross-examine the policemen because, Mr Dorion said:

"You have no official standing before this court. As yet we are merely conducting an inquiry into certain charges. There are no accused and therefore you can't speak now."

The preliminary hearing proper began a few minutes before noon. All 14 are charged with having violated section 573 of the Criminal Code which reads:

"Everyone is guilty of an indictable offence and liable to seven years' imprisonment who, in any case not hereinbefore provided for, conspires with any person to commit an indictable offence."

The indictment then mentions that the offence in their cases had been illegal assembly and resisting and wilfully obstructing peace officers.

Immediately another argument arose on the question of bail. All 14 had been arraigned on Saturday night before Judge Dorais Panneton, but at the time His Honor had told them that the question of bail would have to wait until today, when Judge Chasse took the bench.

UNION ORGANIZER IS REFUSED BAIL

In the case of Rene Roch, a C.C.C.L. organizer, bail was refused. Said Mr. Dorion; he lives neither in Asbestos, nor Thetford Mines and if outsiders kept away from the strikers' scene it would be much better. Furthermore, in view of the fact that he is already out on bail in another case, Judge Chasse agreed with the prosecution.

Bail was also refused in the case of M. Charpentier, who is awaiting trial before the Court of King's Bench at Arthabaska on a charge arising out of the alleged kidnapping and assault on Lionel Pluze, assistant superintendent of the British Canadian mine at Black Lake.

OTHERS GRANTED FREEDOM PENDING TRIAL

Armand Larivee, president of the Syndicate at Asbestos and Rodolphe Hamel, president of the Federation of Employes of the Mining Industry, were each set free on property bond of $4,000 each.

All others were also granted bail.

The judge warned, however, that bail would be forfeited should any of them take part in any kind of manifestation in connection with the current strike. Mr. Dorion expressed his hope that this would include "meetings in the church hall" and the judge replied: "That goes without saying."

Roch and Charpentier will face their preliminary hearing on Friday and at that time the date for the other hearings will be set.

UNION OFFICIAL MAKES REMARK ON ARRESTS

Both Gerard Picard, president, and Jean Marchand, secretary of the Canadian Catholic Confederation of Labor, were in the crowded court room and before the session adojurned, Mr. Drapeau remarked that should "the police desire to arrest any other persons in this court room, they should do so now." This remark was made in face of rumors that warrants were out for the arrest of both these men, but no action was taken.

FEDERATION CHARGED BRUTALITY BY POLICE

The confederation, in a statement issued today under the signature of secretary Jean Marchand, charged provincial police with having brutally tortured strikers in Asbestos, Que., following disturbances there May 5.

The C.C.C.L. said it was making an immediate appeal to the Minister of Justice at Ottawa to investigate the "atrocities committed at Asbestos in the name of law, order and authority."

It added the matter was being passed on to the International Confederation of Christian Syndicates, with which the C.C.C.L. is affiliated, in order that the violation of fundamental liberties of human beings involved be brought before the United Nations organization, if necessary.

Unanimously endorsed for publication by the C.C.C.L. executive after a meeting here Saturday, the statement said an enquiry made into the conduct of police showed provincial officers committed acts of brutality comparable to methods employed in Russian concentration camps and Germany under the Nazis.

"During mass arrests made by the provincial police May 6 . . . at Asbestos, some workers were literally massacred," said the statement

Cont'd

DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR
CANADA

CLIPPING BUREAU

TRADE DISPUTES

MONTREAL STAR

Date [illegible] MAY [illegible] 1949 19...... Page ......

"While those arrested were being questioned, a considerable number of workers were submitted to torture with the aim of extorting declarations from them." In some cases these tortures lasted from 7 a.m. until [illegible] p.m.

"Many workers are marked for life, either from blows from fists they received in the face or from instruments (billies and others) with which they were brutally struck," the statement said.

"The majority of workers were tortured in the nurses' residence at Asbestos which is the property of The Canadian Johns-Manville Company," the statement added. The company is one of the largest employers affected by the Asbestos strike.

"The workers seriously injured by police in improvised chambers of torture were transported to the Canadian Johns-Manville hospital where its personnel (Dr. Cooper, Dr. Smith, etc.) examined them," the C.C.C.L. statement said.

"The C.C.C.L. executive," the statement continued, "has every reason to believe that authorities of the Canadian Johns-Manville were aware of atrocities being committed on their property."

The statement added that some of the strikers brought to jail in Montreal from Sherbrooke were forced to sign false declarations because they feared for their lives.

The 5,000 Asbestos workers on strike in the Eastern Townships are members of the Federation of Asbestos Workers which is affiliated with the C.C.C.L.

COUNCIL CHARGES "FORCED DETENTION"

Meantime, in a signed statement issued in Montreal last night, Theodore Lesperance, one of the counsel for the union men, protested against the "forced detention imposed on some of the workers and leaders of the syndicates."

He said Provincial Police declined to give him any information as to where the men arrested Friday were held. He added he obtained authority direct from Premier Duplessis, Attorney-General of Quebec, to see his clients.

Mr. Lesperance added: "I must further declare that while waiting at the headquarters of the Provincial Police at Montreal . . . I was insulted and physically molested by one of the constables of the Provincial Police."

At Provincial Police headquarters, an officer denied that Mr. Lesperance had been molested.

Company Issues Statement

Meanwhile, Lewis H. Brown, chairman of the board of the Canadian Johns-Manville, said the real issue in the strike is not wages but syndicate hopes to "take over management rights."

Mr. Brown said in a statement:

"These are the rights necessary to the efficient management of the private properties owned by stockholders who have delegated to management the responsibility to manage. When a captain of a ship is responsible for navigating safely a ship through stormy oceans, a committee from the crew cannot be permitted to tie the captain's hands behind his back and still hold him responsible for getting the ship safely to shore.

"The new leaders of the syndicate and their advisors knew that their unfair and unjust demands to take over management rights and to force management to agree in advance to give up the rights are so radical a departure from the just claims of employes that no reasonable arbitration board would ever agree with these syndicate leaders."

Mr. Brown recalled that the strike here started February [illegible] after the union had agreed to arbitration required under Quebec law. Following this, the strike was declared illegal and the union was decertified. Later the Minister of Labor invited the company and the syndicate to agree upon a third member of an arbitration board which could proceed under the law after the employes returned to work. Stating that the syndicate leaders had withdrawn from the plan, Mr. Brown said that "in other words, they had decided to continue to flout the law."

United Auto Workers Aid Asbestos Strikers

WINDSOR, Ont., May 16—(C.P.)—A donation of $1,000 to asbestos strikers in Quebec is "only the beginning of U.A.W.-C.I.O. aid to this just cause," George Burt, Canadian director of the United Automobile Workers (C.I.O.) said today.

The union's local 200 made its donation at a membership meeting last night.

"The province of Quebec is going through the same social enlightenment that Ontario went through in 1937 when the C.I.O. came in over the efforts of the Premier, the manufacturers and the police," Mr. Burt stated. "Anything we can do to help those strikers will be done."

DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR
CANADA

CLIPPING BUREAU

SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES

Date MAY 24 1949 19...... Paper WINDSOR STAR

Duplessis, Church Split

Paper Says Aid To Strikers Irks Premier

MONTREAL, (CP)—The Ensign, an English-language weekly with a Roman Catholic editorial policy, says in a Quebec dispatch in its current issue that "it is known" Quebec's labor minister, Antonio Barrette, has been overruled by Premier Duplessis "in several formulae to settle the strike" of asbestos miners in Quebec.

PARISH COLLECTIONS

The Ensign's story said:

"The focal development has been the aid which the church through authorized collections throughout the parishes has rallied to relieve the suffering of families in the strike-bound districts.

"The brunt of government attack since has been directed at what some government officials term 'church interference.'"

The dispatch said:

"The right of the church to interest herself in the social aspects of the case is being bitterly opposed by the government and threats have not only been used but implemented.

GRANTS WITHHELD

"The grant of $50,000 a year to the social study department of Laval University under Father Levesque has to date been withheld. Similar withholding of government grants to the University of Montreal is threatened.

"Premier Duplessis even sent emissaries to see some of the highest church authorities and approached other bishops in the hope of obtaining withdrawal of church interest. He failed to find any attitude other than that taken in Montreal and Quebec. His efforts of having a bishop take the matter up with the Vatican direct were equally futile.

"Government pressure has also been brought 'to have certain priests silenced' for pleading for aid to the striking families but all such government efforts were rejected."

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[illegible] BUREAU

DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR
CANADA

SUBJECT TRADE DISPUTES

Date MAY 1949 19 Paper HAMILTON LABOUR DIGEST

Police Terrorism

On March 22, the police broke into a home where a striker was playing cards with a friend. When he resisted arrest, they went off, returned with eight squad cars and thirty men, dragged everybody out into the street and into their cars, including one sick man and the miner's wife who is expecting a child shortly.

Political Footnote

There is an interesting political footnote to this industrial battle. Once again, let a French-Canadian daily state the case:

"We have rarely seen in all the history of Quebec, political power made the servant of economic dictatorship in such a degree . . . But all this explains itself when it is known that the legal and political adviser of Johns-Manville, and of the esbestos cartel in general, is none other than Yvan Sabourin, provincial leader of the Conservative party. Since the provincial Conservative party, camouflaged under the pompous title of Union Nationale, has definitely undertaken a campaign for Mr. Drew in the province of Quebec, Yvan Sabourin . . . can count on the good offices of the provincial police for the needs which must be executed.

"If Mr. Drew imagines that he can win the Province of Quebec with Sabourin as a gauleiter, he will have a cruel awakening. The man is both too sickening and too compromised."

DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR
CANADA

CLIPPING BUREAU

SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES

Date JUN 24 1949 19

Paper OTTAWA EVENING JOURNAL

Asbestos Men Returning

Thetford Mines Issues Going To Arbitration

THETFORD MINES, Que., June 24.—(CP)—Nearly half of the 5,000 striking workers in the asbestos fields of the Eastern Townships will return to work Monday, ending their part in a violence-ridden walkout begun Feb. 13. They will return to the mines at their old rates and without the extra 15 cents an hour demanded when they went on strike.

However, there was every indication the men, in forthcoming negotiations with the Asbestos companies, would gain 10 cents an hour.

10 Cents Included.

The workers' settlement meeting last night followed a new strike-ending proposal by the companies concerned and it was known that a 10-cents an hour increase was included in this.

At the Canadian Johns-Manville Co. workings in Asbestos some 700 workers have been in the asbestos pits—in defiance of the Asbestos Workers' Syndicate strike—and they now are receiving the 10-cents-an-hour increase offered some weeks ago by the company to all who wanted to resume jobs.

"This agreement was forced on us in 1924 by arbitration as far as I can learn" said the mayor.

"It was not done at our request and therefore I am going to take the whole matter to the Provincial Government."

He did not feel it was the city's duty to approach the county again. The city's view had been plainly stated and well known to the county.

"It is up to them to approach us", said the mayor. "They just went ahead without thinking of Ottawa. I have never seen the beat of it. It was the most unfair thing in my experience."

As the situation stands now, Ottawa must foot the bills for maintenance and repairs to the ancient court house to the tune of 65 percent. Under the city-county agreement, Carleton pays only 35 percent. yet has the final say.

Tuesday, the county council decided to proceed with a $500,000 renovation scheme without consulting the city. Under the agreement, the city must pay without being able to so much as discuss the plan.

In Toronto, the situation is reversed, City Clerk George Weale told The Journal this morning.

Has Whole Say.

The City of Toronto pays 87½ percent. of the costs but has the whole say in administration of the county courts.

The courts are situated in the Toronto city hall and are administrated by the city's Property Commissioner. This arrangement has been in force since 1899.

Toronto is presently contemplating building a new court house, separated from city hall. Toronto, not York county, will have the entire responsibility of deciding where, when and how this court house will be built.

In Toronto, the city is the senior partner and controls administration. In Ottawa, the senior partner has no say whatever, being guided entirely by the minority.

Says Mayor Invited.

R. H. Moore, Carleton County Warden, this morning told The Journal that Mayor Bourqu had definitely been invited to the meeting of the Property Committee of the County held June 14 where the $500,000 plans for the rennovation of the County Cour House were "unanimously ap proved" by the committee.

The County Warden emphasiz ed that if the Mayor had attend ed the meeting he could ha been heard at that time.

Mayor Bourque, said Ward More, replied to the invitation attend the June 14 meeting b saying he was too busy.

"I don't see why there is a this fuss being raised", Mr. Moo emphasized, "we held the meeti and the plans were unanimousl approved. The Mayor could hav attended it if he wanted to."

Following the meeting of th Property Committee there was a open meeting of the County Council to which Mayor Bourque was not invited and where he would have been able to give his case public hearing.

The Ontario Municipal Act provided the county was the controlling body in any agreement on costs of maintenance and repair of court houses, City Solicitor Medcalf said this morning. It further provided that the city must pay its share of such costs

Should the county decide to allow the majority to rule and the city have control, this could be done by agreement, Mr. Medcalf thought. Any party to an agreement could waive right under legislation if it wanted.

Should the city and county unable to agree on any new pa between them, the matter wo go to arbitration as in any othe similar case. The Ontario Arbitration Act provisions would come into force. Each would name a representative to the arbirtaion board and then try to agree on a chairman. If there was no agreement on the chairman he would be appointed by the Attorney General.

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DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR
CANADA

CLIPPING BUREAU

SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES

FEB 23 1949

Date.................................19........ Paper OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

Asbestos Strike Disorders

Premier Duplessis of Quebec, by sending 1[illegible]0 provincial policemen to Asbestos at the request of the Johns-Manville company, showed a callous disregard for the wishes of the municipality's authorities. As the strike had been peaceful until the police arrived, the town had not requested any outside help. Mr. Duplessis is apparently unprepared to accord to municipalities any rights with respect to maintaining order within their own borders. This ill becomes a man who in season and out raises the spurious cry that the federal government aims to curtail provincial rights.

True, the attorney-general is held broadly responsible for law and order within his province. In a narrow legal sense Mr. Duplessis may perhaps have acted within the terms of his authority. Morally he was quite wrong. Responsible town officials are quite capable of deciding whether they need outside help in such matters, and their wishes should be consulted. But Mr. Duplessis apparently thinks their desires count for nothing. Even the men whom he sent to invade Asbestos apparently agreed with him and rode roughshod over the community they were supposed to protect. Their hooliganism has evoked a formal protest from the town officials.

The federal government recognizes the rights of municipalities when outside aid to police a town is needed. By law, the Dominion's military forces cannot be called to a locality to help maintain order unless requested to do so by the municipal officials or a local judge, plus the provincial attorney-general. Had Mr. Duplessis entertained the same consideration for the Asbestos authorities the present disorders would not have occurred.

DEPARTMENT OF
LABOUR

CANADA

CLIPPING BUREAU

SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES MONTREAL STAR

Date APR 22 1949 19 Paper

FOR A FRESH START

THE strike in Quebec's important asbestos producing area has reached a stalemate. Companies and unions stand on their assumed rights. They can no longer talk to one another. Given the illegality of the strike, Quebec authorities stand helpless. Conciliation services are of no value whatever in a situation of this kind. As a result whole towns are distressed. Workers wonder where their next meal is coming from. Merchants stand on the verge of ruin because no one has money to spend. It's pretty hard to be virtuous on an empty stomach and the danger of violence increases from day to day.

In these circumstances the public interest is affected and it is in the public interest that the parties to this dispute must get together, somehow, and make a fresh start. How to get them together appears to be the heart of the present problem, but with goodwill—and surely all the goodwill built up over the years has not been dissipated—some formula could be devised to get the men back to work and the mines back to production. The bargaining process must be started all over again.

Fresh starts are useful. They are what keep domestic quarrels from degenerating into pitched battles. They can be useful in industrial disputes to prevent collapse.

Make no mistake about it, collapse is threatened in the asbestos area. Collapse of the union as well as of the companies. An industry which produces fifty per cent of the world's asbestos is threatened and if these mines cease to produce the livelihood of 400,000 people will be affected.

Now stalemates are never broken unless something, or somebody, gives. Something must give in the asbestos area. No easy formula for achieving this desirable end suggests itself, but surely stubbornness, on the part of either companies or union, has not settled in to the point where anyone is prepared to see whole populations starve and an industry ruined to satisfy mistaken notions of vanity or prestige. Nobody wins this kind of a fight; everybody gets hurt.

The companies have declared their willingness to bargain in good faith. Surely a union which has placed itself on the wrong side of the law can do no less. If it persists in its present attitude it destroys the whole process of collective bargaining whereby labor has made such great gains.

We are not immediately concerned about the rights and wrongs of this dispute. What we are concerned to see is that workers and their families eat regularly and that asbestos gets produced again in this province. Neither will be achieved by a knock-down-drag-out battle. This process can end only in disaster for everybody concerned.

What is called for is a confession of error and a fresh start. This process is not without social and religious sanction in this province. The general public will not care whether the confession is made publicly or not. One of the union's reasons for calling this strike in defiance of the law was that the bargaining process took too long. Surely its leaders are convinced by now that a strike is even more time-consuming. However long the bargaining process may take, people work and eat while it is going on. They do not sit at home in idle bitterness, nursing grievances and contributing to a reservoir of hatred that threatens to burst its dykes as it fills.

The time has come for the injection of a little commonsense into this dispute. It is the duty of leadership to provide it.

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DEPARTMENT OF
LABOUR
CANADA

CLIPPING BUREAU

SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES

Date MAY 7 - 1949 19

Paper MONTREAL HERALD

Reconciliation Essential

From the bloody strike violence which led to the reading of the Riot Act at Asbestos yesterday, some facts remain clear in a situation which time has made obscure in other respects:

1. The strike of asbestos workers remains illegal because members of the union did not choose to follow the pattern clearly established by law;

2. The operators, believing that the law should be observed, have been quick to take advantage of everything offered by the law;

3. The government has taken a position similar to that of the operators, though more recently it has modified its position somewhat;

4. Through its hierarchy, the Roman Catholic church has implied sympathy for the strikers.

* * *

Nor must sight be lost of two other highly significant points, arising from this dispute:

1. Asbestos workers are "broke," and rely upon donations for that upon which to live.

2. The Quebec asbestos producers, who furnish a large percentage of an important commodity, are earning nothing themselves, and this lack of income must have repercussions along the economic line.

So we wind up with unpardonable physical suffering and unnecessary economic privation all because of an adamantine attitude—in greater degree on the part of the strikers, to some extent on the part of others directly concerned, including the operators.

* * *

The situation has now deteriorated to a point describable by only one word: rotten:

But bad as it is, it is not a situation beyond repair—provided there is an honest attempt at meeting of the minds, something that should be the basis of settlement in all industrial disputes.

We stress the words *honest attempt.*

They imply many things, among them obedience to established law. Among them, also, a sincere willingness to settle. That throws some burden upon the operators.

* *

Two powerful means are available to help toward this necessary meeting of the minds.

First is the government. Its manner of approach can be bilaterally conciliatory without deviation from law.

Second is the church. Its interest is direct, since the strikers are members of a Catholic syndicate with clerical affiliation.

If the disputants, [illegible] cannot reconcile their differences we shall be [illegible] deed.

And no time should be lost. Absence of reconciliation is benefiting none, harming too many.

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DEPARTMENT OF
LABOUR

CLIPPING BUREAU

SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES

Date APR - 7 1949 19...... Paper OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

Police As Strike-Breakers

Though striking miners at Asbestos, Que., have been under great provocation from invading provincial police, their outbreak of violence on Thursday cannot be condoned. The strikers took possession of the town, seized a dozen or more provincial constables and set up road blocks at the highway entrances to the town. Apparently little or no physical injury was done the policemen held captive from periods of from a few minutes to an hour or so. But care in the handling of their prisoners does not excuse the acts committed by the men.

Nevertheless it must be borne in mind that there was no disorder in the conduct of the strike of 5,000 Johns Manville and other workers at Asbestos until after the first detachment of provincial police entered the scene. Their disreputable behavior precipitated the first clashes. And it evoked official censure from the municipal council who charged that provincial constables openly violated the law and ordinary standards of decency.

Technically the strike of asbestos workers is illegal because the union did not comply with all the formalities of the Quebec labor law. But that the workers have justice on their side is evidenced by the solid support of Roman Catholic clergy in Asbestos and elsewhere. The Duplessis government has shown a shocking lack of interest in the merits of the dispute and adopted heavy-handed methods to defeat the cause of the employes. The charge that provincial police are being paid by the company, thus ceasing to be impartial agents of the law, has never been denied.

Not since Premier Hepburn declared in 1937 that "all the resources of the province would be used" to break the strike of automobile workers at Oshawa "and keep the CIO out of Ontario," has there been such brazen misuse of police against labor. Mr. Hepburn drilled hundreds of special police in the basement of the Ontario parliament buildings and they came to be known as "Hepburn's Hussars." The Oshawa strike was so orderly that there was never any excuse to bring the strike-breaking army into action. The dispute was amicably settled without police intervention.

The abuse of police power in Asbestos has seriously aggravated the situation there and is no doubt largely responsible for the intense bad feeling that culminated in Thursday's rioting—and that renders an early settlement unlikely.

III-F(xxxvii)

ARTMENT OF LABOUR

CANADA

CLIPPING BUREAU

MAY 10 1949

MAY 10 1949

SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES

Date .... 19........ Paper: OTTAWA MORNING CITIZEN

“Police As Strike-Breakers

Editor, Citizen: Your editorial "Police As Strikebreakers" made some excellent points about "the abuse of police power in Asbestos," to use your phrasing.

You might, though, have stressed the point that what little injury the strikers, under great provocation, did to a few of the provincial police was reported by the police themselves, while newspapermen were eyewitnesses to brutal violence on the part of the police, inside a church hall.

Michael Rougier of *Time* and *Life* was one of them. He told a Montreal reporter: "I saw an officer hit one of the men across the face with a piece of wood. When the man attempted to defend himself by putting his hands across his face, he was hit again."

Rougier was also quoted as saying "It made me sick to watch it" by the Canadian Press reporter Alan Randal, part of whose report the *Evening Citizen* carried—but not that nor the following sentence of Randal's: "News pictures showed at least one striker with blood streaming from his face."

This use of police as strikebreakers is not, however, confined to the Asbestes strike. It's being carried on constantly in the Canadian Seamen's Union strike which is admittedly quite legal and in the case of which, as Prof. Burton Keirstead of McGill said on his CBC program last night, "the companies signed contracts with the Seafarers' Union, which does not even exist as a bargaining agent in Canada." Prof. Keirstead warned that, in view of the fact that almost all reports on the strike told of police action against strikers, there was a danger of our gradually adopting police-state methods.

It is easy to editorialize on events in another province. But let us not forget that two years ago, when a UAW-CIO local was on strike at Ottawa Car and Aircraft Ltd., Ottawa police were daily used as strikebreakers, herding pick-up replacements in to steal the jobs of workers withholding their labor to obtain better conditions—which they eventually did obtain through holding out. I don't remember any editorials on such use of our police.

I'll never forget the first morning "scabs" were thus escorted in. I counted 130 Ottawa policemen "guarding" about 50 of these characters as they entered the plant. And one of the cops prevented me and others from walking down a public street, which was reserved for the use of the job filchers. All they forgot was the red carpet! This is just what police are doing—though more brutally—in Asbestos and other cities today. Are they our servants or the companies'?

PAUL A. GARDNER

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DEPARTMENT OF
LABOUR
CANADA

CLIPPING BUREAU

SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES

Date MAY 17 [illegible] 19

Paper B. C. FISHERMAN

Duplessis With Company Against Asbestos Strikers

THE press these last few weeks has found itself in the unenviable position of having a strike to report but, despite the militancy of the workers involved, it was unable to paint them "Red," or use any of the pet terms developed to label workers out on strike for decent living conditions.

Reason for the frustrating position of the press is that these workers, on strike at the Johns-Manville asbestos mine at Asbestos, Quebec, are members of the Catholic Federation of Labor, They are, moreover, supported in their struggle by the Catholic church and all decent men everywhere.

For 12 weeks the workers of Asbestos and Thetford Mines, Quebec, employees of the Asbestos Corporation, the Canadian Johns-Manville Company and a few smaller companies, have been striking to bring their basic wage from 85 cents to $1 an hour, for safer working conditions and union security.

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Dubbed "illegal" by the Duplessis government, which is the counterpart of the Drew Tory group in other parts of Canada, their st[illegible] has been subjected to a propaganda campaign of slander and misrepresentation equalled only by that directed against the strike of the Canadian seamen.

Nevertheless, support for the miners has grown steadily during the course of the strike. TLC, CCL and Syndicate unions have been pouring a steady stream of money and food into the mining towns. The LPP, the CCF, and many prominent public figures, including Catholic Church dignitaries, have expressed their solidarity with the strikers.

On Sunday, May 14, collections were taken up in all churches in the Catholic dioceses of Montreal and Sherbrooke to aid the strikers. A week later every other Catholic diocese in Quebec followed suit and took up a collection "to aid the families of the Asbestos strikers."

Faced with mounting indignation throughout the province, in the tenth week of the strike, the Wall Street controlled asbestos trust moved quickly to try to smash the strike. Working hand-in-glove with a large detachment of provincial police, which had been sent in despite the protest of the municipal authorities, the companies began to hire non-miners from Montreal and Quebec City as strikebreakers, and brought them into the mining area under heavy police guard. Simultaneously, the companies sent eviction notices to all strikers' families living in company-owned dwellings.

The miners moved swiftly to safeguard their jobs, their homes, and their families. Before dawn Thursday, May 5, in defiance of an injunction against picketing, 800 pickets surrounded the Johns-Manville plant.

Every road leading into the town of Asbestos was blocked with gravel trucks, staggered across the road, surrounded by "platoons" of two to three hundred men, to prevent scabs and their police escorts from coming into the town.

In the city itself, every provincial police officer and constable was taken into custody by the strikers, and disarmed. The town was mo[illegible]aceful and quiet than at any time since the beginning of the str[illegible] Not a single scab entered the plant.

The provincial police combed the underworld of Montreal and Quebec City to recruit more than 200 "special constables" for duty in the Asbestos area. On Thursday night they moved in, together with more than 200 regular provincial police constables brought in from all over the province.

Their first stop was the Church of St. Aime d'Asbestos, the basement of which was one of the strikers headquarters. Some 4 strikers, none of whom offered any resistance to the police, were beaten to a pulp, then thrown into police wagons and transported to the jails without any medical attention.

The lay officers of the church declared, "Before these profane acts of the provincial police in the parish church of St. Aime, since their arrival in this town Thursday night, the lay officers, both new and old, of the church want to protest energetically. . . . It is regrettable to be obliged to add that the food of the strikers, bought from the collections organized by our bishops, was disgracefully eaten by the police in the church basement."

On Friday morning, the road blocks were withdrawn. Rev. L. P Camirand, the chaplain of the strikers' union, declared he had requested the strikers to remove the road blocks because he knew "the police would stage a complete butchery otherwise." He added "The strikers were justified in picketing to prevent outsiders from obtaining their jobs."

Despite the cessation of picketing on Friday morning, the provincial police unleashed a reign of brutal terror against the Asbestos strikers and their families. Jean Marchand, secretary-general of the Canadian and Catholic Confederation of Labor, declared: "The public will be overwhelmed by the atrocities that were committed in the name of law and authority."

Thus far, more than 300 strikers have been arrested. Every jail in the Eastern Townships has been packed to overflowing, and dozens more are being brought into the dismal, rat-infested Bordeaux Gaol.

Police terror will not daunt the strikers. It will only rouse the rest of Canada to protest such criminal carryings-on by an anti-labor tory government.

Seamen, asbestos workers, who is next? Let us see that both these strikes are won. In that way can insurance be provided against further provocations against trade unions and their members.

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ARTMENT OF
LABOUR
CANADA

CLIPPING BUREAU

SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES

Date MAY 30 1949 19.......... Paper MONTREAL GAZETT

AN ABNORMAL STRIKE

As the strike in Asbestos drags on, the practical issues continue to be confused and clouded by the cultivation of an intense emotionalism. This emotionalism hardly seems to be justified by the practical issues themselves. For these issues — especially the rates of pay — do not appear to be notably more serious than those raised in other strikes. But there has been from the start an apparent determination on the part of the union to evade arbitration and to turn the strike into heated struggle after vaster and vaguer objectives.

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Some of the influences back of the strike would seem to come from beyond Asbestos itself. More broadly, there is evidence that the Catholic Syndicates in Quebec are involved in a struggle for place and position against the so-called international unions, which have their headquarters in the United States. In this struggle to secure the position of the Catholic Syndicates there has apparently been a decision to abandon the former respect for orderly procedures, and to resort to vehement appeals and spectatular methods.

But as one Roman Catholic observer has pointed out, this decision has involved the Catholic Syndicates in demagogic strategies, and in what appears to be a more or less systematic cultivation of hatreds. In Asbestos the appeal has been made to a narrow but intense nationalism. Since it is obvious that the international unions can hardly adopt this line, the Catholic Syndicates seem to be developing nationalism, with all its emotionalized appeals, as their own exclusive mode of campaign.

A feature of this appeal appears to be an attack upon American capital invested in the Province of Quebec. The encouragement of capital investment from abroad has been a policy of the present Provincial Government and one of the principal causes of the province's recent industrial development. But the struggle against the company in Asbestos has been led partly on the grounds that it is American-owned. In this manner the struggle has not followed simply along the lines of the representatives of the employees making demands upon the employers within the ordinary scope of arbitration. It has taken on aspects of a bitter nationalistic struggle against the presence of American capital in this province.

Whatever may be reasonably said upon this issue, it is evident that the campaign being waged in Asbestos is not being conducted entirely upon the plane of reason. The type of appeal that is being made is reflected in a recent editorial in Le Devoir. In speaking of the Johns-Manville Company, this editorial says:

"No shareholder, no director is a Canadian citizen. None is controlled by our laws or accountable for his acts before our courts. Even the higher officials are foreigners who are in this country only because of their professional duty

"Mr. Foster, manager at Asbestos has had experience in the handling of men by directing black manual laborers in South Africa and in Cuba. He thus possessed the required training to direct French-Canadian miners. Tomorrow, he will perhaps be sent back among the Zulus. He will be in his element there."

A recurring feature of the strike campaign in Asbestos has been the representation of the lot of the workers under American capital as "appalling" or "unimaginable." Yet the precise facts supporting these claims have never been plainly established.

The scale of wages paid in Asbestos would not seem to be conspicuously low, and would seem capable of adjustment by normal negotiation. Much has been made of the claims that health conditions in the mines have been taking a heavy toll of workers, that the dust has caused tuberculosis in the community, and that there has been a high rate of asbestosis.

It would seem evident, however, as the statistics have been more fully disclosed, that these claims rest upon little foundation. For one thing, medical science has not yet established any direct connection between tuberculosis and asbestosis. In any case, the rate of tuberculosis in Asbestos would seem to be comparatively low, and all five deaths reported in the last year for which figures are available were those of females, who had never worked in the mines. As for asbestosis, it appears that very few cases — possibly only two — have been discovered in Asbestos during the last 50 years.

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The merging of a struggle against the international unions into a struggle against international capital is one that may have serious consequences for the future development of the province. But it would seem evident that the strike in Asbestos, from its abnormal length, the disinclination of the union to enter negotiations, the intense emotionalism injected into it largely from without, has become entangled with motives and ambitions not directly related to the workers themselves, nor to their practical welfare.

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DEPARTMENT OF
LABOUR

CANADA

CLIPPING BUREAU

SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES

Date JUN 2 1949 19

Paper BROCKVILLE RECORDER TIMES

Strike Violence

The Canadian Catholic Confederation of Labour has asked the Dominion Government to set up a royal commission to inquire into alleged acts of brutality by Quebec provincial police against striking asbestos workers. This request is the outcome of riots and disturbances which occurred in Asbestos, Quebec on May 5th, and which were followed by the arrival of police reinforcements who were instructed to restore law and order.

The request which was issued by Fernand Simard, public relations officer of the C.C.L., claims that police acted through "simple vengeance and with the aim of extorting incriminating declarations". Further, the statement charges that many arrested strikers were submitted to abusive interrogation, were struck, wounded and subjected to "veritable physical and moral torture."

These are indeed serious charges, if true in any measure, and it would appear that an inquiry is certainly in order. Already some suspicion exists in the public mind concerning the proper use of Quebec's provincial police. Premier Duplessis is far too inclined to look upon his police as a gestapo force to be utilized for the purpose of quelling the various vocal elements in the province who disagree with his policies.

However, in these Asbestos riots the strikers themselves have been far from blameless. A Canadian Press dispatch reporting on the action that took place at the roadblocks set up by strikers on the highways leading into Asbestos stated:—"Provincial police already stationed there were halted at the blockades and a dozen or more were beaten with clubs, bars and sticks. Some were manacled with their own handcuffs." Such conduct on the part of any striker is reprehensible in the extreme. A duly-appointed policeman is a symbol of law and order in this country, Quebec included, and as such is always to be treated as inviolable. Any irresponsible attack upon a policeman is not an attack upon an individual but rather a physical assault upon the government and thereby upon the Canadian people. Is this to be tolerated much longer?

The way that physical violence has become an ingredient in labor disputes of late, is, to say the least, simply shocking, whether the blame lie with labor, management or the police. Too many Canadians are behaving like animals. Another case in point is the even more disgraceful conduct demonstrated by those involved in the jurisdictional battle staged recently by the communist-led Canadian Seaman's Union. The nation as a whole cannot and will not tolerate this sort of thing.

By all means let there be an investigation of this Asbestos episode by some disinterested body and let those who are found guilty be severely punished, whatever the faction to which they may belong. The country is sick and tired of stupid violence, disorder and all the attendant evils. And rightly so.

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DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR
CANADA

CLIPPING BUREAU

Date JUN - 3 1949

MONTREAL STAR

WHAT HAPPENED TO COMMON SENSE?

NEGOTIATIONS leading to a settlement of the asbestos strike have broken down. They seem to have broken down on the understandable reluctance of the company to re-hire strikers against whom criminal charges are pending and the union's insistence that all strikers be re-hired without discrimination.

If this is the cause of the breakdown it indicates on the part of the union a stubbornness out of all proportion to what it has a right to expect after a strike lasting four months and the commission of more than one illegal act. What does the union want? Does it expect the community—and make no mistake, the community is involved—does it expect the community to say that it was right from the beginning, that it committed no illegal acts or that, if it did, they were wholly justifiable within the context of the strike? It can surely want no such thing. It is not entitled to so clean a bill of health.

All that the community is disposed to do is to overlook the original illegality in the interests of a settlement. It is not disposed to break down the legal processes of this province so far as to allow the union, or anybody else, to bargain with the law. No one bargains with the law. No one should be allowed to.

Surely the moment has come for the use of common sense and the introduction of some conciliatory spirit into this dispute. The Government, through the Minister of Labor, Mr. Barrette, has used its good offices to bring the parties together. The company has agreed to ignore the strict letter of the law and bargain again with a union that by its own act surrendered its bargaining certificate. This is generous enough.

There were intimations for a time that the union itself was prepared to make some concessions in the interests of social and industrial peace. It has retreated from the impossible conditions laid down at a union meeting two weeks ago and, until a few days ago, showed some disposition to settle on a give and take basis.

Any formula worked out for settlement necessarily involves some face saving. Surely the union wants no more than it has gained. It has gained the support of the church and a large measure of public sympathy. Whatever the outcome, it emerges from the strike in a strong position. What more does it want? To refuse to compromise now will lose it all the support gained.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR
CANADA

SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES

Date July 2, 1949. Paper THE MONTREAL GAZETTE

$2,000,000 LOST IN WAGES IN 5-MONTH ASBESTOS STRIKE

Jubilant Parade Marks End of Tie-up as Miners, Company Agree; Men to Return to Work Monday

7

Asbestos, Que., July 1 — (CP)--The long, drawn-out strike of asbestos miners, punctuated two months ago by bloody clashes with police, came to an end early Dominion Day and set off parades of 2,000 cheering, jubilant strikers.

Settlement came through negotiations personally conducted by Most Rev. Maurice Roy, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Quebec. The men are expected to start returning to work Monday.

This Eastern Townships industrial town was the storm centre of the strike that began Feb. 13. Last month settlement was effected between 2,500 employees of four smaller asbestos companies in the Thetford Mines area.

Announcement that the strike against the Canadian Johns-Manville Company, employing nearly as many men as all the other companies together, came at 1.30 a.m. from Gerard Picard, president of the Canadian Catholic Confederation of Labor. The various asbestos workers' syndicates are affiliated with the Confederation.

The agreement approved by both sides provides for:

An increase of 10 cents an hour to bring the basic hourly wage to 95 cents; seniority rights; re-employment of all strikers without discrimination; four holidays with pay a year.

The men struck for a 15-cent increase and changes in working conditions, the pay demand forming the main issue of the strike that was termed illegal by the Quebec Government.

It was estimated the strike has cost $2,000,000 in wages. It crippled production in the largest Asbestos area in the world, an area that produces more than 80 per cent of the world supply.

The remaining five cents of the miners' demands will be negotiated.

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DEPARTMENT OF
LABOUR
CANADA

CLIPPING BUREAU

SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES

Date July 2 19 49. Paper THE MONTREAL GAZETTE

- 2 -

Many earlier attempts to end the strike failed. Some hinged on the question of re-employment, the company refusing to take back those arrested.

Under the signed agreement, there is no discrimination except against strikers who may be convicted in court.

Following the May 5 outbreak that brought reading of the Riot Act, more than 150 were arrested. Later charges on minor counts, such as vagrancy, were dropped against most.

Twelve union leaders still are to be tried on more serious charges, ...

DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR

JUL 29 1949

HALIFAX CITIZEN

CLIPPING BUREAU

Asbestos Strike Is Settled

III-F(xliii)

Date

Paper

CTION BY CHURCH S UNPRECEDENTED

lections for Families and General Election Helped End Dispute

By Staff Representative

QUEBEC, July 6—There was dancing in the streets of the little town of Asbestos when one of the most unusual strikes in the history of the Dominion labor movement was settled this week through negotiations personally conducted by Archbishop Maurice Roy of the Roman Catholic church.

The bitter dispute, in which the church took unprecedented action, involved the asbestos unions affiliated with the Canadian Catholic Confederation of Labor, the giant American-owned Johns-Manville Co. and four Canadian concerns.

The 5,000 asbestos workers walked out on February 13 when the companies, dominated by Johns-Manville, rejected their moderate demands for an increase of 15 cents an hour, which would make the basic pay $1, and certain improvements in working conditions.

Duplesis Backed Companies

Immediately the companies got the support of the provincial government of Premier Maurice Duplesis. Their plan was to smash the strike and the unions. The deadlock continued for weeks. Attempts to import "scabs" of course only stirred up trouble.

Then the Catholic church stepped in, citing the encyclicals of the Popes on fair wages and appealing for a settlement. This was followed by an amazing development. The archbishops of Montreal and Quebec ordered collections taken at the doors of all churches to aid the families of the strikers. There was a tremendous response.

This was a heavy blow to Johns-Manville and Duplesis. Hopes that the strikers would cave in from hunger were blasted. In a desperate attempt to turn sentiment against the strikers, provincial police crashed a picket line outside Asbestos. In the darkness they were mistaken for "scabs" and roughed up a bit. Duplesis then sent a small army into the

of strikers into jail, and read the Riot Act.

Church Threatened

The wildest kind of stories were circulated about the incident, but instead of turning sentiment against the strikers this won them more sympathy.

Charges of clerical interference were made against the church and there were threats of repressive laws But the church made no reply to these attacks. It simply kept on providing assistance to the strikers and their families.

In addition, unins of both the regular labor movements and the Catholic Confederation supported the strike.

Johns-Manville's decision to make a settlement came with the recent general election in which the people of Quebec demonstrated that they were not behind the Duplesis government.

The terms secured by the Archbishops Roy provide an increase of 10 cents an hour, rehiring of strikers without discrimination and four holidays with pay. There is to be further negotiation on the remaining five cents of the demands.

A similar settlement was made with the Canadian Companies

CONTENT	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
GASPE COPPER MINE STRIKE: (Murdochville, 1957): Causes: - union demanding 15¢ an hour increase - 40 hour week - shift premiums - 8 statutory holidays - other benefits - check-off - firing of local union President - main issue - union recognition - company claims of illegal strike. Events: - entrance of Quebec Provincial Police - explosion of oil tank - threat of eviction from company-owned homes - outside workers hired - wives'picketline broken up by Q.P.P. - union leaders attacked - violence on picketline - striker killed. Points of view: (a) the strikers (b) management.	The strategy for this study is designed to challenge student awareness of the fact that at least two distinct points of view exist in any serious confrontation. Step #1: Distribute copies of newspaper articles to students and allow them to peruse these sources. Inform students that they are to adopt the role of a striker. The time is late August of 1957 and they are writing to family in Ontario. In the letter, students should explain to their family why they are on strike, refer to events that have been significant to them, and express personal feelings about the entire situation. The teacher should impress on students to develop the anxieties, hopes and fears of a striker in Murdochville in 1957. Step #2: Inform students that they are to adopt the role of a management official employed by Gaspe Copper, a subsidiary of Noranda Mines. The time is late August of 1957 and they are writing to family in Ontario. In the letter, the management official should explain to the family his view of the strike causes, refer to events that seem	Appendices III-G(i) to III-G(xxvi) These are copies of newspaper articles on the Gaspe Copper Mine Strike.	To gather data from primary sources. To practice viewing a situation from a perspective they may not have taken. To understand that there are at least two distinct views to most confrontations. To develop writing skills.

CONTENT	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
	significant and express personal feelings about the strike situation.	The same newspaper articles used in Step #1.	
	Again students should express the anxieties, hopes and fears of a management official in Murdochville in 1957.		
Teachers may wish to have students compare the solidarity of the strikers at Murdochville with that of the workers at Windsor in 1945. Once differences have been detected here the class can look at effects and compare results.	(An alternative, or additional stategy might be to have students formally debate some aspect of the strike).		
	Students might be encouraged to express their feelings about their attempt to view this event from two different viewpoints.		
	Results can be studied by using Appendices III-G-(xxvii) to III-G(xxix).	Newspaper clippings.	

DEPARTMENT
…PPING BUREAU
TORONTO GLOBE … MAIL

Major Strike Shutdown Threatens Copper Fields

A major strike, which could become the industrial dispute of the year, threatens Canada's copper industry today, with 2,500 employees of Noranda Mines Ltd. expected to walk off the job at Royun, Que., in the next 14 days.

Approximately 1,100 employees at Gaspe Copper Mines, Ltd., Noranda subsidiary at Murdochville, Que., went on strike March 11 in support of demands for union recognition.

The company's mine and smelter workers at both Rouyn and Murdochville are members of the United Steelworkers of America.

A secret meeting of top officers from both the Steelworkers and the Canadian Labor Congress is known to have been held in Ottawa yesterday to discuss the situation.

CIC officials refused to comment on the meeting, saying only: "We discussed organizational matters affecting the mining and smelting industry."

Informed sources state, however, that the Steelworkers were asking the CLC to endorse and pledge financial support for the dispute, which is expected to come to head shortly.

Attending the meeting were CLC President Claude Jodoin and the executive vice-president, Gordon G. Cushing.

Representing the Steelworkers were: William Mahoney, Canadian director; district directors Larry Sefton, Toronto, and James Nicholson, Sydney, N.S.; Eamon Park, Toronto, legislative director; and W. P. Burke, staff representative for Quebec.

Noranda, which produced 104,010 tons of copper in 1955, is Canada's second producer of copper. The International Nickel Co. of Canada, Ltd., with 131,595 tons, is Canada's first and the world's fifth producer.

The majority of Canadian copper is produced for export to the United States. In 1955, Canadian copper was valued at $239,000,000 and exceeded all other metals in volume produced and in price.

Labor-management relations have never been good at Noranda since the Steelworkers union was first certified there Jan. 11, 1951. Trouble has been brewing since conciliation board hearings affecting the Rouyn Works began in Montreal Jan. 21.

The situation has come to a head with the completion of the board's report. A majority report was forwarded to both parties Friday and a minority report was mailed yesterday.

Recommendations in the majority report have not been made public but it is understood these are unfavorable to the union.

The union was demanding a 15-cent-an-hour increase, a 40-hour week, shift premiums, eight statutory holidays, improved holidays, welfare and other benefits. The company has made no counter-offer.

The suggestion today is that if a strike takes place at Rouyn, the union will forego any attempt to compromise and will concentrate on achieving all demands, including the checkoff. This last has been studiously avoided in the past.

The trouble at Murdochville goes back to the merger of Canada's two big national labor bodies last year. Until then, Gaspe Copper was signed with the old Trades and Labor Congress of Canada.

With the merger and formation of the Canadian Labor Congress, jurisdiction was transferred to the Steelworkers. The company promptly appealed to the courts and got an injunction restraining the Quebec Labor Relations Board from certifying the union as bargaining agent.

The company then fired C. L. Gagnier, president of the union's Local 4881. The employees walked out in protest.

Today, striking employees live in company houses and bunk houses and eat in company kitchens. This is permitted because of a shortage of good miners and company reluctance to lose competent personnel.

Current reports have it however, that 100 employees have already left the area.

Union men claim the union was never in better condition for a sustained strike. Spring is at hand, the coffers are full, and the union has recently increased its dues. In addition, there are no other disputes threatening within the steelworkers jurisdiction.

On the other hand, Gaspe Copper is in the last year of a three-year tax-free concession period. Copper produced there today is worth about 40 cents on the dollar more than it will be next year.

Too, support from the CLC could amount to a secondary boycott, with nothing moving in or out of the Gaspe or Rouyn areas. Closing of the Rouyn smelter could also affect many other mining companies in the area.

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CLIPPING BUREAU

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CANADA
APR - 1957

GASPE COPPER MINERS STRIKE

1000 Protest Layoff of Local President

MURDOCHVILLE, P. Q.—At midnight, March 10, mine and smelter operations ceased at Gaspe Copper, the multi-million-dollar subsidiary of Noranda Mines in the Gaspe Peninsula. Gaspe Copper workers had decided to take strike action in protest against the summary layoff of Theo Gagne, a pipefitter, and president of Local 4881 of the United Steelworkers.

Gagne has worked at Gaspe Copper since October, 1954. On March 8, his foreman sent for him and told him he was laid off . . . the company had all the pipefitters they needed. There was no work for him, he was told. He protested to the plant engineer and tried, without success, to meet the manager.

For the men at Gaspe Copper, this was the last straw. Since last summer, the company had been carrying on a campaign of discriminatory measures. Several officers and stewards had been demoted and their wages cut.

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A meeting was arranged for Sunday night—the 10th. Over 400 attended. They voted unanimously to shut the plant down at midnight and set up picket lines. Only six people were reported to have stayed on the job.

Less than a week after the strike began, 250 men were said to have left the area to look for work elsewhere; about 750 were picketing the property.

During the second week of the strike, injunctions were served on a number of the picketers and hearings were expected to take place before the end of March.

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Meanwhile, there was evidence that the company was putting pressure on the Quebec Labour Board to have the United Steelworkers take steps to initiate conciliation procedure. Owing to court action taken by the company last summer, the Quebec Board has been prohibited from certifying the union as bargaining agency even though, at the time of the Steelworkers application for certification, over 90 per cent of the workers had signed union application cards and paid the fees and dues required by Quebec law.

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Not only is the strike the direct result of company provocation over a long period, say the Gaspé workers, but the company is also responsible for the fact that the union has no legal status. In its brief to the Court asking for the Writ of Prohibition against certification, the company claimed that it was "called upon to defend itself against a mysterious and nebulous group which had no legal status." It can hardly be argued, say the men at Gaspé, that a "mysterious and nebulous group without legal status" should try to initiate conciliation procedure. That, they say, is up to the company, or to the Quebec Department of Labour.

Exodus from the area of any considerable number of miners would be a serious blow to the company, especially since it is still operating on the three-year tax-exempt arrangement for new mining developments.

The Gaspé Copper workers are determined to stay out until reinstatement of Theo Gagné is assured and their union is given full recognition.

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CLIPPING BUREAU

III-G(iii) **SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES** TORONTO STAR

JUL 23 1957 19 Paper

Murdochville

If this were an age of superstition, copper might be regarded as an evil metal, so often has fierce strife attended its extraction from the earth. Some of the bloodiest pages in industrial history were written in Montana around the turn of the century, as the copper barons fought like savages against each other and their workers. A new chapter, scarcely milder, is being written this year in Murdochville, Quebec, site of one of the richest copper deposits in Canada.

There is nothing mystical in the Murdochville story, but there is drama. The town, which did not exist six years ago, takes its name from J. Y. Murdoch of Toronto, chairman of Noranda Mines Ltd., and must be regarded as a monument to his enterprise. But it promises to have a larger significance than that in labor annals.

Murdochville will be remembered by labor as the place where a wealthy and powerful company moved into a backwoods region and sought to impose there a type of arbitrary rule, and conditions of work, belonging to another age. "Feudal" is the word which Montreal Le Devoir applied to the structure of this company town after a thorough investigation. Perhaps to its surprise, the company found the farmers and fishermen of Gaspe not humbly grateful for the opportunity to work much longer hours at much lower rates than Noranda pays its copper miners elsewhere. Instead the Gaspesians chose to insist upon their modern rights as workers, against formidable odds.

The result of this clash has been an epic strike, now in its fifth month. The great majority of workers are still out, despite the intimidating presence of over 100 Quebec provincial police armed with machine-guns, company threats of legal action to recover back rents, the lure of wage increases, and the importation of some outside labor to take their jobs. There have been two mysterious explosions damaging mine property, one of which fatally injured a striker, and some fights between strikers and non-strikers. Except for these incidents, an outward calm has prevailed. The Duplessis government has acted throughout as the patron and protector of Gaspe Copper Mines, the Noranda subsidiary.

Basically, this is a strike for union recognition. "The name of Murdochville," writes the Jesuit Father Jacques Cousineau, "has now become the symbol of sufferings accepted for one of the fundamental human liberties: the right of professional association." A year ago the workers, by an overwhelming margin, chose the United Steelworkers union as their bargaining agent. After investigation, the Quebec Labor Relations board seemed ready to certify the union. But the company obtained a court order to block this, on the quite remarkable grounds that the board had refused to supply it with the original documents listing union members and officers. The strike began March 10 after the company fired the local union president from his job.

The company contends the strike is illegal, and refuses to deal with an uncertified union (uncertified thanks to the company's initiative to keep it uncertified). This case rests on a thin tissue of technicality. What is perfectly clear is that the workers have been denied the right to bargain collectively through the union of their choice.

This is all the more remarkable when one considers that the parent company, Noranda, recently reached an agreement with the same union covering its copper workers in Noranda, Que. This contract will establish a work week of 40 hours, with wage rates of $1.49 for labor and $1.90 for miners. In Murdochville, the work week is 48 hours, and the wage rates (having been raised twice since the strike vote) are $1.12 and $1.17 for labor, $1.53 and $1.63 for miners.

So the inequitable and dangerous situation drags on. Le Devoir comments: "Whether or not the government wants it, whether Gaspe Copper accepts or refuses it, the fact of unionism will eventually become a reality in Murdochville as it has elsewhere. And the more the company (with the government's help) fights it, the more unionism will have to take a violent aspect, the more tendencies it will have towards anarchy and gangsterism."

DEPARTMENT OF
LABOUR
CANADA

CLIPPING BUREAU

SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES

Date APR 26 1957 19

Paper MONTREAL GAZETTE

Police Enter Strike Town

Murdochville, Que., April 25 —(CP)— A 25-man Provincial Police detachment has arrived in this copper mining town where 750 men have been on strike for seven weeks.

Picketing is continuing and "the situation is calm," said a representative of the United Steelworkers of America (CLC) which called the strike when the local union president was dismissed March 8.

Some 1,500 employees went on strike March 11 following the dismissal of Theo Gagne, president of the local which has unsuccessfully tried to negotiate a collective bargaining agreement with the company since June, 1956.

The dispute erupted in the wake of months-long wrangling between the union, which claims 75-per-cent membership among Murdochville workers, and Gaspe Copper Mines Limited, a subsidiary of Noranda Mines.

100 Men Left

Shortly after strike action was taken more than 100 workers left the mining town in the Gaspe Peninsula interior to take up jobs elsewhere.

Bruno MacDonald, Steelworkers representative from the Malartic, Que., local who has been shifted here to handle union welfare measures, said 750 men are receiving strike pay. About half these men live in surrounding towns [illegible] as far as 100 miles [illegible]

Mr. MacDonald [illegible] 300 men are left in [illegible] town. Some of the men who live outside come back periodically to work on the picket lines.

Employees live in company houses but rents are "not being paid," the union spokesman said. No one has been ejected from company homes and wives and children go about their daily routines as usual.

The union spokesman said "some company letters" have been sent to union members in connection with unpaid rent but no other action has been taken.

'Mounting Tension'

In Quebec City, a Provincial Government spokesman said police reinforcements have been sent to the mining area, 60 miles west of Gaspe, because of "mounting tension" between union members and officers of Gaspe Copper Mines.

The Government spokesman recalled an injunction, still before the courts, was issued at the company's request last June after the union applied to the Quebec Labor Relations Board for certification. Effect of the injunction was to prevent the board from acting on the union application.

He said this injunction not only provided that picket lines should be orderly and allow company employees to pass but banned the erection of shelters for pickets.

The spokesman said two shelters have been set up. One of these is equipped with a loudspeaker which is used to transmit union order to pickets. Use of the loudspeaker added to the tension, he said.

The Provincial Police detachment has been sent to the area as a measure of caution "and to help keep the peace."

"It was thought to be the right thing to do under present circumstances," he said.

Yesterday Provincial Conciliator Noel Berube talked with union and company officials but the talks were described as "fruitless" by the union.

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DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR
CANADA

CLIPPING BUREAU

SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES

Date APR 27 1957 19

Paper AMHERST NEWS

"Pure Case Of Sabotage" Says Chief Of Police

MONT-LOUIS, Que. (CP)—An explosion tore a hole Friday in an oil tank owned by the strike-bound Gaspe Copper Mines Limited, sending about 1,000,000 gallons of the fluid streaming over the area surrounding it.

Provincial police blamed dynamite for the blast at the 4,500,000 gallon tank and Didore Boucher, police chief of this Gaspe community, said it was "a plain case of sabotage." The tank was only about a quarter filled at the time. Damage was estimated at $150,000.

The explosion came as tension mounted in the copper mining town of Murdochville, 35 miles inland from this St. Lawrence River port. Work in the town has been at a standstill for almost seven weeks as a result of a strike by members of the United Steelworkers of America (CLC).

Mont-Louis mayor Horace Lemieux said the explosion jolted the community of some 1,700 about 4 a.m. AST. Residents two miles away were wakened by the blast.

The fact that the oil is very thick and burns only at a heat of more than 160 degrees fahrenheit prevented a possible major fire, Chief Boucher said. No other buildings were damaged and there were no injuries.

The explosion came shortly after the arrival of a 60-man provincial police detachment in Murdochville and its first encounter with the strikers. Police halted all picketing in the town Thursday night.

Chief Boucher feared more violence in the area.

"Everything has been quiet today but we're worried there might be other incidents," he said. Fire fighters stood guard as the oil gushed from the broken tank but there appeared little danger of fire because of the heat needed to set off the oil.

Strikers In Homes

The 300 strikers still in the town, 60 miles west of Gaspe, were reported remaining quietly in their homes. Provincial police took up places leading in and out of the area following the Mont-Louis explosion.

Bruno MacDonald, representative of the United Steelworkers of America (CLC) which called the strike March 11, said in Murdochville: "We want to avoid all trouble but the situation is very tense."

The strike followed the firing of the local union president in Murdochville. About 1,000 men went on strike. Roughly half that number are living outside the area, some as far as 100 miles away.

About 100 men left to find work elsewhere. MacDonald, a union welfare officer, said 750 workers now receive strike pay.

The tank explosion was reported to the attorney - general's department in Quebec and a "serious investigation" is under way.

No blows were exchanged when police made strikers remove two shelters and a trailer from the Murdochville copper mine entrance Thursday.

"They gave us 15 minutes to clear out," MacDonald said.

He said the strikers packed up and removed all the equipment including a loudspeaker used to transmit orders to pickets. The operation took 30 minutes.

The conflict, rooted in a dispute over certification that goes back to last June, is between the USWA and Gaspe Copper Mines, a subsidiary of Noranda Mines.

The union, claiming sufficient membership, sought certification from Quebec labor relations board. A company-requested injunction was granted by the courts. The case is still before the courts.

When the union struck, the company obtained another injunction ordering employees to pass through picket lines.

Says Shelters Permitted

The union claims the injunction permitted the picketers to maintain shelters. However a provincial government spokesman said the injunction specifically forbids the erection of any picket shelters whatsoever on the mine property.

MacDonald said the police are "armed to the teeth." He listed [illegible] gas [illegible] revolvers and carbines as part of the equipment they have taken into Murdochville.

ARTMENT OF
LABOUR
CANADA

CLIPPING BUREAU

SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES

Date MAY - 1 1957 19

Paper MONTREAL - HERALD

Mine Official Denies Company Threatened Strikers' Eviction

By The Canadian Press

MURDOCHVILLE, QUE. — An uneasy quiet prevailed here today as Gaspe Copper Mines Limited and the United Steelworkers of America (CLC) awaited developments in a strike which has paralyzed the company's mine since March 11.

Violence which was feared early this week has failed to develop but this company-owned community near the tip of the Gaspe Peninsula still is afraid of a spark which might ignite tense tempers.

In Toronto, Richard V. Porritt, general manager of Gaspe Copper Mines said last night his company had not ordered strikers to return to work by Saturday or be dismissed and evicted from their company-owned homes.

Roger Bedard, spokesman for the United Steelworkers of America (CLC), which has been directing the strike of 800 mine workers since March 11, said in Murdochville, the company ultimatum was broadcast by Gaspe Peninsula radio stations and contained in a circular distributed to homes of workers. Mr. Porritt said "there's no truth in it."

He said eviction of workers is "not under consideration" and as far as the future is concerned "these policies have to be made from day to day."

He also denied a union claim that the company is advertising that 160 men have returned to work. "We've never put a number on it," he said, and declined to do so.

The union says only two of its members are among those back on the job and fewer than 10 workers in all are back at the mine.

Mr. Bedard's statement included an assurance to union members that they cannot be evicted from their homes except by court order. It would have to be proved they had not paid their rent.

All 300 homes in the Gaspe community are owned by Gaspe Copper.

The company, which has urged employes to return to work, claims the strike is illegal because the Quebec Superior Court has yet to hold hearings on an injunction obtained by the company. The injunction suspended action by the Quebec labor relations board on the steel union's certification.

The union says the walkout was prompted by the dismissal of the local union president.

The company contends he was not discharged, but only laid off and told to come in to see about another position.

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ARTMENT OF
LABOUR

CANADA

CLIPPING BUREAU

SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES

Date MAY 6 1967 19

Paper MONTREAL STAR

Gaspe Mine Strikers Drift Back

Canadian Press

MURDOCHVILLE, Que., May 6—Workers from many parts of Gaspe peninsula began arriving today in this strike-gripped copper mining town.

About 20 men, members of the United Steelworkers of America (CLC) who walked off their jobs at Gaspe Copper Mines Limited March 11, lined up in the second-storey grey-brick union office for their $10-to-$45 weekly strike pay.

Roger Bedard, steelworkers' representative, said another two men have returned to work for the company which officially re-opened its mine, mill and shop works a week ago today The union now esimates there are 30 workers back on the job

The bulk of the 500 strikers from outside areas is expected to be in town by about noon: They arrive by either of two police-guarded roads

The men were invited to remain for a scheduled mass meeting of strikers tonight but some returned home immediately.

The company places the number of workers reporting for duty at "between 250 and 300." The company admits it has so far been unable to resume production but an official said another 50 men would make small-scale production possible.

Two newspaper men on the scene counted 109 men entering the company's gate today for the 6 a.m.-3 p.m. shift. There are two other groups who report for the afternoon and night shifts.

Before the strike 1,000 miners, mill and shop workers were employed here. Some 200 quit their jobs and left to get work elsewhere when the strike started. There are about 800 men on strike, 300 of which live here. The others live in widely-dispersed Gaspe villages.

CLIPPING BUREAU

QUEBEC CHRONICLE TELEGRAPH

APR 30 1957
Date

Gaspe Strikers May Lose Tenure Of Company Houses

MURDOCHVILLE, Que. (CP)—A union spokesman said today that Gaspe Copper Mines, Ltd., is threatening to force workers from company-owned homes in an attempt to break a seven - week-strike.

Roger Bedard, spokesman for the United Steelworkers of America (CLC), said the company told one foreman Monday that unless he returns to work by Saturday he would be fired and forced from his home within 48 hours.

All 300 homes in this Gaspe Peninsula community are owned by the company.

"We expect most workers now living in Murdochville will be approached with similar propositions within the next few days," Mr. Bedard said.

The strike started March 11 when 1,000 men walked off their jobs and smouldering tension reached a peak last wekend.

UNION PRESIDENT FIRED

The dispute between the union and company originated last June when the company obtained an injunction to prevent the Quebec labor relations board from hearing a demand for certification from the USWA. The dispute finally erupted into strike action when the union's local president was fired March 8.

Early Friday, Gaspe Copper's oil tank at Mont-Louis, the company's shipping port 35 miles north of here, was damaged heavily by an explosion, attributed by police to dynamite.

A large provincial police force along with 35 men hired by the company from a Montreal detective agency moved in and fears of violence ran high.

The company reopened its mine Monday but Mr. Bedard said less than 10 of the strikers and three or four non-union members returned to work. The company had urged the men to return to the mines "now that law and order have ben restored."

PICK UP PAY

The union countered by reminding the men to pick up their weekly strike cheques at union headquarters here. Strikers—some 500 of whom reside outside the town, some as far as 100 miles away—began arriving early Monday. They filed past police squads on the two roads connecting Murdochville with outside points.

Mr. Bedard said the men picked up their cheques, varying from $10 to $45, lunched at workers' homes or in a large privately-owned boarding house, then returned to their homes. He said nearly all the men entitled to strike pay showed up.

In Toronto, General Manager Richard V. Porritt of Noranda Mines Limited, of which Gaspe Copper Mines is a subsidiary, said the strike has been illegal since it began.

PUTTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

GASPE COPPER MINES, LIMITE

(No Personal Liability)

7X

Many untrue statements have been circulated about the Company and the strike at Murdochville, based on false or misleading information supplied by United Steelworkers of America.

The Company's mine and plant are at Murdochville, a remote, isolated and new community in the heart of the Gaspe Peninsula, Quebec. It is reached by Provincial highways from the Town of Gaspe to the east and from Mont Louis to the north on the St. Lawrence River. The mine, a large low-grade copper orebody, came into production about a year ago at a cost of about $[illegible]. The advent of this large operation, providing steady work for about 1,[illegible] persons, is important to the economy of the Peninsula where, hitherto, there had been little industry and employment was largely restricted to seasonal work in farming, lumbering and fishing. During the past five years the Company has paid over $22,000,000. in wages. Every effort has been made to employ local people and train them for the new jobs in the mine, mill and smelter. Some 85% of the employees are Gaspesians.

Murdochville is a modern town with excellent facilities. Rental housing and dormitory accommodation are available for employees at low rates. The Province and the Company co-operate to make houses available for purchase, by employees on unusually easy terms, including a net interest rate of [illegible] per cent on mortgage loans. Construction was started last year on a large Recreation Centre to provide facilities for swimming, skating, curling, hockey, bowling and other activities.

WAGES

Wages and other conditions of work are greatly superior to those generally prevailing in the Peninsula. Not only that, they are better than at mines in the vicinity of the Peninsula which have collective agreements with the United Steelworkers of America. Moreover, weekly earnings at Gaspe Copper in 1956 compare favorably with those at Noranda and other copper mines in Western Quebec.

THE STRIKE

On March 10th, the Union called the strike at Gaspe, stating that Mr. Theo Gagne, an employee, President of the Union, had been discharged. This person was one of a group of employees who were not discharged but laid off on March 8th when the jobs they had been doing were completed. He was to see the mine manager on March 11th, but failed to keep his appointment. In the meantime, the strike began with no representations whatsoever to the Company of any complaint.

The strike was instigated by the Union, which seized on the above episode, and falsely stated that the man had been discharged. The strike was obviously and admittedly timed and designed to coerce the Company and Noranda Mines, Limited, into yielding to the Union's demands. The Union hoped to shut down both Gaspe and Noranda smelters at the same time and thereby also to stop operations at the many other mines which are dependent on Noranda mines for smelting facilities. A local of the United Steelworkers of America is the certified bargaining agent for employees of Noranda Mines where negotiations for a Collective Agreement were then at a crucial stage and where the Union was also doing its utmost to promote a strike.

The Union put out bulletins promising the employees at Gaspe the full support of the Noranda employees and told them that there would be no agreement at Noranda, which did not include a settlement of the Gaspe strike and the "check-off" of Union dues. Notwithstanding, on April 11th the Union signed an agreement with Noranda Mines which included neither a settlement of the Gaspe strike nor the "check-off."

STRIKE ILLEGAL

The Union had applied some time ago to the Quebec Labour Relations Board to be certified as the bargaining agent for the employees of Gaspe Copper. Believing that the application was not well founded, the Company, on advice of counsel, took action to have the certification prohibited and the matter is still pending in the Courts.

The Gaspe strike is contrary to law. In Quebec, as elsewhere, employees are not permitted to strike unless a bargaining agent has been certified and the prescribed procedures have been carried out. These conditions were not fulfilled and the strike is, therefore, illegal.

VIOLENCE

From its commencement, as often happens in strikes fomented by the United Steelworkers' Union, the strike at Gaspe was marked by mass picketing and violence. The highways were obstructed and intimidation and terrorism prevailed. Unlawful practices continued even after an injunction prohibiting them was issued by the Superior Court. In one instance, employees of the Company, engaged in snow-plowing the highway under a Government contract, were assaulted, beaten and kicked by a group of over forty Union hoodlums. Both suffered broken bones and one was in the hospital for some days. In another instance one of the Company's main oil storage tanks was seriously damaged by dynamiting and the contents were lost. These and many like instances, indicating utter disregard of the law brought action on the part of the authorities, and at the urgent request of the Town Mayor, Provincial Police, in sufficient numbers to cope with the situation, were dispatched to Murdochville.

The Company has not evicted, attempted to evict, or threatened to evict anyone from houses rented from the Company, nor has it attempted in any way to intimidate the employees. Because of sabotage and threats of sabotage, watchmen and guards to the number of thirty-two have been employed for the purpose of guarding the Company's property. These men are not "hoodlums or plug-uglies," as referred to by the Union, but are responsible citizens. They will endeavour to ensure that no further damage is done to our property.

PLANT RE-OPENED

Being convinced that the majority of employees are opposed to the strike and that adequate police protection would be afforded, the Company has re-opened the plant and invited the employees to return to work. Despite the Union's threats to employees and their families, and false reports of the situation put out by the Union, and despite the fact that many had dispersed to their homes or taken temporary work elsewhere, employees are responding to the invitation in satisfactory numbers with more reporting for work every day.

GASPE COPPER MINES, LIMITED

May 7, 1957.

(No Personal Liability)

DEPARTMENT OF
LABOUR

MAY 9 1967
Date

CLIPPING BUREAU

III-G(x)

HALIFAX CHRONICLE-HERALD

Water Tax Unpaid Strikers' Houses May Lose Service

By GUY RONDEAU
Canadian Press Staff Writer

MURDOCHVILLE, Que. (CP) — The five-man municipal council of this copper mining town, paralyzed by a two-month strike, was scheduled to consider Wednesday night the possibility of cutting off water to 50 homes for non-payment of water taxes.

TENSION RETURNS

Secretary-Treasurer Gabriel Bernard of this police-guarded town said some of the tenants in company-owned homes have already received a notice, and notices are pending in other cases.

The water tax, paid by tenants or by the property owners where they live in their own homes, varies from $6.88 to $8.1[illegible] every three months.

Roger Bedard, representative of the United Steelworkers of America (CLC) whose members walked off their jobs at Gaspe Copper Mines Limited March 11, said the union has asked the town to grant a delay for water tax payments "until the strike is over."

One town official who asked that his name not be published said: "I don't believe we can be expected to subsidize the union's strike by accepting such a proposition."

The towns' council, appointed by the provincial cabinet, called the meeting as tension again mounted in the small community where some 300 strikers reside.

The USWA local sent an appeal to Premier Duplessis Wednesday asking him to intervene in the bitter dispute which threatened to create "division and rancour that will be felt cruelly for years throughout the Gaspe Peninsula."

The majority of workers employed at Gaspe Copper Mines before the strike are non-residents. They live in scattered communities along the north coast of the peninsula and along Baie des Chaleurs.

An ominous quiet hung over union headquarters here Wednesday. There was little or no activity, compared with the hectic works in recent weeks.

On the street, strikers were heard shouting "scab" after a woman whose husband had returned to work.

SAYS COMPANY BLUFFING

Adding to the tension is the company's announced intention to resume operations on a restricted scale Friday. The water-tax situation is another sore point. Also hanging over the workers' heads is the possibility of eviction from company homes in the villages.

Rent in these homes was deducted from pay cheques and since the strike no rent has been paid. The company has denied any immediate intention of evicting the workers' families but it has said that eventually it will have to make a decision if the situation remains unchanged.

The company, which says it now has 200 employees at work, reiterated it will not negotiate an agreement with an uncertified union.

The union, whose application for certification is blocked by a company-obtained injunction still before the courts, says its members will not go back to work unless the company signs an agreement containing provisions for substantial wage increases.

The union has termed the company's announcement that operations will be resumed Friday as "a bluff." It argues the company does not have enough men to get back into production.

There were 1,000 workers when the strike started but 200 left almost immediately to get work elsewhere.

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DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR
CANADA

CLIPPING BUREAU

SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES

Date MAY 16 1957 19

Paper SAULT STE. MARIE STAR

Gaspe Walkout Enters 66th Day

Increased financial support Wednesday night was voted to strikers at the Gaspe Copper Mines, Murdochville, Que., by the United Steelworkers of America, Local 2251 here.

The Sault union, which has a membership of around 6,300, is increasing its strike assistance from $500 to over $6,000 a month as long as the strike continues. It entered its 66th day today.

In a statement following the meeting here Wednesday night, President Robert R. Collins said: "The membership of Local 2251 scorns the vicious attitude of the Gaspe Copper Mines Company, a subsidiary of Noranda Mines, for the tactics it used in stopping the certification of the USWA.

"The company spouts the ridiculous publicity that it won't bargain with a non-certified union. The truth is, the company prevented the union from being certified by the Quebec Labor Relations Board.

"The reprehensible attitude of the Gaspe Copper Mines was displayed when they managed to secure an injunction preventing the Quebec Labor Relations Board from certifying their employees, who are members of United Steelworkers of America, Local 4881.

"Local 2251, USWA will continue to support the brother Steelworkers at Murdochville, Quebec, in their legitimate and necessary strike to secure a working agreement."

Mr. Collins cited a statement issued May 8 by President Claude Jodoin of the Canadian Labor Congress, which said:

"The Murdochville employees were originally chartered by the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. Following the merger which established the new Canadian Labor Congress, these em-employees voted to join the union which holds the mining and smelting jurisdiction within the Congress. This is the same union with which the Noranda company has dealt for some years in its main operations in Rouyn and a number of the subsidiary mines.

"The Steelworkers had 756 out of 940 employees, members in good standing, as required by the Quebec Labor Relations Act.

"By appealing from court to court on technicalities the company could prevent the employees from having a certification vote for several years."

MURDOCHVILLE, Que. (CP) — Striking members of the United Steelworkers of America (CLC) have been warned by Gaspe Copper Mines that their jobs may be taken by outsiders unless they return to work.

The warning came Wednesday in letters to each striker from company manager W. G. Brissenden.

Before the strike started 66 days ago 85 per cent of the employees were Gaspe residents, the letters said, but "how much longer this policy can be continued depends on the employees who have not returned to work."

USWA spokesman Emile Boudreau said "the only reason the company had to hire Gaspe residents is because this is the only way to have a stable working force."

". . . It certainly was not out of love for Gaspesians."

Mr. Brissenden's letter said each of the strikers "is losing over $77 a week in wages and other benefits and is also taking the chance his job may be taken by another applicant."

"The plant reopened more than two weeks ago and 300 persons are back at work. The mine and concentrator are working and more than 1,200 tons of ore per day are being treated."

One thousand men walked off their jobs when the strike started and 200 left the area immediately to find work elsewhere. Of the remainder, 300 live here and 500 are scattered throughout the Gaspe Peninsula.

The number of workers back on the job is not definitely known. The union issued 625 strike pay cheques Monday.

RESUMED PRODUCTION

Production at the mine was resumed on a restricted scale last Friday and mining got underway the following day. Concentrator operations started Monday but it will be several days before there is enough concentrate to start smelting.

Main issue in the strike is that of certification. Last June a company - obtained injunction restrained the Quebec Labor Relations Board from hearing a USWA petition for certification. The company says the strike is illegal, that it will not lift its injunction and that it will not negotiate with a non-certified union.

The union is demanding a contract with wage increases averaging 50 cents an hour.

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DEPARTMENT OF
LABOUR

CANADA

CLIPPING BUREAU

TORONTO GLOBE AND MAIL

SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES

Date JUN 5 - 1957 19 Paper

Faced by Guns, Gaspe Strikers Halt Picketing

Murdochville, Que., June 4.—Strikers at the Gaspe Copper Mines Ltd. plant here said today they abandoned their picketing a the mine entrance in the face of an order from provincial police who appeared carrying machine guns.

Roger Bedard, spokesman for the striking United Steelworkers of America (CLC), said the picketing came to an abrupt halt in compliance with the police order some hours after strikers and townspeople clashed with police at the mine entrance. The police used tear gas and clubs to disperse them.

Lieut. Gerard Timlin, in charge of 110 provincial police in the district, said he had been forced to forbid picketing in view of the earlier disorder.

Bedard said he planned to discuss the picket line edict with Lieut. Timlin. He said the ban was the second imposed since the strike began 84 days ago. But in the interim authorities permitted the regulation six-man picket line to form at the mine entrance.

The stoppage began March 11 following a union dispute with management over union certification by the Quebec Labor Relations Board.

Last night's brief violence flared shortly after 2,000 persons—only 500 of them strikers—had attended the union's regular Monday night meeting in Murdochville.

Police used the tear gas and clubs to disperse a crowd which began arguing with the officers at the mine entrance.

One non-striker, Florian Sirois, from St. Maurice, Gaspe, needed hospital treatment for a cut on the head. Two women were reported overcome by tear gas but did not require medical attention.

SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES

Date JUN 2 2 1957 19 Paper SUDBURY STAR

Replace Gaspe Strikers If They Don't Return, Company Letter Warns

MURDOCHVILLE, Que. (CP)—Gaspe Copper Mines Limited has sent a letter to its striking workers hinting that all will be replaced unless they return to work immediately.

The letter mailed Friday said company policy is "to hire the highest percentage of Gaspesians possible, but it is impossible to wait indefinitely."

"The time has come," it said, "for you to return to work."

This Gaspe peninsula mining community has been crippled since March 11 when 1,000 members of the United Steelworkers of America (CLC) walked off their jobs to back demands for recognition.

About 300 have left the area to seek work elsewhere

The company says the workers have lost at least $1,000 each because of the strike. It says about 400 persons including 125 members of the office and technical staff, now are working.

USWA spokesman Roger Bedard says about 150 men, not counting company personnel, are working He said about 70 are returned strikers and the remainder are new employees.

The company resumed production on a restricted scale April 29 and says it now is treating about 1,800 tons of ore daily—compared with the pre-strike figure of about 5,000 tons.

Both sides are standing firm in their original positions. Gaspe Copper says it will not negotiate with a non-certified union and the USWA says it will not send the men back to work until it is given a contract.

Last June the company obtained a writ of prohibition restraining the Quebec labor relations board from acting on a union application for certification. It still is before the courts.

CLIPPING BUREAU

JUN 2 8 1957

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CANADA JUN 3 1957

SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES

MONTREAL STAR

Date .... 19........ Paper ....

Worry At Murdochville

Strike Pay Is Only Enough For Food

By MELL MORRIS
Canadian Press

(Second of Series)

MURDOCHVILLE, Que., June 28 — An air of lethargy hangs over this Gaspe community. Tension and worry etch the faces of families trying to subsist on strike allowances.

Residents of this valley town high in the Shickshock Mountains have been in a precarious financial position since the beginning of a strike at Gaspe Copper Mines Ltd., the community's only industry.

The strikers say they've been "getting by" since the walkout was ordered March 11. Their strike pay is enough to buy food, but there is no room in the budget for other necessities such as clothes.

300 In Town

About 300 of the 1,000 men who went on strike live here with their families in attractive, modern homes rented from the company. More than half the strikers were from scattered communities along the Gaspe coast and they returned to their homes shortly after the walkout began. About 300 left the district to seek new jobs.

Feeling is high between strikers and men who have gone back to work. People who were close friends no longer speak to each other.

Strikers lounge around their homes or pass part of the day at union headquarters playing cards and checkers or just talking.

Almost always the conversation swings around to money.

Typical of the striking miners are Jules Babin, 40, and Raymond St. Laurent, 36. Both live in homes rented from the company. Neither has paid any rent since the strike started.

Enough For Food

The Babins have nine children, ranging in age from two to 12. Before the strike Jules cleared $63 for a 48-hour week after his rent of $40 a month was deducted. He now receives $43 a week from the striking United Steelworkers of America (CLC).

"It's enough to eat on, but that's all," he says. "We haven't paid our rent because we can't. So far the company hasn't done anything about it, but I don't know how long that will last."

Mrs. Babin is more concerned about her children than the rent.

"Clothes are what worry me," she says. "So far the children have been getting by on the clothes they had when the strike started. But I don't know what we're going to do when we have to start buying new things."

The St. Laurents, with five children between two and 10, get $33 a week strike pay. Raymond also cleared $63 weekly after rent before the strike started.

Both said they are determined to stick out a lengthy strike.

"This strike isn't going to end tomorrow," said Mr. St. Laurent. "I think it's going to be a month or two yet, but I think we'll win."

Mr. St. Laurent, who served five years in the army during World War II, was bitter about intervention of Quebec Provincial Police in the dispute.

"There wasn't a bit of trouble before they came," he said. "Not even a pane of glass had been broken.

"Then the police were sent here and trouble started. A company oil tank at Mont Louis was blown up. Then there was a scuffle on the street and four people were hurt.

"I don't think any of this would have happened if police hadn't come. We're not criminals."

Paying For Car

In addition to the overdue rent, Mr. St. Laurent has to make monthly payments on a car he bought before the strike. He hasn't made a payment since the strike started.

"The union arranged topay the interest for me and have the payments deferred. I can't hope to keep up the payments on the strike pay I get."

Mr. Babin and Mr. St. Laurent said strikers who live in other Gaspe village have a chance to supplement their incomes.

"A lot of them were fishermen before the mine opened here," Mr. Babin explained. "Others were construction workers. They can go back to their original trades and pick up extra money. But here in Murdockville, there's only the mine."

Both the St. Laurents and Babins like Murdockville, although they find the long, cold winters difficult.

"Whoever built these homes apparently had never lived through a Gaspe winter," said Mrs. St. Laurent. "The walls are like paper and a big part of our money has to go to keeping the house warm. It costs about $250 each winter just for heat."

"But we want to stay despite the cold," she added. "I just hope we get this strike settled soon."

CLIPPING BUREAU

CANADA

SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES

Date JUL - 3 1957 19 Paper MONTREAL GAZETTE

Pay Rent, Mine Tells Strikers

Murdochville, July 2 —(CP)—Striking workers renting houses from Gaspe Copper Mines Ltd. today received notices from the company that back rent, unpaid since the strike against the company started March 11, must be paid in full by July 8.

Company manager W. G. Brissenden said 75 letters were sent to striking members of the United Steelworkers of America (CLC) during the weekend.

The letter said large arrears have accumulated and "the situation cannot be permitted to continue." If the rent owed is not "paid in full by July 7, the account will be handed over to our solicitors."

Before the strike rent payments were deducted from the pay cheques of the tenants.

Spokesman Roger Bedard of the USWA said the union plans to await further developments.

The company move does not affect workers who purchased company-built homes on time payment plans.

About 300 strikers live in this Gaspe peninsula town. Some 300 of the 1,000 men who walked out when the strike started have left the area for other jobs and the remainder have homes in the surrounding district.

III-G(xvi)

DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR

CANADA

CLIPPING BUREAU

SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES

Date JUL 15 1957 19 Paper TORONTO CAN TRIBUNE

Police Attack Picket Of Strikers' Wives

Special to the Tribune

MONTREAL — New songs will be sung of the heroism of the workers and their wives on strike against the copper bosses in Murdockville, Quebec. The Gaspe Copper Mines Limited, with the aid of the Quebec Provincial Police have tried unsuccessfully since March 10 to break this strike of United Steelworkers' members, whose wage demands average 50 cents an hour.

Strikers' wives last week set up their own picket line demanding justice for their husbands and families.

Roger Bedard, spokesman for the union, said the wives had organized the line as "a protest against an incident in which police dispersed a group of strikers." A detail of provincial police seized the wives' banners and stopped the picket line.

The latest attack by the company has been to notify the workers who live in company homes that back rents must now be paid on penalty of eviction.

Mass arrests, picket line attacks and provocations have done nothing but forge an unbreakable determination by the workers to win.

Large company ads in Montreal newspapers attempting to hire scab labor have failed. Messages and gifts of solidarity are going forward to the strikers in Murdochville from other unions and labor bodies in Quebec, including the Labor-Progressive and Social Democratic parties.

Latest news of the strike of 6,500 Arvida workers against the Aluminum Company of Canada is that discussion between representatives of the National Metal Trades Federation (CCCL) and the company are continuing.

This strike, which commenced May 17, is for wage increases and a master agreement to cover all plants of the company in Quebec.

Five unions, representing 3,000 employees at Canadian Vickers in Montreal, have submitted wage demands for an hourly 15-cent general increase plus shorter hours. Four of the unions are affiliated with the Canadian Labor Congress, while the fifth, representing the shipyard workers, is the National Metal Trades Federation (CCCL). Although the CLC and CCCL unions will negotiate separately, they have announced an agreement that neither will settle before the other.

This marks a stride forward from the days when Vickers' management played off one union of its workers against the others. Canadian Vickers, a British-owned company originally, has now passed into control of U.S. interests.

Traffic department employees in Montreal and Ottawa of Eastern Airlines Limited have raised through their union, the International Association of Machinists (CLC) the demand that this U.S. company must pay its employees in Canadian rather than depreciated U.S. dollars.

The strike of more than 300 seamen of the Seafarers' International Union against the Canadian National West Indies Steamships has commenced. The union is demanding a 30 percent wage increase, rejecting the 10 percent increase recommended by a federal conciliation board. The strike will affect ports in Montreal, St. John, N.B., and Halifax.

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CLIPPING BUREAU

SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES

JUL 24 1957 ST. JOHN'S, NFLD. DAILY NEWS

19 Paper

MURDOCHVILLE:

Company Explains Strike Position

MURDOCHVILLE, Que. (CP)—Gaspe Copper Mines Ltd., has launched a series of radio talks explaining its stand in the strike called here March 11 by the United Steelworkers of America (CLC).

At the same time provincial police are continuing their investigation into a dynamite explosion on company property July 12. One striker was fatally injured and two others are in "satisfactory condition" in hospital.

Lieut. Achille Pettigrew of Quebec City has taken over the explosion investigation. The attorney general's department in Quebec City said no date has been set for the resumption of the inquest into the death of 35-year-old Herve Bernatchez.

Herve Berube, assistant manager of the company, said Tuesday a series of short talks explaining the company position began Monday night on three area radio stations.

The talks, in French and English, would be broadcast three times a day, probably until the end of the week.

USWA spokesman Bruno MacDonald said he does not feel the broadcasts will influence the strikers. Mr. MacDonald said about 300 hourly - paid employees now are working in the plant which employed [illegible],000 before the strike.

Mr. Berube said the number is approximately 400.

Hospital authorities at Rimouski said Nestor Henley and Normand Boudreau, both 25, are recovering from injuries suffered in the explosion. Provincial police still are keeping a watch on the men although they are not in constant attendance.

Main issue in the dispute is certification. Last summer Gaspe Copper obtained a writ of prohibition restraining the Quebec labor relations board from acting on a union application for certification. Because the union is not certified, the company claims the strike is illegal.

The union also is asking wage increases averaging 50 cents an hour.

In Montreal, Roger Provost, president of the Quebec Labor Federation (CLC), said Tuesday he wrote to Premier Duplessis two weeks ago urging that he intervene to settle the strike.

CLIPPING BUREAU

Department of Labour
Canada

Date AUG - 2 1957 19

SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES

Paper MONTREAL - HERALD

Striking Miners Given Last Call

By The Canadian Press

MURDOCHVILLE, QUE.—Gaspe Copper Mines Limited has set tonight as a deadline for the return to work of miners who have been striking at Gaspe's plant here since March 11.

Company manager W. G. Brissenden said letters were sent to the strikers, members of the United Steelworkers of America (CLC), telling them "if they haven't reported to work by tonight they will be taken off the payroll list."

Mr. Brissenden said the letters were sent "in order to plan the hiring of new men." The company was offering a "last chance" to the strikers.

"Under no circumstances will we lay off employes now working to replace them with returning strikers."

He said 398 employes have been hired since the company resumed production on a restricted scale April 29.

USWA spokesman Roger Bedard called the move "just one of a series of threats the company has been making all along. We're not worried about the letters at all."

It was the third letter the company has sent the strikers. In a letter May 21 Mr. Brissenden told strikers the dispute "will not be settled by a contract" and only an unconditional return to work would end the strike.

Strikers received letters June 21 suggesting that new personnel would replace them unless they made an immediate return to work.

Mr. Bedard said last night that "strike welfare will be paid to the strikers just as long as Gaspe Copper refuses to recognize trade unionism for its employes."

He said that of the 940 men who went on strike March 11, 850 are still on strike.

"Those working for the company are students, German and Hungarian immigrants and employes who had in the past been fired by the company as unsuitable workers."

Mr. Bedard said the union is planning to make these points over a series of one-minute broadcasts to be made today over three area radio stations.

The attorney-general's department said yesterday in Quebec that no date has been set for the resumption of the inquest into the death of Herve Bernatchez, 35-year-old striker whose body was found at the scene of a dynamite explosion.

Two other strikers found injured at the scene of the blast, which occurred on company property, are still in hospital.

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CLIPPING BUREAU

DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR CANADA

SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES

Date AUG - 6 1957 19 Paper SHERBROOKE RECORD

Gaspe Copper Dispute

20 Strikers Meet Company Deadline To Return To Jobs

....MURDOCHVILLE, Que. — (AP) — A back-to-work deadline for employees of the strike-bound Gaspe Copper Mines passed Monday night as the mine smelter was returned to production, company manager W. G. Brissenden said.

Names of all strikers who failed to report for work by 5 p.m. Monday were to be removed from the company payroll this morning, assistant manager Herve Berube announced.

If any workers return today, they will have to come "as new employees," he said.

Mr. Berube said "roughly 20" striking workers met the company deadline, set originally for last Friday and then postponed until Monday. A number of others were known to have queried by telephone and telegram. It was not known how many disregarded the deadline.

Officials of the United Steelworkers of America (CLC) were not available for immediate comment.

SMELTER OPERATING

The smelter had been out of action since March 11 when about 1,000 workers walked off their jobs. Some workers — each side disputed the other's figures on how many — went back when mining operations resumed April 29.

Since then, a stockpile of concentrate has been built up for use when the smelter was reheated. By Monday night, with the smelter operating a few hours, it was partially filled with 300 tons of concentrate.

Mr. Brissenden said refined copper would flow from the smelter by Wednesday and full smelter production of 100 tons of copper daily would be reached shortly afterwards.

The bitter strike began in a dispute over union certification. The company obtained a writ of prohibition restraining the Quebec labor relations board from acting on a union application for certification of the local.

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CLIPPING BUREAU

Department of Labour Canada

SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES

Date AUG 19 1957 19 Paper TORONTO CAN. TRIBUNE

9

Labor Leaders Move For Gaspe Showdown, Will Man Picketlines

OTTAWA — Claude Jodoin, president of the Canadian Labor Congress, said here that the established methods of settling industrial disputes have failed completely to provide means for a settlement of the five-month strike of 1,000 workers at the Gaspe Copper Mines. Offers by Jodoin to meet with the management of the company and with the Quebec Labor Department have both been rejected.

"I would like to know who, apart from the union, is interested in sitting down in an effort to settle this strike and bring an end to the bitterness which is bound to have a long-standing effect in the area where the mines are located", he said.

"On July 19 I wrote John Bradfield, president of Gaspe Copper Mines Ltd., suggesting a meeting. I pointed out that the company had publicly stated it would not meet with the United Steelworkers to negotiate a settlement. Legal action by the company has prevented certification of the United Steelworkers as bargaining representatives of the employees concerned.

"Under these circumstances the bargaining rights belong to the former Trades and Labor Congress union, of which the Canadian Labor Congress is the parent body. I offered personally to meet, either formally or informally, with representatives of the company, if they preferred under the auspices of a third party. This suggestion was flatly rejected by the company.

"On August 2 I wired the Hon. Antonio Barrette suggesting that he convene a meeting between the union and the company and offering to participate. Barrette has now informed us that it is his view that the legal position of the dispute makes it impossible for him to convene such a meeting.

"The situation is, therefore, stalemated with only representatives of organized labor making any effort to reach a settlement.

"The shocking tragedy of the death of one striker and the damage that is being done to relations in the Gaspe make the need for action urgent. The first step toward the settlement of any dispute is for the parties concerned to get together. It takes more than one party to hold such a meeting and I wish to publicly renew my request to both the company and the government to participate in such a meeting."

MONTREAL — William Mahoney, national director of the United Steelworkers of America, announced here that arrangements had been made for a delegation of leading Canadian unionists headed by Canadian Labor Congress president Claude Jodoin and Quebec Federation of Labor president Roger Provost to take part in a picket line at Gaspe Copper Mines Ltd., a Noranda Mines Ltd., subsidiary in Murdochville, Que., on Monday, Aug. 19.

The miners have been on strike over five months and picketing has been outlawed by Quebec Provincial Police.

It is expected that leaders of other congress unions will participate in this demonstration, Mahoney said.

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OTTAWA EVENING CITIZEN

SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES

AUG 19 1957

19 Paper

Union Official Injured In Fight

By Guy Rondeau
Canadian Press Staff Writer

MURDOCHVILLE—Provincial police, tossing tear gas bombs, dispersed non-striking workers of Gaspe Copper Mines Limited today and pushed back a 500-man picket line of Canadian labor representatives after six men were injured and three cars overturned in a violent clash.

The opposing groups obeyed police commands.

The 110-man Provincial Police detachment, armed with night-sticks, ordered the non-striking company staff to return to their quarters and pushed back picketers to the company gate where picketing continued.

Official Injured

J. C. Lavoie, vice-president of the Arvida local of the National Metal Trades Federation, was cut on the head by a stone. Muriel Tremblay, 25, also of Arvida, was taken to hospital at Ste. Anne-des-Monts suffering from an apparent fracture of the nose.

A car owned by Henry-Lambert Jean, of Montreal, representing the International Union of Electrical Workers, was heavily damaged and pushed into a ditch.

The tear gas was tossed apparently as a warning. There was no scuffling with police. Earlier, stone throwing and name-calling set off violence. Quiet returned.

The labor group was demonstrating in support of the Murdochville local of the United Steelworkers of America (CLC), on strike against Gaspe Copper since March 10. The group planned a mass meeting in front of the company property at 1 p.m., EDT.

Police had intervened as a second group of union men left the town to join the picketers against about 200 non-striking employes.

Cars Overturned

Violence broke out when the non-strikers sent a shower of stones on the picketers. Shouts and name-calling rang out. One group of non-strikers who arrived on the scene in an automobile were surrounded by picketers and the car was overturned. Then another car carrying strikers was heaved upside down by company workers.

The 450-man group of representative labor, including President Claude Jodoin of the Canadian Labor Congress, arrived at the Gaspe Copper Mines plant early today with strikers to begin token picketing on behalf of United Steelworkers of America (CLC) men out since March 10.

More than 100 provincial police have been in the town since shortly after the strike.

Casualties

Rosaire Blanchet, of Mont-Louis, a striker, was taken to hospital with pieces of glass in his face after a stone pierced a car windshield.

Two representatives of the National Metal Trades Federation (CCCL), which is striking against the Aluminium Company of Canada at Arvida, Que., were hit by stones. They were taken to hospital and identified as Jean-Louis Delisle, 22, and Florent Gaudreau, 35, both of Jonquiere.

One Montreal labor man identified as Rene Trudeau was also hurt slightly by a missile.

The protest demonstration started peacefully. But tension mounted after non-strikers attempted to cross the picket line.

Stones started flying after the non-strikers gathered on an elevation. Violent language flew and some non-strikers waved sticks.

"Go to the devil" and "go home scabs", were some of the shouted insults exchanged.

Police armed with night-sticks watched from a distance. One officer carried a machine gun.

Top Canadian labor officials on the scene besides Claude Jodoin were Gerard Picard, president of the Canadian and Catholic Confederation of Labor, and President Bill Mahoney, of the USWA.

Earlier, vehicles carrying the representatives — 70 cars and three buses — passed provincial police check points before arriving at the mine gate. The officers made a thorough search of all vehicles, checking trunks and glove compartments. None was refused passage.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR
CANADA

AUG 19 1957 SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES

CLIPPING BUREAU
MONTREAL STAR

Date .... 19 Paper ....

Hail Of Rocks Greets Caravan Of Labor Chiefs

6 Hurt as Non-strikers Attack, Overturn Cars

By **HAROLD POITRAS**
Star Staff Reporter

MURDOCHVILLE, Que., Aug. 19 — Provincial Police used tear gas to break up a free-for-all between 500 representatives of provincial labor unions and 300 non-striking workers at Gaspe Copper Mines Limited today.

Six persons were injured when the two factions began stoning each other at 10 a.m, today, and a hand-to-hand battle threatened shortly afterward, as the non-strikers attempted to storm their way through the picket line.

Injured by flying stones were: Florent Gaudrault, 35, of Chicoutimi; J. C. Lavoie, 4[illegible] of Arvida; Rene Trudeau of Montreal; Jean Louis Delisle of Jonquiere; Rosario Blanchet of Mont Louis; and M Tremblay of Arvida.

All these men were struck on the head or neck and required hospital treatment. Many others, both union representatives and non-strikers, received less serious bumps bruises.

Caravan Pictures Inside the Paper

For pictures of labor leaders forming a motorcade in Quebec City for the journey to Murdochville please see Page 23.

One Bomb Fired

Provincial Police Sgt. Rene Marchand, the officer responsible for the use of tear gas, fired one bomb and two shells in the vicinity of the 700 battlers.

The strong wind blew the gas away before it took direct effect, but the noise of the gun effectively stopped the fighting before it could assume more serious proportions.

Threw First Stones

The non-strikers, from their bunkhouse 100 feet above the road on which the picket line was formed, threw the first stones about 9 a m This prompted the pickets to overturn a worker's car parked on the road.

Several men then stormed down from the bunkhouse and upset a union representative's automobile

As pickets' cars returned to the plant from town, where their owners had been having breakfast, they were pelted with stones by the non-strikers. Several vehicles were damaged and at least three blowouts were caused by rocks on the road.

One car almost ran into a group of pickets, but its driver recovered control in time.

At 10:30 a.m. after the tear gas incident Claude Jodoin, Canadian Labor Congress president, and Romeo Mathieu, president of the Packinghouse Workers Union, prevailed upon the union representatives to take up peaceful picketting.

In return, the police moved the non-strikers back into the bunkhouse area, from where they hurled insults at the pickets below.

Provincial Police here say that never before have they seen non-strikers put up such a show of force during a strike.

"It's because they've been threatened by the strikers here for more than 5 months," said a constable.

The picket line, which spread over a half-mile of the road in front of the Gaspe Copper plant, was formed by members of a motorcade which arrived here at 5.45 a.m. today in 40 degree weather after a drive of 400 miles from Quebec.

Leading the union representatives were Jodoin; Roger Provost, Quebec Federation of Labor president Gerald Picard, Canadian and Catholic Confederation of Labor president and J. C. Nicholson, eastern Canadian director of the United Steel Workers of America.

After they had taken up their positions along the road, the union representatives, reinforced by strikers, shouted "Go home, scabs," to the non-strikers in the bunkhouse.

Some plant workers, still on the job, approached the picket line this morning but turned back after talking to the strikers and their leaders.

The motorcade, which formed in front of the Provincial Parliament building in Quebec yesterday morning after its members had attended mass in Jacques Cartier Church, made brief stops at Rimouski and Ste. Anne des Monts on the 400-mile trip to the Gaspe peninsula.

Purpose of the demonstration, apart from giving moral support to the Gaspe mine strikers, who walked off the job last March 10 over a contract dispute, is to secure permission for unlimited picketing.

Objects To Order

Jean Marchand, secretary-general of the CCCL, objected to an order issued in Montreal Saturday by Provincial Police Director Hilaire Beauregard, who said the strikers would be allowed only 24 hours of picketing.

Mr. Marchand said it is "not up to Mr. Duplessis to decide that picketing is legal one day and illegal the next

Premier Duplessis in his capacity of Quebec's attorney-general, is head of the Provincial police, who have prevented picketing at the plant.

QFL president Provost said that if unlimited picketing is not permitted after today's demonstration, another motorcade will be organized.

CLC president Jodoin said, "We want to bring the plight of the Murdochville strikers to the attention of the province and the nation."

The strike against Gaspe Copper Mines was called by the USWA after the local president left his job. The company maintains he was laid off, but the union says he was fired. Prior to the strike, company and union had wrangled for almost a year over recognition of USWA as bargaining agent for the workers.

A union application to the Quebec Labor Relations Board for certification was stalled when the company secured a writ of prohibition against the Board. This case is still before the courts, and the provincial government has declined to intervene on the grounds that the strike is illegal.

Violence has punctuated the dispute. A 100-man Provincial Police detail has patrolled the town since a dynamite blast last April tore open a company storage tank in the shipping town of Mont-Louis.

Two More Blasts

Two other blasts caused damage on company property, one of them killing Herve Bernatchez and injuring two other strikers

Gaspe Copper has taken action to collect rent arrears on homes it built and rented to workers

Partial production at the plant has been maintained. When the strike was called, 1,000 men were on the job. Some left the area to get work elsewhere, but about 500 are drawing strike pay. The union says 300 others will return as and when the dispute is settled

Mine general manager W G Brissenden, on learning that police would permit a 24-hour token picket line today, said, "The loyal workers have walked through picket lines before, and they will do it again."

Yesterday's special mass at Quebec for the labor representatives was celebrated by Rev Gerard Dion, director of industrial relations at Laval University, who has written numerous articles concerning the Murdochville situation.

The motorcade, its vehicles carrying banners and flags, arrived here at 5:45 a.m. today and immediately established the picket line Provincial police began to search the labor representatives' cars, but when R. J. Lamoreux, a USWA official, and Jean Marchand, objected, the search was stopped

"O Canada"

As they paraded in front of the plant, the pickets sang "O Canada." and other songs, and swung their arms and stamped their feet to keep warm in the cold morning air

III-G(xxiii)

CLIPPING BUREAU

DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR CANADA AUG 20 1957

SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES

MONTREAL GAZETTE

Pickets Stoned, 6 Hurt In Day Of Violence

Murdochville, Que., Aug. 19— (CP) —One hundred howling men, wielding sticks and knives, raided headquarters here of the United Steelworkers of America (CLC) tonight and smashed more than a half dozen automobiles.

The wild, angry-looking group suddenly erupted after most of a 450-man group of Canadian labor representatives had left this strike-crippled Gaspe copper mining town, after a day of scheduled "peaceful protest" was marred by a series of clashes with non-union workers.

The labor representatives, bolstered by some of Canada's top labor leaders, arrived here in a special caravan of 70 cars and three buses with the announced intention of picketing peacefully the plant of Gaspe Copper Mines Ltd., struck since March 10 by the Murdochville local of the USW in a bid for union recognition.

The caravan of labor representatvies had left Murdochville before tonight's outbreak.

The men broke into the union headquarters and smashed furniture and windows. Then they ran into the street, overturned several automobiles and smashed them.

A Provincial Police patrol on the scene watched but appeared unable to intervene.

It was not immediately known if anyone was hurt, nor was it possible to identify the group.

Chairs, tables, filing cabinets, typewriters and hundreds of papers littered the main street as the group emptied the second-floor union office.

Excitement was high on the main street. Crowds formed and police appeared to gather for action.

Tear Gas Bombs Are Used

Earlier police, using tear gas bombs, broke up a stone-throwing clash between the visitors and some 200 non-striking employees of Gaspe Copper Mines Limited. Six men were injured and three cars heavily damaged

The labor group led by Claude Jodoin, president of the Canadian Congress of Labor, Gerard Picard, president of the Canadian and Catholic Confederation of Labor, and Roger Provost, president of the Quebec Federation of Labor, travelled to this community to set up a picket line.

Provincial Police said Sunday as the group left for Quebec City after gathering in front of the legislature building that picketing would be allowed for 24 hours.

There were no incidents early today as the labor men gathered in front of the company gate. But when they blocked non-striking employees from entering the plant, the employees gathered on a mound and tossed stones at the picket line.

There were angry verbal exchanges and some name-calling. Cars were overturned. Provincial Police intervened when the groups threatened to grapple with each other.

A few tear-gas bombs were tossed as a warning, the non-strikers were pushed back and the picketing labor men allowed to continue their demonstration. There were no arrests.

Labor leaders then decided to pull out the union group and a rally was held in the parish hall, a mile from the mine.

Mr. Jodoin said he has sent a telegram to Premier Duplessis asking him, as Attorney-General, to order an inquiry into what he termed an attack "by professional goons" hired by the company.

CANADA AUG 20 1957
SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES
Date 19 Paper MONTREAL GAZETTE

From Page 1

Murdochville Violence

He announced the Quebec Labor Federation plans a mass meeting of labor representatives in Montreal as a protest against the situation at Murdochville. No date was announced.

The labor group left immediately after the meeting.

PROVOST

Roger Bedard, spokesman for the United Steelworkers of America (CLC) whose Murdochville local called the strike March 11, said the strikers here are not going to attempt to restore a picket line. But the strike is continuing.

All picketing was banned here and the order enforced by a 100-man Provincial Police detachment because the Government has declared the strike illegal.

An exception was allowed today to allow the visiting labor officials to stage their protest.

Following the clash the company issued a statement charging the labor leaders "brought this mob to Murdochville today to create a fresh disturbance and bring more misery and trouble to Gaspe."

"These leaders feel they are above the law and continuously show a contemptuous disregard of the law."

The demonstration by organized labor was the first of its type in Quebec's labor relations history.

MARCHAND

The 44 representatives, including some from unions in Ontario and New Brunswick, gathered in Quebec City Sunday where some 300 attended mass celebrated by Abbe Gerard Dion in a downtown chapel.

Abbe Dion, the professor priest who is director of the Industrial Relations Department of Laval University, is the author of a widely published essay condemning Quebec political methods. He gave the sermon.

The union men also gathered on the Quebec Legislature building grounds.

Mr. Jodoin described the tangled situation at Murdochville as a "vicious circle" in which the authorities claimed their hands were tied because a court order — a writ of prohibition — prevents the Quebec Labor Relations Board from acting on the Murdochville local's application for certification.

The labor representatives' 600-mile motor trip to Murdochville was marked by meetings at Rimouski and Ste. Anne des Monts.

At Rimouski labor leaders scoffed at the Provincial Police announcement that the union men would be permitted to picket for 24 hours.

Jean Marchand, CCCL secretary general, said it was not up to Premier Duplessis to decide whether picketing was to be allowed. It was a matter for the courts.

"Mr. Duplessis cannot decide picketing is legal one day and illegal the next," he said.

At Ste. Anne des Monts there was a brief meeting and many representatives decided to stay in that community 80 miles from Murdochville until early today when the caravan pushed through to the mining town.

The cars were stopped at police check points, trunks and glove compartments were searched, but no one was refused passage.

The group, joined by about 50 strikers from Murdochville, moved at dawn towards the company's main entrance gate to set up a picket line.

About 15 Provincial Policemen equipped with nightsticks looked on as the men led by Mr. Jodoin started parading. Mr. Jodoin's placard read: "The union is here to stay."

The men were in high spirits. It was a bright sunny day. They sang songs, one of them set to the tune of the French national anthem La Marseillaise, "together we shall conquer."

They taunted police: "Arrest us if you want."

Non-striking employees of the company marched toward the picket line in an effort to report for work. They were told to return and they marched off promptly. There were approximately 200 in the non-striking group.

ABBE DION

Within an hour some of them appeared on an elevation which overlooks the road at the mine entrance. Some stones were tossed at the union picket line.

A din of shouts and abuse calling rang out. "Go to the devil." "Go [illegible]," and other expressions were shouted back and forth.

An automobile carrying non-strikers was halted by the union men and heaved into a ditch. Non-strikers smashed two automobiles belonging to labor representatives.

All the injured were union men and were hit by flying stones.

Most of them were from the Arvida, Que., local of the National Metal Trades Federation (CCCL) whose 6,500 members are striking against the Aluminum Company of Canada.

JODOIN

J.-C. Lavoie, vice-president of the local, was struck on the head. Jean-Louis Delisle, 24, and Florent Gaudreau, 35, both of Jonquiere, were hit on the face. Rene Trudeau, a Montreal labor man, suffered a gash that took three stitches to close. Rosaire Blanchet, Mont-Louis, was the only Murdochville striker hurt. He was cut by flying glass when a stone pierced a hole one inch in diameter in his car's windshield.

All were treated in hospital. One man, Muriel Tremblay, 25, of Arvida, was taken to hospital at Ste. Anne des Monts with a probable fracture of the nose.

Tension grew steadily and the non-striking group walked over from its high position onto the road, placing itself between the picket line and the only exit toward the town itself.

When news of the situation reached the town a group of strikers formed and went out to meet the non-striking crowd.

Provincial police intervened when a clash appeared inevitable. A few tear gas bombs were tossed and non-strikers ordered off the road.

PICARD

Picketers were pushed back towards the company gate. The union men planned to hold a meeting there but called it off. The company on the other hand said its non-striking employees would not try to return to work today.

The union men gathered at the parish hall and quiet prevailed as they prepared to leave for the return trip.

The central issue in the strike is recognition of the USWA local. The walkout was called when the local president left [illegible] employment with the company. The union said he was fired, the company maintained he was laid off.

The issue of union recognition is stalled because of a company-obtained writ of prohibition which prevents the Quebec Labor Relations Board from acting on a union application for certification.

Since the strike started five months ago there have been three dynamite explosions, one of which killed a striker and injured two others.

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DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR

CLIPPING BUREAU

INDIANAPOLIS-STEEL LABOR

AUG - - 1957 SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES

Date 19 Paper

TRAGEDY IN GASPE

Murdochville, Que.—It has been Canada's proud record that, despite the turbulence and tension which frequently marked the growth of industrial unionism and the acceptance of collective bargaining by management, no Canadian's life has been lost in industrial warfare.

That proud record ended on Sunday, July 14, when Herve Bernatchez of Murdochville died from injuries suffered in a mysterious explosion near the strike-bound Gaspe Copper Mines. Also injured in the same blast were Nestor Henley and Normand Boudreau, two other strikers.

In a radio statement, company officials denied that the three men were victims of a booby trap set by mine protection squads. A Strike Committee statement issued following Bernatchez's death described the killed striker as:

"... a militant union member ... His dedication and courage in the cause of social justice will remain forever an inspiration to his fellow workers and the whole population."

Police from the 1[illegible]-man Provincial army sent to "protect" the Gaspe Copper Mines joined with strikers in providing blood transfusions in a vain attempt to save Bernatchez's life. But the same police have maintained a constant, unexplained guard over the two remaining explosion victims in the hospital.

The tragedy has brought boiling-hot resentment over the role being played by Provincial police who, the strikers charged, are conducting a completely one-sided campaign of anti-union terror under the guise of maintaining "law and order."

Samples of the one-sided police action are [illegible] in strike bulletins:

One striker's wife (the wife of explosion victim Henley) was struck in the face by a strikebreaker in full view of provincial police. No action was taken against the strikebreaker by police who claimed they "didn't see" the incident.

When it was rumoured that private action would be taken against the strikebreaker and police, the striker's wife was given a custom-made "jail record." She was snatched from a picket line of strikers' wives who were asking strikebreakers to stop stealing their husbands' jobs, thrown into a police car and driven to a jail many miles distant. The [illegible] husband and family could not find out where she had been taken until late at night. She was charged with "resisting arrest."

When Mlle M[illegible]elle Leclerc, Steelworkers office employe, attempted to take photographs of police [illegible] against the strikers' wives' picket line, she was chased by two police, thrown on the road and the camera forcibly torn from her hands. It was later returned by the officer in charge of the police, but, when asked for the names of two assaulting police, he "didn't know" who they were.

On another occasion, a carload of strikers had their car stopped on the main street of a Gaspe town many miles from Murdochville, were arrested "en masse" and held in jail overnight without charges. They were released the next morning on charges of "[illegible]." It appeared that a strikebreaker lived on the street along which they had been driving.

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DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR
CANADA

CLIPPING BUREAU

SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES

Date AUG 23 1957 19 Paper OTTAWA EVENING CITIZEN

MURDOCHVILLE QUIET

Non-Strikers Discuss Attacks On Union Men

By Guy Rondeau
Canadian Press Staff Writer

MURDOCHVILLE, Que.—An enthusiastic but well-ordered crowd of non-striking Gaspe Copper Mine employes has aired opinions and grievances of the strike which has gripped this Gaspe community since March 11.

Discussed Thursday night by the "committee of long-standing company workers" were two outbreaks of violence here last Monday. During the first incident some 200 non-strikers lobbed stones at a 450-man labor delegation which motored here from Quebec City.

The second incident saw about 100 men rip apart the local offices of the United Steelworkers of America (CLC), who called the strike.

Thursday night's meeting almost filled the local 600 - seat theater. Roger Bedard, USWA spokesman who has been directing the strike, watched the workers file in from the doorway of the adjacent hotel.

Mr. Bedard was alone and unprotected but the workers paid no attention to him. No strikers were in evidence.

To Clear Air

Twelve men spoke at the meeting, which appeared designed to clear the air and let the men voice their grievances.

Warner Martin, an engineer who arrived here from Germany three years ago, denied charges that immigrants had provoked and directed the rock-throwing incident.

Amid cries of "You'll never have to leave," Mr. Martin said he was afraid the union would appeal to the government to demand deportation of the immigrants. He said he hoped this would not happen.

The meeting broke up about 10 p.m. and the workers returned to their homes without incident.

The violence Monday had repercussions in Quebec City Thursday. Claude Jodoin, president of the Canadian Labor Congress, met with Premier Duplessis for 45 minutes to discuss the situation.

Mr. Jodoin was one of the top labor officials in the delegation here. Others included Gerard Picard, president of the Canadian and Catholic Confederation of Labor, and Roger Provost, president of the Quebec Federation of Labor.

Following the meeting with Mr. Duplessis, Mr. Jodoin said the premier had promised "a full investigation into the matter." He said he told Mr. Duplessis the violence "was organized to the point of near-perfection with the purpose of provoking the union men."

DEPARTMENT OF LABOUR
CANADA

CLIPPING BUREAU

SEP - 6 1957 SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES

MONTREAL LE TRAVAIL

Date .... 19 ..... Paper ....

The Story Of Murdochville

by JACK WILLIAMS

OTTAWA (CPA)—This is the story of Murdochville—a story of strike-breakers using goon tactics with police as by-standers; of a wealthy corporation using every imagineable tactic in an attempt to smash a union; of a Big company trying to force sub-standard wages on an isolated community; of lives endangered and property destroyed, while Quebec provincial police throw up their hands; of a provincial government standing aloof and refusing to take any action.

Murdochville is a name that has gained a place — not a creditable place — in Canadian labor history. This little company-controlled community, tucked away in the mountains of the Gaspe Peninsula has become the site of one of the bitterest struggles in Canadian labor history with the Noranda mining interests, one of the last real holdouts of reactionary management, making it the battleground against a union of the workers' choice, the United Steelworkers.

Two union members are dead. Herve Bernatchez died as a result of a dynamite explosion and, as the paper La Patrie said: "Whatever may be the conclusion of the police and judicial enquiries into this situation it is certain that the name of this 25 year old man will go down in the history of labor relations as a martyr for the workers' cause." Edgar Fortin, 29, died of a heart attack less than an hour after a mob of goons invaded and wrecked union offices.

The background of the Murdochville strike is the traditional opposition of J. Y. Murdoch's Noranda interests to trade unionism. That battle has been fought and won by the union at Noranda, Que.; but Murdochville is a new operation and there the company renewed the fight.

Five years ago the site of the Town of Murdochville was a trapper's trail. The presence of copper — 65,000,000 tons of ore — had been known since 1921. The Quebec government obligingly built a road through the mountains from the north shore of Gaspe. The company invested a total of $45,000,000 in mining operations and a smelter, and a new town came into existence housing some 2,500 people. Guy Lamarche, labor editor of Le Devoir described it this way: "Murdochville stands as an example of 20th century feudalism, where a rich company gets exclusive rights to a given territory. A three-level feudalism with the provincial government as the absolute monarch, Noranda as an all-powerful suzerain, and Gaspe Copper as vassal and offshoot".

This development took place under tax exemptions which, in May 1956, were renewed for three years. In March, 1957, the company was showing a profit of $30,000 a day — $10,950,000 a year on the basis of a seven-day week. Wages are 40 cents an hour below Noranda and the work week is 54 hours.

The first union was a federally-chartered local of the Trades and Labor Congress which obtained a contract, admittedly not satisfactory, but the best which could be obtained at the time. Then came the merger and the Canadian Labor Congress. The Murdochville operation fell clearly within the jurisdiction of the United Steelworkers which holds bargaining rights at Noranda and action was taken to sign the workers up in that organization.

The campaign was successful. The steelworkers filed an application June 1, 1956, with 747 of the 940 eligible employees signed and paid — 80% — and with another 150 signed but not paid. The company obtained delays in the Labor Board proceedings. It demanded to see the original of every document including officers' names and membership cards.

Then the company played its trump card by going to the Quebec Superior Court and getting a writ of prohibition against the Quebec Labor Relations Board. The company claimed — and these are its own words — that it was "called upon to fight against a mysterious and elusive group which has not legal existence". This was in reference to the Steelworkers with which the parent company has had a contract for years. The issuance of the writ meant a two to three year legal delay.

In mid-1956, a campaign of discrimination was started, union officials and stewards were demoted and their rates cut. The company refused to meet the union to discuss grievances on the ground that relations between the company and the union were in the courts. Then the company fired the union president, Theo Gagne, a man who had been told by the company that he had a great future and was practically indispensable. All of a sudden his services were no longer required. That sparked the strike which had been authorized earlier in a secret ballot in which 680 members voted for strike action. On March 11 they walked out and established picket lines.

From that point on the situation has been stalemated. CLC president Claude Jodoin offered to intervene in an effort to reach a settlement. The company refused on the ground that the matter was before the courts (the company's excuse). President Jodoin made a renewed attempt pointing out that if the company refused to recognize and meet with representatives of the United Steelworkers it should negotiate with the old union of which the CLC was now the parent body. The company refused.

This was the situation when some 500 trade unionists made their August 19th trip to Murdochville to establish peaceful picket lines and to peacefully demonstrate their support of the Murdochville strikers. But these were methods foreign to the Gaspe Copper Co. and from its strike-breaking employees came violence and bloodshed.

The picketing demonstration set a new high in co-operation among Canadian unions. Not only was there widespread participation by Canadian Labor Congress unions from both the old congresses but there was whole-hearted support from the Canadian and Catholic Confederation of Labor.

Never before had so many union members travelled so far to demonstrate their support to a group of workers involved in a strike. While the bulk of the participants came from Quebec there were a number from Ontario and some from Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Some travelled a distance of close to 1,000 miles to reach the strike scene.

Unions that took part ranged from the Bakery Workers to the Auto Workers; from the Machinists to the International Union of Electrical Workers; from the Brotherhood of Railway and Transport Workers to the Clothing Workers and innumerable others. Largest group was composed of CCCL members on strike at Arvida.

Union officers were as representative as the members who took part. President Claude Jodoin led the picket line. With him was William Mahoney, national director of the Steelworkers and James Nicholson, director of eastern Canada. President Gerard Picard and Secretary-Treasurer Jean Marchand headed the CCCL delegation. Roger Provost, president of the Quebec Federation and a CLC vice-president and CLC vice-president Huguette Plamondon were in the line with Cleve Kidd, president of the Ontario Federation of Labor and countless others prominent in the Canadian labor movement. Cars and buses were decorated with signs and picket line signs were plentiful.

ARTMENT OF
LABOUR
CANADA

CLIPPING BUREAU

SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES

Date SEP 2 5 1957 19 Paper WINDSOR STAR

Court Brings Long Strike Nearer End

Throws Out Writ Copper Firm Used To Handcuff Board

QUEBEC, (CP)—A ruling by Quebec Superior Court Tuesday removed one of the main obstacles to a settlement of the copper mine workers' strike at Murdochville, Que., which began March 11.

Judge William Morin threw out a writ of prohibition against the Quebec Labor Relations Board which the company, Gaspe Copper Mines Limited, obtained last year.

Until the court ruled on the writ, the board could not take action on a request by the Murdochville local of the United Steel Workers of America (C.L.C.) for certification as bargaining agent for Gaspe copper mines workers.

The decision means the board may now consider the application. But a company appeal could stall proceedings again. Gaspe Copper has 30 days in which to file an appeal.

The company obtained the writ in June, 1956, while the board was studying the union request. The firm alleged the board refused to give the company names of union officers and produce documents showing membership in the union.

Judge Morin said there was no proof the board had gone beyond its powers in dealing with the application.

He noted the case took a long time to complete because it was agreed the company lawyer could await decisions on two appeal cases dealing with similar circumstances before completing his written argument. But after the court of appeals decided one case the judge asked for the company argument because of criticism over the delay.

In the appeal case the position of the labor board was also supported.

The case also touched on a law passed by the provincial Legislature two years ago forbidding writs against the board. The board lawyer cited the law in his argument.

Judge Morin offered the opinion that this law cannot be taken literally. Despite its "brutal clarity" of text the citizen must always have the right to petition the courts against possible errors by administrative bodies, he said.

If the law is taken literally, he said, it means nothing could be done to challenge it and the legislator could be charged with the intention of "restraining or limiting fundamental constitutional liberty of citizens . . .".

He said the court admits supremacy of the legislator but his powers exist only within the Constitution and must not violate its protection of the citizen's rights.

The Murdochville strike began in March after the union's local president left his job with the company. The company said he was laid off; the union said he was fired for union activities.

The company resumed production on a small scale in May, and recently has operated near capacity.

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PARTMENT OF
BOUR
CANADA

CLIPPING BUREAU

SUBJECT: TRADE DISPUTES

Date OCT - 7 1957 19 Paper WINDSOR STAR

Mine Strife Ends For Murdochville

Gaspe Copper Strikers Approve To Seek Jobs Like New Workers

MURDOCHVILLE, Que., (CP)—After seven months of bitterness and strife, a strike of mine workers at the Gaspe Copper Mines Ltd., here came to a sudden stop during the weekend.

About 300 workers, members of the United Steelworkers of America (C.L.C.), voted Saturday to end their walkout and return to work. But the company—which fired them all last August—said he men would have to apply for vork like new employees, and ield little hope that all would be ired.

The mine officials gave the strikers a back-to-work ultimatum more than two months ago, and then started to hire outside workers to reopen the copper smelter. Since then 800 men, including new immigrants to Canada, have joined the company and limited production has begun.

Herve Berube, assistant general manager of the mine, said none of the present employees will be dismissed to make room for returning strikers. He indicated that only 200 men were needed now to reach the mine's full compliment of 1,000 workers.

But Roger Bedard, U.S.W.A. official who has directed the strike since it started March 11, said he expected that 300 strikers would be able to get their jobs back.

"The others will try to find work elsewhere," he said.

While members try to find employment here or elsewhere, the union will continue to provide financial help. Some 450 strikers remain in the area—the rest had either rejoined the company or had sought jobs outside Murdochville.

Violence marked the strike. Three times, dynamite blasts echoed over the Gaspe countryside, and one striker, Herve Bernatches, died after one explosion.

When Canadian and Quebec labor leaders marched on Murdochville in support of the strikers, trouble flared again. Picketers and company employees clashed and police used tear gas to break up the dispute. Then non-striking workers raided the union's offices and sacked it, smashing strikers' automobiles in the streets at the same time.

A ship carrying copper from Murdochville was attacked by 200 persons when it arrived in Montreal, and some of the cargo was dumped overboard. The vessel was badly damaged.

The strike was called after the company obtained a court injunction that prevented the Quebec Labor Relations Board from dealing with a U.S.W.A application for certification. Then, on Sept. 24, the Quebec Superior Court threw the injunction out.

It was this decision, said Mr. Bedard, that prompted the union to call for an end of the strike. He said that if the strike had continued, it might have been considered an obstacle to final recognition.

A U.S.W.A. spokesman in Montreal said the union hopes the company will not raise further legal objections to union certification. The company has seven days left to appeal the Superior Court decision.

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ARTMENT OF
LABOUR
CANADA

CLIPPING BUREAU

Subject TRADE DISPUTES

Date NOV 16 1957

LONDON FREE-PRESS

Only 30 Men Rehired After Long Gaspe Strike

MONTREAL, Nov. 15—(CP) — Only 30 of some 200 strikers remaining at Murdochville, Que., when a long, bitter strike ended last month at Gaspe Copper Mines have been rehired by the company, an official of the United Steelworkers of America (CLC) said today.

Theo Gagne, president of the USWA local at Murdochville, told delegates at the Quebec Federation of Labor convention here that the rest of the one-time strikers had packed their bags and left the isolated mining community to seek work elsewhere.

When the Murdochville strike ended early in October, the company's assistant manager, Herve Berube, had said that about 200 men would possibly be rehired.

"Each case will be decided on its merits," he said then.

$35 Difference

Mr. Gagne appeared at the QFL convention as a delegate of the Murdochville local, but presiding officers said he could not be accepted as such because the Gaspe local had not paid its $35 per capita union tax.

This created a furore on the convention floor. QFL Secretary Roger Mathieu argued that Mr. Gagne should be allowed to speak because he had played a highly-important role in the seven-month strike at Murdochville.

It was dismissal of Mr. Gagne from the mine that precipitated the walkout, which was marked by violence and several deaths.

Finally, QFL President Roger Provost proposed that convention delegates take a collection to pay the union tax. This quickly produced the necessary $35 plus an extra $229 which was transferred to the Murdochville strikers' fund.

30 Rehired

Mr. Gagne told the convention that the Gaspe company informed the strikers that their services would not be needed after only 30 workers had been given jobs. Families packed up and left as a result.

He said the strike—formally ended by a vote of the union members—must continue in "another form." Other Quebec companies must not be given the chance to imitate the Gaspe mine's example, he added.

On other matters, the convention decided to press the Provincial Government to revise existing electoral constituencies to provide "more justice for citizens."

Another resolution passed by the delegates urged the Quebec Government to have iron ore treated in the province instead of shipping it to the United States for processing.

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LABOUR STUDIES UNITS

prepared for the

ONTARIO FEDERATION OF LABOUR

by

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February 1976

Unit 4 of 9 Units

USERS ARE FREE TO
DUPLICATE MATERIALS
EXCEPT FOR
COMMERCIAL PURPOSES

RATIONALE

When it has occurred, the study of labour has concentrated on an analysis of unions, their aims, methods and operations. No doubt the method has resulted in greater understanding of labour, but inevitably it has restricted the image of labour. It emphasizes one segment of labour -- the organized, and only one facet of labour -- its organization. However, two-thirds of labour -- the unorganized -- are forgotten as are the innumerable activities of labour beyond the work place.

The Workingman -- A Social Perspective represents an effort to remedy that imbalance by delving into an area entirely neglected in the secondary school curriculum. The Unit looks at the workingman as an individual in his non collective pursuits. In essence the Unit attempts to develop, by a combination of local and national studies, of the workingman between the time of leaving his job and the time he returns to it.

The Unit continues the theme of challenge and response, developed in earlier Units, in a contemporary context with a strong sociological thrust. The initial phase of this raises the issues in the 20th Century confronting the workingman -- impermanence of life, job alienation, dominance by forces over which he has no control, etc. The second phase of the Unit defines why they are issues by relating the suggestions to a theory of social needs. This segment offers an excellent opportunity to develop social science skills by the application of a theoretical framework to existing situations. The Unit then shifts to the workingman's response: An attempt to find meaning in a world controlled by impersonal forces. It probes their living standards, homelife, child training, leisure and community activity on a local basis and as part of a national image. Ideally it offers the student an opportunity to evaluate the community and compare it to the Canadian scene. Finally, the Unit suggests areas of further study to relate it to the multi-cultural heritage by recommending comparative studies of industrial England, Canada as presented in Unit II -- The Origins of the Workingman and Canada in the 1920's.

UNIT: V : THE WORKINGMAN: A SOCIAL PERSPECTIVE.

CONTENT	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
1. **Raising the Issues:** A) Student perceptions of the issues facing the workingman. Examples: Conformity, loss of identity, alienation, concrete jungle, impermanence, decline of the family unit, loss of roots, increasing materialism and commercialism, impersonal world, mobility, throw-away society, frustration, loss of control of individual over the direction of his life.	Examine pictures Appendix IV-A. Have students hypothesize about challenges facing the workingman today. List hypotheses on board. From this a discussion of these ideas, the student should be able to observe the increasing complexity of modern society and its meaning to the workingman.	20 slides - Appendix IV-A	1. To raise the problems arising out of the complexity of modern society. 2. To gather and analyze information from photographs. 3. To practice formulating hypotheses. (i) should be stated positively. (ii) to be tested for validity.
B) Issues as seen by social critics.	Depending on the style of the teacher he may have the students analyze various articles individually or in groups of 4-5 students. If in groups, definite roles should be assigned (ex. reporter, recorder.) Also, depending on reading ability of students, some articles may have to be paraphrased. The teacher may not want to use all these articles.	Appendix IV-B 1) Star, Oct. 24/75 "The People Who Live Just for the Weekends". 2) DeGrazia "When Will You Ever, Leisure?" 3) Metson "Control in the New Apartment Complex". 4) "Consequence of Transformation of Work". 5) Toffler "The New Nomads". "The Hurry up Welcome". 6) Toffler "The Modular Man". 7) "Effects of Transcience on Children". 8) "The Streamlined Family" 9) Hailey's Wheels "The Assembly Line". 10) "Psychological Effect of Plant Shutdown and Unemployment on the Workers".	1. To verify hypotheses from written documents and professional critics. 2. To be able to list issues as stated by social critics. 3. To clarify issues on the complexity of modern society 4. To develop the skill of reporting information accurately. 5. To practice listening skills so as to obtain specific information.

CONTENT	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
		11) "The Men Who Commute 300 Miles". Other Resources. Reich, The Greening of America Steinberg, Man and the Organization. Time-Life Books. Films: London Life, Address: The Lake Erie Regional Library Film Section, 305 Queens Av., London, Ontario. The Human Journey Series: 1) "The Job" 2) "The Family" Orson Wells, "Future Shock" Life Magazine, Apr. 12, 1967. The Struggle to be an Individual.	
2. Why are these Issues? Maslow's hierarchy of needs - a theoretical framework.	Examine overhead transparency on Maslow's hierarchy of needs to determine universal human needs. Teacher should explain Maslow's theory. In class discussion, relate the the issues of 1 (A & B) to the diagram. Specify what basic human needs they relate to and whether they are being met or not in modern society.	Appendix IV-C (i) Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs" (Master) (ii) Brief Explanation of Maslow's Theory.	1. To establish universal needs of man. 2. To apply a theory of behaviour to problems in modern society. 3. To determine why these problems are issues in modern society.

CONTENT	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
3. Responses to Issues: Assignment #1: An interview is conducted to find out specific information about the workingman. a) General information - marital status - educational background. b) Job related information: - types of jobs - pressures of job - effects on home life - mobility related to job. c) Responses, or outlets: - T.V. - reading - club activity - political activity - religious activity - other outlets. d) Goals in life: - personal - for children.	Having raised the issues in a theoretical discussion, the instructor can inform the students that they will be testing these issues for their validity in the remainder of the Unit by studying the worker in detail. This study will take the form of the two research assignments. Research Assignment #1: Students are asked to go out into the community and conduct an interview on one or more subjects. (See Appendix IV- for model for interview). The students should concentrate their studies on hourly-rated employees. Upon return to the class, the students should attempt to chart the responses on a large chart to collate the information. After examining the completed chart students should compare the results with the issues raised in sections I (A & B) of this Unit. Are there differences? If so, why? What are the differences?	Appendix IV-D Interview Model.	1. To develop interview techniques. 2. To collate interview results and form meaningful conclusions. 3. To test hypotheses with evidence from field studies. 4. To organize evidence by means of a chart. 5. To utilize the community as a resource for education.

CONTENT	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
Responses (cont'd) 3. Are social problems such as divorce, mental health, alcoholism or suicide related to the responses of the working man to the issues of today?	Students are then asked to examine charts of statistics on divorce (Appendix IV-E(i) Mental Health (Appendix IV-E(ii) Alcoholism (Appendix IV-E(iii) Suicide (Appendix IV-E(iv), and asked to consider the following: 1. What trends seem to exist? 2. Why are these trends occurring? 3. Do these trends verify or add to any conclusions formed as a result of Assignment #1? 4. Are these trends related at all to the issues raised at the beginning of the Unit?	Statistics: Divorce (Appendix IV-E(i) Mental Health (Appendix IV-E(ii) Alcoholism (Appendix IV-E(iii) Suicide (Appendix IV-E(iv) (More recent statistics might be obtained)- current newspaper articles may be more appropriate.	1. To test hypotheses with statistics. 2. To perceive trends from a statistical chart. 3. To verbalize generalizations from particular data.
Assignment #2: Are there alternative responses on the positive side? Examples: Work on: United Appeal, Boys' Club, Cubs or Scouts, Political Activity, Religious Clubs.	Research Assignment #2: In class students are asked to list ways in which the working man responds positively to the issues today. Assign pairs of students to particular responses to verify with statistics either in the library or the community in general. Chart the results in the class room. If statistics cannot be found, the class may discuss why this is the case.		1. To list positive responses of the workingman to issues in society today. 2. To be aware that few studies are done on positive responses. 3. To exchange ideas on a one to one basis. 4. To develop a more optimistic view on society's future.

CONTENT	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
4. Summary Chart: - Issues - Positive and negative responses. - Conclusions - Alternatives for the future.	Make a final chart in class of the issues and the possible responses. Compare the results. What conclusions can be made? What alternatives are there for the future? The model applied in this Unit follows: 1) Raising the issues. 2) Issues as seen by social critics. 3) Why are these issues? 4) Responses to issues? 5) Summary.		1. To synthesize and clarify information gathered in the Unit. 2. To make value judgments about their responses to the issues. 3. To formulate student priorities for future behaviour.
5. Comparative Studies: (i) Industrial Revolution in England. (ii) Working conditions in early Canada (See Unit #2). (iii) 1920's in Canada. (iv) The Depression.	Generally there are existing Units in Ontario schools on the Industrial Revolution, Pioneer Canada, Canada in the 1920's, and the Depression. Therefore, it is suggested that the model developed in this Unit be applied to one or more of these historical periods. The purpose of this is to compare problems of the working man in these periods with the problems of the working man today. Are there similarities in these problems? Are there similar responses? What changes have occurred?		

Chapter VII

The Psychological Effect of Plant Shutdown and Unemployment on the Workers

Although a plant shutdown treats all employees in the industrial unit alike in that they all lose their jobs, it is the less-skilled, those with the lowest seniority, and those at the bottom of the income scale who suffer the most.

> It is only a matter of degree how prolonged unemployment affects the executive and the blue collar worker. For the executive who loses his job, it means that he can't find work at his level — in the end, when he has swallowed his pride, he can usually get a job at a lower level. It may take two years before he is prepared to take a wage cut, which will lower his status, but in most cases work will be available. But for the blue collar worker, it is not a question of lowering his status — he can't get a job.[32]

The supervisory, technical and white collar workers are kept on until last. The paper work continues until the plant closes. Some of it continues even after the production part of the operation is finished. The employees with managerial skills, engineers, draftsmen, technicians, office workers and some of the skilled tradesmen such as tool and die makers, machinists and electricians, will have less difficulty in finding new employment.

The punch press operators, assemblers, packers, shippers and others who form the bulk of the work force in a manufacturing plant have more difficulty finding jobs when the plant closes. When a plant closes in a period of high unemployment, their problem is almost insurmountable.

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[32] "Old and Out of Work," Guidelines Department, *Monetary Times,* CXXXVIII, No. 9 (September, 1970), p. 10.

What happens to such a worker when he loses his job? The low wage earner who finds himself out of work for even a week has some serious adjustments to make, if he is going to provide for himself and his family. When this situation drags on for months, he is forced to find some other source of income. He applies for unemployment insurance payments. These, at their best were, at the time of this study, much too low, were paid for too short a period, and did little more than keep him from starving. When the unemployment insurance payments run out — what happens then? How does the unemployed worker meet his family expenses during long term unemployment?

First, he uses up his savings, if he is fortunate enough to have any. Then he borrows, if he has friends with money. He moves to cheaper housing. He sells whatever assets he may have. Generally, he accepts help from friends and relatives. As a last resort, he might apply for public welfare assistance.

When a worker with a family to provide for, loses his job, he experiences a sinking feeling. He has to face his wife and children and his friends. If he is able to find temporary work, it is usually in a lower paid, semi-skilled occupation.

There is a deprivation of the necessities of life, but there is also another deprivation — a psychological deprivation.

If a worker is laid off from an organized factory, he sometimes succeeds in obtaining a job in a non-union shop, possibly in the service trades. His pay is lowered and his working conditions become worse.

On the old job, he had higher pay and took some pride in his work, but the new job makes him feel humiliated; he feels rejected, his pride crumbles.

The unemployed have other needs, as important as the basic ones of food, clothing, and shelter. Loss of work results in the loss of self-respect, skill, and a desire to work. When the bread-winner is at home all day, harassed by financial worries and the frustration of not being able to do anything about his situation, he can become irritable and quite hard to live with. Family life suffers.

But the grimmest and most unnerving aspect of being idle is the effect this has on the mind and psychological well-being of the worker. There is the feeling of self-pity and guilt.

His plight is compounded by the fact that he is surrounded by affluence.

When a worker is unemployed for six months or more, then his standard of living deteriorates and he enters the ranks of the impoverished.

Seasonal changes, automation, technological change, plant shutdown, and a host of other factors contribute to the unemployment problem. However, the individual who is affected doesn't care what has been the cause: all he knows is that he isn't able to find a job and has no income. Nor is he too concerned about how new jobs are created. All he is concerned with is how to find gainful employment at rates of pay that will meet his needs. If he has limited education and no skills, and if he is over 45, his hope of finding gainful employment is very slim and daily grows slimmer.

Changing Attitudes as a Result of Plant Shutdown

A worker's job is more than just an economic activity. Around the job he forms most of his relationships and his attitudes. His home, his status and place in the community, his friends, his financial, cultural and political associations are all determined by his job.

Wilensky in his study concluded that "much of the worker's life revolved around his work and that environment. It was his central source of identity and social solidarity."[33]

Crysdale in the study of the shutdown of English Electric in St. Catharines also develops this theme but adds a new facet — that the loss of his job and the resulting loss of status led to the worker's withdrawal from secondary associations, and his political behavior became either apathetic or extreme. The study showed "that withdrawal from secondary associations by downgraded workers following relocation of the factory, was accompanied by increase in radicalism and in greater willingness to prescribe a larger role for the state."[34]

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[33] Harold L. Wilensky, "Orderly Careers and Social Participation", *American Sociological Review* (August, 1961), pp. 521-539.

Our survey of the Brantford area, just prior to the federal by-election which happened to take place after a number of plant shutdowns in the area, seems to bear this out. Some of the dismissed workers were interviewed in the NDP election headquarters. They were active in the campaign "to defeat the bastards in Ottawa who caused all this unemployment," was how one of them put it. As it turned out, the candidate of the party in power was roundly defeated. This is not to say that there weren't other reasons for the election of the NDP candidate. However, the plant shutdowns and general unemployment in the community were given as a major reason.

Attitudes to Relocation

Workers, like other members of the community, when faced with the prospect of losing their jobs or having in fact lost them, are reluctant to relocate. In personal interviews with these workers, it is interesting to note that the reasons given initially are not always the complete reasons for this reluctance to move. By further questioning the members of the family, it is found that the reasoning behind this reluctance can be quite complex. In this the wife plays a decisive role. The wife has more at stake in relocating. She is the one who is tied to the home. Her entire household would have to be rearranged. Her circle of friends are in the neighbourhood, she would have to make new friends.

Even though his job has disappeared, even though his way of life has changed and his world as he knew it appears to be disintegrating, there is a tendency to cling to the familiar. There is always the hope that things will return to normal.

> He cannot move to another area because, in most cases, he hopes to get back to his job. He is usually from the less skilled and the lower paid section of workers and, consequently, could not acquire the necessary savings for such a move. Perhaps he made a down payment on his home. If his plant has a pension plan he hopes to take advantage of it by sticking with that particular plant.

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[34] Stewart Crysdale, "Social Effects of A Factory Relocation," *Canada: A Sociological Profile* (Toronto: The Copp Clark Publishing Co., 1968), p. 265.

> Then there are other reasons why an unemployed worker hesitates to move. He has the greatest reason to be insecure. The world has fallen in on him. He needs to be with his friends. He might not wish to take the children out of the school they are attending. There are many reasons why a displaced worker sticks to his community, but perhaps the most important is the belief that it might not make any difference if he did move.[35]

If both parents are workers, there are more compelling reasons not to relocate. If one partner has a job the household now depends on it more than formerly. If this partner quit, he or she would have to find a new job in the new location.

It would seem that a single worker would be more likely to relocate. He or she usually has less complicated family ties. They do not have the same financial commitments as married workers. However, they do have strong community ties. Some have financial and other commitments to their parents. In some respects a young worker is just as reluctant to leave his home and surroundings as a young bird is in leaving its nest.

Workers will stay put in the belief that it won't happen — that the plant won't close or they in particular will be spared.

This is borne out in the case of the General Steel Wares closing. Even after the company made a formal announcement that their operation will be moved to new locations

> a considerable portion of the employees still doubted that any significant changes would be made. Belief is a matter of choice and the employees wanted to believe that the company would continue producing in Toronto, thereby enabling them to continue in its employ.[36]

In some cases there is a reluctance on the part of some employees to seek new employment or to accept jobs that may be available and thereby lose their equity, such as seniority, pension, etc., on the old job. In the case of the Kelvinator shutdown in London, Ontario, the majority of the production workers stayed with the plant until the last, despite a relatively lengthy notice, because their severance pay depended on their staying. But it would appear

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[35] Ontario Federation of Labour, "Poverty in Ontario 1964," p. 28.

[36] R. G. Boase, "From Factory to Parking Lot: A Study of the closing of 'A Surplus Plant' " (Toronto: USWA, 33 Cecil St.), p. 11. (Mimeographed.)

that psychological and social factors are more important than the economic in making a decision to relocate.

> In a situation where economic forces are sufficiently in balance so, that men can see advantages in moving and in staying, social and psychological factors tip the balance in this case mainly in favour of staying put. In other words, economic factors may motivate a change but, in a relatively affluent society such as that of Canada today, these economic factors are subject to differing personal evaluations and the primary factors affecting an employee's decision as to whether or not he will follow his job to a new community are social and psychological.[37]

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[37] *Ibid.*, p. 52.

APPENDIX IV-B(xi)

THE GLOBE AND MAIL OCTOBER 28/75

George Kaszas is among 47 construction workers who have chartered a bus for daily 300-mile round

THE MEN WHO COMMUTE 300 MILES

BY RUDY PLATIEL
Globe and Mail Reporter

BATH — "In the two billion people on this whole earth I don't think there would be any idiot person who would enjoy this trip for two years." George Kaszas says.

But five days a week Mr. Kaszas and 46 other hydro construction workers from the Metropolitan Toronto and Oshawa area commute 300 miles to and from work on the Lennox Generating Station about 16 miles west of Kingston.

They chartered a regular bus coach and driver rather than board five days a week near the job site or uproot their families by moving to the area.

When the commuting began two years ago, the group included two workers from St. Catharines and one from Milton who drove by car to the 5:15 a.m. bus point at Avenue Road and Lawrence Avenue.

But these days one of those who commutes farthest is Mr. Kaszas, 40, who has to leave his Weston area home around 4:30 a.m. to catch the bus for the 2½-hour ride to his work as an electrician.

At 4:30 in the afternoon he is among those sprinting from the job site to the bus for the return trip. It's about 7:40 in the evening before he is back at home with his wife and young daughter. It costs the workers $29 each for the 1.500-mile weekly bus trip, which most find boring but preferable to being away from their home and families.

BRIEF EXPLANATION OF MASLOW'S THEORY:

In 1954, Abraham Maslow published a book called Motivation and Personality. It serves as the base source of most of today's motivational theories. Maslow's basic theory is that man is motivated by a hierarchy of needs, i.e. he has a never ending sequence of needs which motivate him. He contends that needs of successive levels in the hierarchy, or sequence, emerge when preceding needs are satisfied. The chart shows Maslow's hierarchy of needs.

Man begins with the drive to satisfy basic physiological needs such as hunger, thirst, need for rest, etc., and progresses up the ladder to safety and security need satisfaction and finally to levels where he is motivated by ego drives and ultimately a drive for self-fulfilment or self-actualization.

An important point is that the more basic physiological and safety-security needs can be satisfied with money, and that the higher level social, ego and self-fulfilment needs are psychological in orientation. They require some form of psychic income to be satisfied. The recognition that the basic drives can be satisfied by physical means, whereas the higher level needs require psychological satisfaction, is key to understanding and interpreting other theories of motivation.

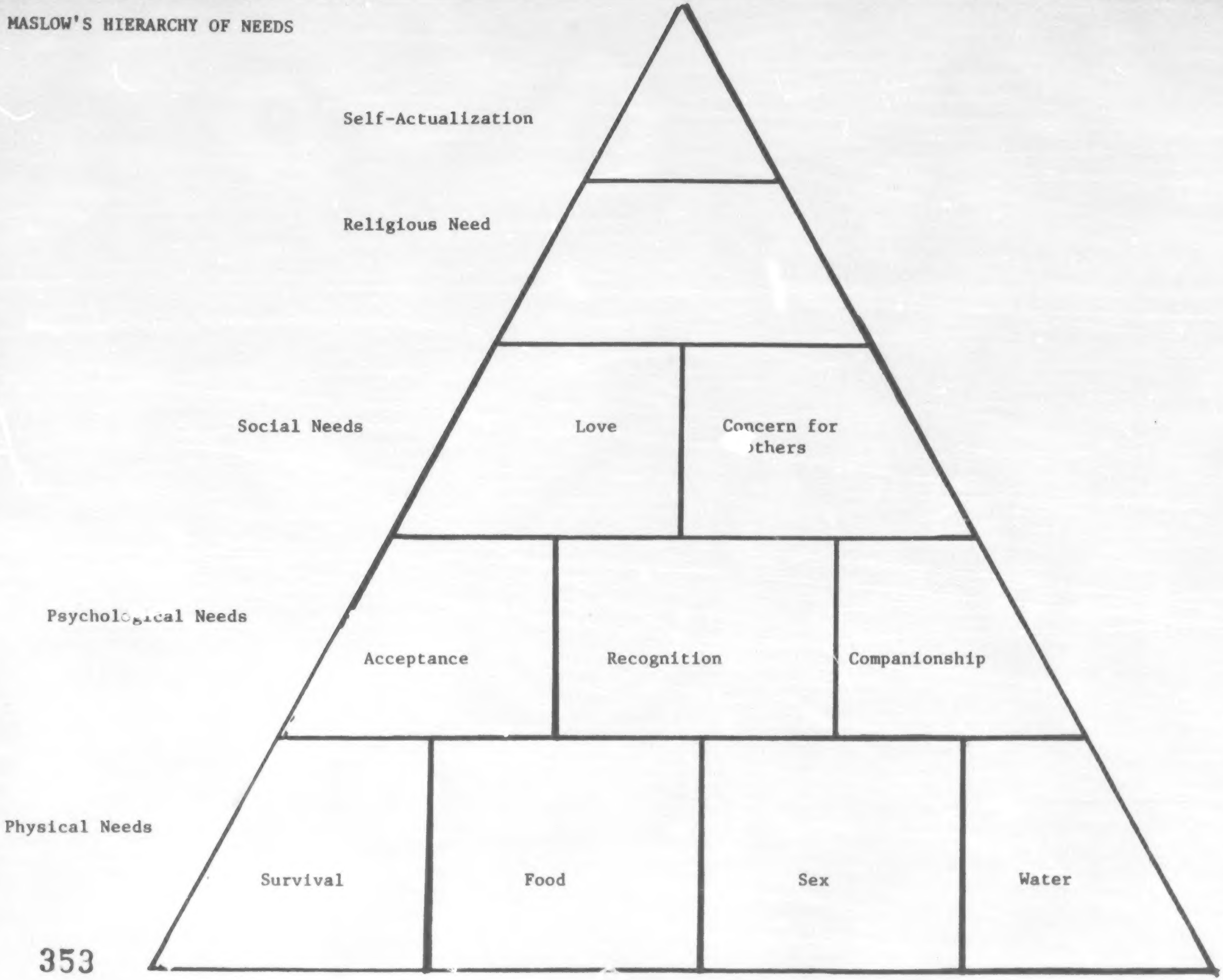
CASES:

A mother is outside, her child is inside a burning building. She can react on a low level (NEED FOR SURVIVAL) or on a higher level (LOVE, CONCERN FOR OTHERS).

SELF-CONTROL:

There is conflict between satisfying sex need and need of acceptance and concern of others.

MASLOW'S HIERARCHY OF NEEDS


Self-Actualization
Religious Need
Social Needs
Love
Concern for others
Psychological Needs
Acceptance
Recognition
Companionship
Physical Needs
Survival
Food
Sex
Water

INTERVIEW MODEL:

1. What is your marital status?
   - () single
   - () married
   - () divorced
   - () widowed/widower
2. What is your educational background?
   - () elementary school graduate
   - () secondary school graduate
   - () university graduate
3. What is your present occupation?
4. What do you find satisfying about your work?
   What do you find dissatisfying about your work?
5. What are the pressures of your job?
   How do you and your friends handle these pressures?
6. Does your job affect your homelife? How?
7. How many times have you moved in the last ten years?
   Reasons for move?
   Advantages of move?
   Disadvantages of move?
8. Does your spouse work?
   - (a) partime?
   - (b) fulltime?
   - (c) why?
9. How much television would you watch in a day?
   () one hour () two hours () three or more hours.
   What are your favourite programs?
10. How many books have you read in the past year?
    Number of fiction?
    Number of non-fiction?
11. Number and kinds of club affiliations:
    Do you belong to:
    - (a) lodges - number?
    - (b) church clubs
    - (c) labour union
    - (d) any other clubs
      (i.e. minor league sports).
12. Do you have any political associations?

13. Do you attend religious services?
    How many times in the last six months?
14. Are you taking any educational courses?
    Why?
15. Do you have any interests or outlets besides those mentioned above?
16. What do you see as the main problems in society today?
17. What are your goals in life?
    What goals do you have for your children?

APPENDIX IV-E(i

Number of divorces, by province, 1951-71

Year	Nfld.	PEI	NS	NB	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta.	BC	YT	NWT	Canada
Av. 1951-55	5	10	212	167	327	2,430	356	231	612	1,461	..	..	5,811
" 1956-60	5	4	227	194	403	2,801	315	247	788	1,514	..	..	6,498
" 1961-65	5	8	277	199	380	3,342	376	298	1,226	1,592	17	3	7,723
1966	11	18	406	155	988	4,101	524	321	1,567	2,124	21	3	10,239
1967	11	18	394	292	727	4,350	477	399	1,736	2,734	21	6	11,165
1968	15	20	497	143	606	5,036	465	384	1,916	2,220	30	11	11,343
1969r	103	102	791	347	2,947	11,845	1,334	882	3,446	4,224	42	30	26,093
1970	140	65	823	386	4,865	12,451	1,234	871	3,771	5,111	41	17	29,775
1971	150	59	721	483	5,195	12,189	1,370	813	3,652	4,942	47	5	29,626

Grounds for divorce, and number and custody of children, 1969-71 (divorces granted under the new legislation)

Item	Number			Percentage distribution (based on total divorces)		
	1969	1970	1971	1969	1970	1971
Grounds for divorce[1]						
Adultery	6,335	10,032	11,239	28.9	34.4	38.0
Physical cruelty	3,400	4,696	5,090	15.5	16.1	17.2
Mental cruelty	3,610	5,234	5,666	16.4	17.9	19.1
Separation	12,524	14,908	13,840	57.0	51.1	46.7
Desertion	2,396	2,507	1,986	10.9	8.6	6.7
Other grounds	1,789	1,763	1,618	8.1	6.0	5.5
Total, grounds	30,074	39,140	39,439	...	...	...
Total, divorces	21,964	29,168	29,605	...	...	...

APPENDIX IV-E(ii)

Mental institutions : movement of patients, cost per patient-day, full-time personnel, Canada, 1932 to 1960

Year	Movement of patients								Personnel (full time)	
	First admissions[3]									
	Number admitted in year	Number per 100,000 population	Number of re-admissions	Number of patient-days (thousands)	Average number of patients	Percentage occupancy	Turnover of patients (per cent)	Cost per patient-day (dollars)	Total	Nurses (graduate and student)
	149	150	151	152	153	154	155	156	157	158
1960	26,935	151	16,186	25,084	68,535	106	63	4.31	27,182	6,103
1959	28,066	161	15,118	24,732	67,759	109	64	5.31	26,005	5,965
1958	26,536	156	13,760	24,857	68,102	114	59	4.08	24,773	5,477
1957	25,582	155	12,090	24,287	66,541	116	57	3.70	23,095	5,018
1956	25,097	156	11,341	24,189	66,090	114	55	3.34	20,598	4,777
1955	21,774	139	10,448	23,644	64,779	114	50	2.97	18,543	4,424
1954	20,627	135	8,724	23,006	63,031	116	47	2.92	18,561	4,414
1953	15,925	108	7,206	22,081	60,496	118	38	2.70	17,499	4,035
1952	15,056	104	5,901	21,060	57,541	118	36	2.53	15,756	4,212
1951	13,152	94	4,591	20,299	55,614	121	32	2.40	14,414	4,083
1950	11,912	87	4,499	19,797	54,240	120	30	1.23	13,461	3,943
1949	11,556	86	3,920	19,292	52,855	120	29	1.94	12,812	2,904
1948	10,665	84	3,499	18,706	51,111	112	28	1.77	11,844	2,471
1947	9,745	78	3,335	18,286	50,099	111	26	1.46	11,308	2,241
1946	9,752	80	3,144	18,025	49,384	109	26	1.22	10,240	2,323
1945	9,480	79	2,779	17,642	48,334	107	25	1.08	9,834	2,060
1944	9,170	77	2,629	17,384	47,498	112	25	1.03	8,906	2,049
1943	8,556	73	2,390	17,044	46,697	110	23	.98	8,749	2,115
1942	8,410	72	2,282	16,865	46,205	111	23	.95	8,425	2,205
1941	7,902	69	2,401	16,525	45,273	113	23	.96	8,426	2,457
1940	7,736	68	2,087	16,104	44,000	112	22	.92	8,889	2,887
1939	8,301	74	2,250	15,786	43,250	110	24	.89	8,463	2,516
1938	8,581	77	2,384	15,758	43,173	112	25	.91	8,397	2,455
1937	8,703	79	2,258	15,036	41,195	109	27	.84	8,071	2,343
1936	9,002	82	2,121	14,302	39,240	105	28	.80	7,430	2,161
1935	8,604	80	2,166	13,880	38,052	106	28	.74	6,937	2,200
1934	8,096	75	1,965	13,250	36,300	104	28	.84	6,870	2,360
1933	7,518	71	1,683	—	—	—	—	.83	6,577	2,334
1932	7,628	73	1,828	—	—	—	—	.88	6,555	2,369

APPENDIX IV-E(i)

STAR OCT.24/75

The people who live just for the weekends

By BOB PENNINGTON
Star staff writer

THE Pullens live on St. Germain Ave., North Toronto, from Monday to Friday.

But their home is 100 miles to the north and has a mountain view.

"Rent in the city, but buy where your heart is," said Tony Pullen, 30, who works for a Toronto brokerage company, specializing in sales to institutions.

Exactly the same philosophy is followed by John and Wendy Eversfield and Brian and Joanne Bailey, fellow Torontonians, who "live for the weekend."

It's also being followed by singles like 37-year-old Jim Bain who rents in Toronto but has escaped each weekend for the past six years to his mountain retreat.

The way of life they are following combines a rejection of traditional city values and an acceptance of leisure and sporting pleasure as their key considerations in real estate.

Good investment

Rather than pay inflated prices for a house in Metro, they prefer to rent, leaving a weekend retreat as their major family investment.

"Buying land in Collingwood and building our home there has been a good investment," said Tony Pullen.

Nancy Pullen sees their way of life as a rejection of the "keeping up with the Joneses" syndrome:

"We have many friends in the city who live in neighborhoods that would be classified as homes for gracious living.

"Many of them are so tied up with big mortgages that they can't afford to go anywhere. We are also having to struggle, but at least we have a place of our own in which we find happiness every weekend."

There was a time, Tony Pullen recalled, when they were contemplating making a city home their major investment:

"It was just before we were married in 1969. I looked at one house in the Dupont-Davenport area that would have been a very good buy.

"Around about the same time, I heard of a new development in Collingwood and put my name down for one of the lots. It meant waiting, but we knew what we wanted."

Chalet is the official designation of the two-storey home they helped design, but it has all the modern conveniences of a luxurious city home that would now be well beyond their price range.

Consider—four bedrooms and two bathrooms, one of which includes a whirlpool bath.

The living room also has what they call a "conversation pit." Sited near the fireplace, the pit has two sunken steps which are padded, carpeted and covered with floor cushions.

Skiing is the prime attraction for the residents of this sub-division in which the tow-bars to the slopes are within easy walking distance.

Tony Pullen, who was a part-time skiing instructor at Blue Mountain in his university years, and his wife, remain enthusiasts.

Kelly, their 3-year-old daughter started skiing last winter and is already "thinking snow."

The chalet, however, is an all-the-year-round magnet for them.

"We spent one weekend in the city recently," said Tony, "and I felt cooped up. If I had to remain in Toronto every weekend, I think I would go crazy.

"That's no knock against the place. It compares very favorably with most cities. It's simply that we crave the fresh air and want to get away from television.

Weekend visitors

"The view from our big bay windows at Collingwood makes you feel you are outside. There's no claustrophobia."

All their entertaining is done at the chalet rather than in the house they rent.

"We prefer having a few people with us for the entire weekend rather than hosting a larger number to a cocktail party," Nancy explained. "There is time to get to really know your friends rather than indulge in light conversation."

Total cost of their investment, including furniture, is estimated at around $40.000.

The most frequent question they are asked is why they chose a chalet rather than the traditional lakeside cottage.

"The whole point is being beside a ski hill," Tony Pullen insisted. "We could have bought more in actual real estate in a secluded area yet there would have been problems we do not have here.

"This is a well-serviced area so you know you are going to be able to get in and out. We also have three neighbors in permanent residence and this minimizes the hazard of robbery and vandalism while we are away during the week."

John and Wendy Eversfield rent an apartment in the city on Rosehill Ave. and call the Collingwood chalet they bought four years ago their home.

"It started with skiing," said Wendy, who is secretary at the De La Salle College. "Some friends invited us up for a weekend and we knew this was where we wanted to be every weekend.

"A good job we bought in when we did for prices have become quite prohibitive now."

John, an accountant, and his wife also stress the summer attractions of chalet life. He plays tennis and they both cycle and hike.

Sailing is also open to them on the rented lot they share during the summer on Georgian Bay.

An added plus for Wendy is the vegetable garden which has kept them self-sufficient in home-grown produce which they take back to Toronto.

Perhaps the most remarkable chalet devotees are Brian and Joanne Bailey, who gave up their jobs in Toronto to live in their new chalet in Collingwood.

"It was our aim to leave Toronto behind us and settle there permanently," Joanne recalled. "We bought a little delicatessen, which I ran while Brian worked for a data processing company in Owen Sound.

"Travelling 80 miles a day was tough on him, though, particularly in the winter. And from a career point of view, it became essential he return to Toronto."

Great life

After nearly two years in full residence, the Baileys now rent a bungalow in Metro on Franklin Ave. and visit their home chalet every weekend.

"We work hard in the week, but live for the weekends," she said. "Sailing in the summer, skiing in the winter, you could not ask for a better life.

"Dining out in the city is no big deal for us. We prefer to entertain our friends at the weekend.

"There are only two rules. Friends must call us by Wednesday if they want to come with us. Two weekends each month we keep to ourselves."

The Baileys were one of the first buyers in their section five years ago, paying $4,000 for a large, serviced lot.

"New lots are now selling for around $20,000," said Joanne. "It has been a remarkable investment for us, but what we like above all is the friendly atmosphere. If someone has a wheelbarrow, the whole street uses it."

One final tribute to the chalet life is delivered collectively by the Baileys' four cats, who invariably travel with them.

"So help me, they know when it is Friday," claims Joanne. "Long before it's time for us to take off, they are meowing and trying to head for the car."

4. When Will You Ever, Leisure?

DR. SEBASTIAN DE GRAZIA
Prominent American Political Scientist, Author of "Of Time, Work and Leisure" (1962)

> "Never before have so many people had so much time to call their own."
>
> "Now we stand on the threshold of an age that will bring leisure to all of us, more leisure than all the aristocracies of history, all the patrons of art, all the captains of industry and kings of states ever had at their beck and call."

Are statements like these true? Are they part of a modern myth? Are they merely exuberant exaggerations, or perhaps they are over-cautious estimates?

The first of these two statements, "Never before have so many people, etc.," applies to today, the second applies to tomorrow. On the face of things there seems to be no reason for doubting them. In 1850 the work week in America was seventy hours long; in 1950 it was less than forty, leaving a margin there of thirty new hours. Yet, the picture of the 1850s that comes down to us is one of a life with a far more leisurely tempo, while today many people don't seem to be enjoying their weekly lump of thirty clean crisp new hours. They seem harried, pulled and pushed, bounced off one thing onto another. Figures don't lie, we are told, and the figures being what they are, we should be wallowing in leisure. I should have said not "leisure" but "free time." They are not the same. Both are important but tricky terms and bear careful watching. "Never before have people had so much time they can call *their* own." This is obviously what is meant by free time, and it is calculated by counting the hours left over from the job and from sleep.

Now there is no doubt that the amount of time that has to be put in on the job has been decreasing. A closer look at the figures, though, reveals that someone, somewhere, has been slipping something over on us. First, whoever has been doing the adding up has been using a figure that includes part-time workers; once we remove this kind of worker we are dealing with a full-time worker, the kind of worker who holds down the job that by far most men in the land hold down. And when we add up their hours (regular and overtime) they come not to 39 hours a week but to 46 or 47. That is, the worker puts in an average of eight hours a day six days a week. Believe it or not, the American worker, on the average, works four hours on Saturday. Many persons, concerned over the softening of pioneer fibre, may be heartened to learn that this individual puts in nearly 48 hours a week.

However, we've assumed that an hour of work today is like an hour of work in any decade or century or that the conditions surrounding that work remain the same. In 1850 on this continent there were very few cities, a greater number of towns, and a large rural area. Usually when a man finished breakfast he could be at work in five minutes. With the urbanization of the nation the journey to work has increased for almost all classes or workers. Also, since the costs of labour fluctuate, homeowners must do their own maintenance and repair work. The result is an enormous increase in do-it-yourselves activities—the plumbing, wiring, carpentry, painting, landscaping (to put it euphemistically) that the man of the house assumes heroically

Another thing that steals away time is the greatly increased migratory mobility of people. The population on the average changes residence every four or five years. The reason for the move is almost always a new job. The American follows his job the same way the Indians followed the buffalo. A heavy loss of time goes with getting settled and with husband and family becoming adapted to the new locale.

Lastly, I want to mention a factor of even greater importance. It can also serve as an example of how statistics can be deceptive. Assume that a man works a 48-hour week and it is cut down to 40. The result is chalked up by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics as a gain for the shorter work week. Suppose now that his wife, like one out of every three American women, decides to take a job and finds one which keeps her employed 35 hours a week. That change also appears in official tallies as a gain for the short work week. Before there were none, now there are two with short work weeks and presumably with lots of free time. How is this situation resolved? Simply enough by the men sharing in the housework.

If we add up merely some of these factors which did not exist in 1850 but do exist today—migration, journey to work, moonlighting (that is, working on a second or third job), women working—all factors that take away time while off the job and yet are related to the job—the difference between 1850 and 1960 goes down to a few hours.

When people are asked what they would do if they had a few hours, a half day, a day more of free time, they answer typically that they could then get the shopping done, or take the children to the dentist, or replace that worn-out weather stripping on the back door. They mention such unfree things because they assume "free" means "off-the-job." The word leisure has turned into the phrase free time, and free time has become unfree.

Why should this confusion in terminology exist? The confusion helps us to think of our life as the best of all possible existing worlds. Industralialization gives us not only work and many other good things; it gives us the gift of leisure, that is, free time, more free time than ever this hitherto backward old world has seen.

Yet, as indicated, the great and touted gains in free time since the 1850s are largely myth. If, instead of to the 1850s, we go farther back into the Middle Ages, what do we find? They had a calendar of holidays which varied from place to place. The number of holidays during the year seems commonly to have been about 115, to which the inviolable 52 Sundays had to be added, making a total of 167 days. One hundred and sixty-seven days a year amounts to over three days a week. Converted to a week with work days 12 hours long, longer even than in the frontier days of 1850, the hours come to 45.6 a week—worked at a tempo closer to that of the 1850s than to the present. Not bad for dark mediaeval times. And we are talking about peasants, not just about nobles, kings, and princes. And, in ancient Rome working and non-working days went in the ratio of about two to one. Much depended on the number of public games.

No, I'm afraid comparisons in our favour are delusive. It is greater, yes, when compared with the days of Manchesterism or of the sweatshops of New York or London. Put alongside modern rural Greece or ancient Greece, though, or mediaeval Europe and ancient Rome, free time today suffers by comparison.

In the future even more than in the past, the increased productivity of these machines will be deliberately taken and enjoyed as additional leisure. There will be more holidays. Vacations will be longer. Weekends too. There will be a mid-week as well. People will enter the labour force later and exit earlier, and in the middle will take years off to improve their education.

People do not seem to realize that for machines to exist workers must not only feed them but also eat their output. Just as the worker had to learn how to attend machines, he had to learn how to consume their products. So with the rise of machinery comes the rise of advertising, marketing, and product innovation. Aided by other factors such as the weakness of a leisure tradition on this continent, they have formed the new two-sided inhabitant of the modern world—the worker-consumer.

Theoretically, there is little to stop a man from cutting down on his working time, but he goes on working. He hogs overtime, he moonlights, he lets his wife go to work—because, as he says, they "need things." The worker's obverse side, I said, is consumer. The things he now wants cost money, money costs work, work costs time. To get money—legally—the worker must work. If he works, he has no free time—by definition. He prefers to exert himself so he can buy the leisure equipment, facilities, items, products, commodities, and consumption goods he and his family need—at least need more than they do free time.

The difficulty is that North Americans have yet to discover what leisure is. They may know what free time is—even though they have less than they think—and they do know what work is. But the ideal of leisure is more difficult to grasp. Leisure, for the Greeks, was a state of freedom, freedom from necessity, and essentially freedom from the necessity of labour. From the ancients up to the edge of modern times, leisure has retained the main elements of the old ideal. The logic was simple: the body needs food and shelter and to get them requires effort or work. But work is neither the noblest nor most distinguished activity of man. All animals seek food and shelter. Man alone can think, reason, and invent. If at least some men can be freed from mundane occupations, they may soar to remarkable heights, and at the same time lift up to a higher level those whose workaday life keeps them pinned to the ground, where vision is limited. Only if men can at least once in a while lift their heads from work and appreciate what it means to be able to keep their heads up, only then will they get a world where work is not dominant, where philosophy and fact can take hold, and ideas stand out in bold relief. All this is vastly different from merely looking upon leisure as time off the job.

The nineteenth century reversed things and saw to it that in the pursuit of happiness everyone must work. Now, you cannot have leisure if you build a society around work. The result is a work society. The machine was to be the slave of the modern world and to free men for leisure and the pursuit of happiness. Instead it caught them up in its gears. At best it can give men free time but not leisure. That they must create themselves. Leisure is a state of being free of everyday necessities, and the activities of leisure are those one would engage in for their own sake. As fact or an ideal it is rarely approached in the industrial world.

Leisure applies to adults not children, and presumes an education that we for the most part have neither given nor received. Education is in a key position, for it can break this circle of wanting things that cost money that costs work that costs time. Education, since it is education *and not training, need not have an insurmountable relation to money. It can teach how to live with fewer commodities if it believes that in no other way will the good life be enjoyed. In doing so in the present day it bucks against considerable pressure from commerce, advertising, the weight of history, and existing ideas of democracy, and most of all against the doubt that dedication to the life of leisure—not to be confused with the good life of commodities or the good life of having fun—will ever really appeal to most people. It bucks against the doubt that most people will ever regard leisure as the most valuable thing they can dream of possessing.*

(3) THE THREAT OF MANIPULATION

1. *Control in New Apartment Complex*

REV. JOHN METSON, *Toronto*

Presently under construction in Toronto is a housing complex which when completed will have cost millions of dollars, and will house over 16,000 people in an area that two years ago housed 6,500 people. In this complex the resident will have park land, a shopping plaza with laundry and dry-cleaning services, a putting green, Olympic swimming pools (indoor and outdoor), sauna baths, squash courts, tennis courts, a gymnasium, and perhaps even his own theatre. To help the tenant to find a happy secure life, and to enable him to utilize these many facilities, the developer provides a program and recreation director. This is the utopia of the future.

The government developments for the lower income group (under $6,000 per year) are not so well equipped, but coupled with the parks and recreation facilities and the provision of social services, there is an ease to living that sounds idyllic.

The startling truth seems to be, however, that the sense of community and communication among apartment dwellers is being wiped out by an almost Orwellian control. The developer, public or private, as he stacks layer after layer of families one on top of the other, imposes more and more rules upon them to ensure the satisfaction of all tenants, and protection of his property.

The tenants find that the leases they sign say nothing of tenants' privileges but quite a bit about landlords' rights. The landlord very often claims two months rent in advance so that the tenant has to provide for the landlord up to four and five hundred dollars without interest and sometimes a security deposit as well. His chances of getting the total amount of his security back are practically nil since the landlord is the sole determiner of damage to the apartment.

The tenant finds in the small print that he is restricted as to number of guests he may have in his apartment and the hours during which they are permitted. He may rent a party room downstairs if he wishes a party. He must use the cleaning services provided since no other deliveries are permitted. His guests very often are not permitted to use the recreational facilities; nor is he during hours other than those specified. In one complex, the tenants' newsletters must pass through the hands of the developer before being released to the tenants. In one apartment building the pick up of parcels is restricted by a superintendent. The participation in or formation of tenants' associations can lead to a quick termination of the lease. The lease signed by tenants in one complex states that with his signature the tenant agrees to forego the benefit of parts of the *Landlord and Tenant Act.*

The alienation from community imposed upon residents of the steel and concrete cities is imposed as well as chosen in the interests of privacy, anonymity, and security. One developer of a high-rise community of 16,000 recently stated, ". . .we are concerned that we have happy and satisfied tenants, so we don't allow any discussion of sex, politics, or religion in the development." We may be confident that a landlord cannot keep the former out of his buildings, but we should be somewhat unnerved by the possibilities incumbent in such control of the mind and speech of the apartment dweller: presently this policy means that no politician may have free access to the dwellings of those who are the electors; it also means that the Church is virtually locked out of whole apartment complexes, some of which have the population of a small city.

This kind of control, held by a landlord over the accommodation, recreation, political, social and religious life, is dangerously close to the absolute control suggested by Orwell in *1984.* (There is little need for electronic eavesdropping equipment since the shoddy construction and paper-thin walls in so many of the buildings enable others to hear even your most intimate conversations.)

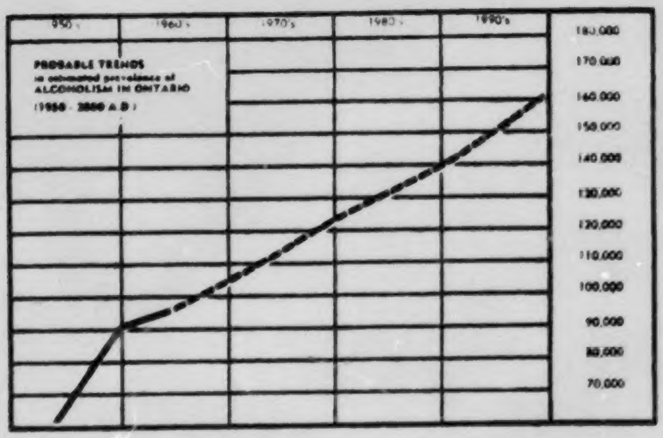
The Church must take a [illegible] and searching look into its responsibility toward apartment dwellers. It seems that it is not enough to invite apartment dwellers into the existing parish and institutional structure, nor does it suffice to place a man in an apartment ministry with the hope of getting people to "come out".

We have talked of church union for many years in an attempt to discover mutually acceptable doctrines, liturgies, and polity. The answers for church union will come when we begin participating ecumenically in an attempt to meet the problems posed by the rapidly changing communities in which we live.

There is need for strong leadership and support for legislation that will protect the tenants' rights. There are opportunities for denominations to come together to establish experimental ministries in the apartment community. There are tremendous opportunities to use the wealth of the churches, on an equitably sound basis, to build some housing that will help develop a new design for living.

We must not miss the opportunity to discover the form the Church must evolve to meet the society of the 1970's and the 1980's.

APPENDIX IV-E(iii)



APPENDIX IV-E(iv)

Suicide and deaths from self-inflicted injury, by sex, Canada and the provinces, 1921 to 1960

Year	Canada		Newfoundland[1]		Prince Edward Island		Nova Scotia		New Brunswick		Quebec[2]		Ontario		Manitoba		Saskatchewan		Alberta		British Columbia		Yukon and the Northwest Territories[3]	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
	178	179	180	181	182	183	184	185	186	187	188	189	190	191	192	193	194	195	196	197	198	199	200	201
1960	1,084	266	11	1	8	—	43	15	22	5	199	57	413	115	86	15	68	7	104	15	126	36	4	—
1959	1,017	270	13	1	2	1	27	3	27	5	203	52	404	115	54	11	72	10	104	13	126	33	5	—
1958	1,022	249	11	—	6	1	28	6	21	7	182	57	396	100	68	17	67	16	95	16	143	29	3	—
1957	981	260	13	1	5	1	43	7	18	—	176	61	388	108	49	10	57	18	85	20	137	28	—	—
1956	952	274	7	2	4	—	22	5	19	5	181	62	370	97	40	20	61	15	87	28	134	39	7	1
1955	844	259	5	1	4	2	29	7	19	4	150	49	302	111	69	17	75	16	77	19	123	33	3	—
1954	841	261	6	2	8	—	18	9	12	3	150	58	314	94	48	12	63	22	83	24	141	37	2	—
1953	820	232	8	1	5	—	27	6	15	3	139	48	307	99	62	11	42	9	60	12	155	43	2	—
1952	810	240	7	1	4	1	32	10	14	3	104	35	335	105	52	10	48	13	76	18	138	44	5	—
1951	785	248	10	2	5	—	22	6	14	5	120	57	287	98	77	15	55	8	67	19	128	38	3	—
1950	823	237	7	—	3	—	34	11	25	8	103	42	306	92	69	10	54	10	67	15	155	52	8	—
1949	819	208	1	—	3	—	36	6	21	3	122	28	326	88	61	21	60	10	64	16	125	36	2	—
1948	769	231	—	—	4	—	30	8	19	6	104	27	289	102	63	22	66	13	62	22	132	31	4	—
1947	710	238	—	—	3	3	30	6	23	3	102	33	261	106	64	17	63	24	55	12	107	34	4	—
1946	758	244	—	—	1	—	27	7	19	5	110	43	309	105	45	15	57	19	79	21	111	29	2	—
1945	565	199	—	—	1	2	16	5	19	7	80	27	214	93	33	14	51	11	57	19	94	21	4	—
1944	542	189	—	—	3	1	17	7	14	1	87	25	234	84	34	18	46	14	43	15	64	24	2	—
1943	543	215	—	—	2	2	21	6	11	4	84	25	213	103	41	16	50	18	63	16	58	25	3	—
1942	621	218	—	—	2	1	21	5	16	5	90	22	252	99	42	20	51	22	66	20	81	24	2	—
1941	664	232	—	—	2	2	20	9	25	6	105	34	217	102	55	10	63	19	78	25	90	25	3	—
1940	711	237	—	—	5	—	20	8	21	7	118	38	243	97	43	18	71	23	81	15	109	31	3	—
1939	765	213	—	—	5	1	27	8	15	5	119	35	272	85	69	15	73	17	81	22	104	25	4	—
1938	749	199	—	—	1	2	35	7	16	4	104	31	274	86	68	23	68	10	83	17	100	19	5	—
1937	750	228	—	—	5	1	24	5	17	13	127	28	271	95	64	23	69	18	80	21	93	24	3	—
1936	707	221	—	—	3	1	25	8	15	9	82	32	299	99	50	19	70	18	77	10	86	25	3	—
1935	713	192	—	—	3	2	26	3	11	4	111	29	280	87	51	9	81	18	74	10	76	30	1	—
1934	725	202	—	—	3	—	21	6	12	3	95	26	267	93	56	12	82	23	79	27	110	12	2	—
1933	733	189	—	—	2	—	19	3	16	4	107	37	291	75	63	15	76	17	65	20	94	18	2	—
1932	812	212	—	—	5	—	28	6	21	7	108	25	320	103	75	19	61	13	80	16	114	23	4	—
1931	795	209	—	—	5	1	18	3	18	3	99	24	327	99	49	7	64	12	104	19	111	41	6	—
1930	805	205	—	—	1	—	16	1	13	2	94	20	301	103	59	19	101	26	104	9	116	25	2	—
1929	649	186	—	—	4	—	22	3	15	6	80	30	239	81	55	18	85	10	63	21	86	17	3	—
1928	593	158	—	—	4	—	16	5	21	5	79	18	207	78	38	14	64	14	77	11	87	13	4	—
1927	612	147	—	—	3	—	17	2	17	4	65	20	231	87	33	9	61	7	68	9	97	9	1	—
1926	543	137	—	—	4	—	29	5	11	2	65	19	209	62	44	7	44	10	54	14	83	18	—	—
1925	466	120	—	—	—	1	21	5	14	3	—	—	200	65	54	10	47	14	53	10	77	12	—	—
1924	399	136	—	—	7	—	18	5	13	1	—	—	185	74	43	17	35	9	39	12	60	18	—	—
1923	404	134	—	—	3	3	18	13	6	5	—	—	169	67	27	10	45	9	57	13	79	14	—	—
1922	376	111	—	—	2	—	19	9	7	3	—	—	169	63	35	10	47	14	42	7	55	5	—	—
1921	342	89	—	—	5	—	14	5	8	2	—	—	119	41	34	10	47	10	58	12	57	9	—	—

[1] Newfoundland entered Confederation in 1949.

[2] Figures prior to 1926 not comparable.

[3] Figures prior to 1956 relate to both males and females; they are not included in the totals for Canada; figures before 1927 not available.

CONSEQUENCES OF TRANSFORMATION OF WORK

1. Double Morality

First of all there are moral consequences to this. Although this is not quite the right term, there is a double morality involved in this segregation. This double morality is perhaps most clearly expressed in the bureaucratic ethic of competence. "I am not competent for this." It is very easy in the twentieth century to take horrible examples of this. Take Eichmann who said "I was not competent for the gas chambers. My competence was limited to transportation. I had nothing else to do. I was concerned with railroad timetables." Which, by the way, was perfectly true. It does not make it less horrible but more horrible. These are terrible examples. But in a much less apocalyptic dimension people are competent for very limited areas and they disclaim responsibility for anything that goes beyond this area.

It is not difficult to see that any ethical idea which implies that people are responsible for their actions in some kind of broader way is extremely weakened, not because people are more wicked or more irresponsible, but because the circumstances in which they operate make it almost impossible to be responsible in this wider sense. Again there is a dichotomization between, on the one hand, in the private sphere, the alleged presence of the "real self," and in the sphere of work, the world of role-playing where one does things one must do which are not "what one really is." Organized religion and the church are very much located in this dichotomization of existence, namely, religion and the church belong very clearly in the private sphere in terms of what is really meaningful to people's lives. And this raises obvious problems for the existence of religion in modern society. Of course, people don't say this very much. They say that religion is relevant to everything—politics, business—but I believe that it is mainly a rhetorical meaning which it has in public life. It is a rhetorical cover over what happens in public life, but the real meaning—what religion really means to people—I think is primarily in private life.

2. Status Struggle

A very important further consequence is the constant status struggle among occupational groups. It is very easy to see how this becomes necessary. People have to sell themselves as new occupations emerge; old occupations resist change or want to find a new way of existing under changed circumstances—a sort of notion of one-upmanship. Some of this is very funny, in the way in which certain occupations try to convince the world and possibly themselves that they are really necessary. You can see this very nicely in the way that new occupations—occupations that try to newly establish status—develop their training programs. Let's mention undertakers, because that is a safe victim these days. The aim (I am not talking about the economics of this) of the social organization is to have the mortician or the funeral director accepted as a legitimate member of a profession, let us say on the level at least with the dentist. You do this through a number of means. The most important thing you do is to lobby politically, so that no one can touch a dead body except you, and this of course has been done through much of the United States. But what you also do—you establish very impressive training programs. The tendency now in American funeral directing, if my information is up-to-date, is to require at least two years of attendance in a professional morticians' school. The obvious problem is, what do you do for two years in a morticians' school? There isn't that much to learn. What you can learn, you can probably learn in a few weeks. So these groups have a big problem. A profession has been traditionally defined as an occupation group with an ancient body of wisdom. If this body of wisdom does not exist, these people have to invent it and that requires much ingenuity.

3. Protestant Ethic Out of Date

One very important consequence of this is that it is no longer possible, in this situation of tremendous occupational differentiation and one-upmanship, to use the old differentiations between noble and ignoble work. Some of you perhaps have read Thorstein Veblen, the early American sociologist, who spoke about the fundamental social difference between those people who make their living by using their hands, which is the ignoble type, and those who make their living by using their mouth, which is the noble type. This difference really no longer makes a lot of sense. Instead you have a number of different levels of work where quite different problems appear. Let me indicate them. I would say there are basically three levels one has to look at: The third level is a level of work where work is still regarded as a direct oppression, as suffering, as perhaps even an assault on one's dignity. The next level, in the middle, is where work is not particularly suffering, and not particularly an oppression, but also is not regarded as something that gives great meaning or bestows identity, self-definition, etc. It's something one does and one's important life occurs elsewhere. That is the second level and then on top of this hierarchy are those types of work where it is still possible—where work is something one can still find real self-fulfillment in.

It seems to me that if one speaks about any ethical questions about work, one cannot speak about these three levels together. The human and moral problems of each level are completely different and I think much of the irrelevance of ethical thought about the world of work has come from putting these three things together, usually from the perspective of the topmost, which is very misleading. For better or for worse, and I think probably for better, what has been happening in modern society is that the middle level has been expanding at the expense of the other two. Work is less and less terrible suffering. Fewer and fewer people in our society work under terrible conditions. But also fewer and fewer people have the kind of work where they really can fulfill themselves. Most people are increasingly in the middle and this raises very interesting problems. For, what we have here is still a lingering on of ideas about work which have very little chance of being realized where most people live. More specifically, we have lingering on a demand for meaning, in a situation where work is mostly meaningless and where actually most people seek personal meaning elsewhere.

2. Changes in the Nature of Work

Peter L. Berger, Ph.D.

(Excerpts from "The Christian in the Structures of Modern Society" presented at North American Conference on Missionary Structure of the Congregation, Yale Divinity School, New Haven, Conn.)

Man is the being that makes tools and that builds a world. Man is the working animal, or the working being. Work, then, is not something that man *also* does—in other words, that among other things human beings work. Work is one of the central characteristics of man and of the human phenomenon. It is a peculiarly modern phenomenon, that work should become a problem. This fact is due to the violent metamorphosis of human existence that was brought about and is still being brought about by the on-going industrial revolution, whether industrial order is organized on capitalist lines or on socialist lines or in any other form of social organization.

Before the industrial revolution, it seems to me that work was hardly a problem in our contemporary sense. Work was in many areas of the world a sacred duty. Let me only mention in passing what I am sure is known to most of you—that the Hebrew Old Testament word for work—*avodah*—means both work and worship—I think a very suggestive little philological fact. But also outside the Hebrew-Near Eastern context we find the same thing, if you think, say, of traditional India where work is of course related to the caste system and one's caste duty, one's *dharma*. In traditional India work was an essential act of obedience to the gods, to the order of the universe. This is something very different from saying it is a problem.

In addition, of course, to being a sacred duty, work in all periods of human history has been regarded as a necessity and very frequently, at least for most people, as a painful necessity. In other words, work involved suffering. The English word *"travail"*, which in French and Spanish means work in general, comes from a medieval Latin word, *trepalium*, which is an instrument of torture. This expresses this aspect very well. In this sense I suppose you could say that work was always a problem because you suffered from it. But what is new, what is specifically modern, is the question of the meaning of work. What does work *mean*? And I think that behind this lies a very fundamental transformation.

1. Greater Division of Labour

As a result of the industrial revolution there has been an extreme intensification of the division of labor. A division of labor in human history of course is nothing new. It goes back all the way to the stone age; to a very simple division of labor, say, between men and women, or between age groups. This division of labor becomes more complex as the technology of the society becomes more complex. With the industrial revolution this age-old historical process has been multiplied astronomically. A very good indication of this would be gained by looking at the list of occupations which are recognized by the Bureau of the Census. If you ever looked at such a list for the New York *Times* Want Ads and you are an average person who is not an expert in this field, you realize that you have no idea what most of these things are—except a tremendous intensification of the division of labor. This means that there is a development here of numerous worlds of work which are completely disparate from each other and frequently unintelligible to each other.

One of the consequences of this fragmentation of worlds of work is the loss of perception of society as a human enterprise with any sort of unity. It becomes more and more difficult to think of society as being people who together build a world.

2. Fragmentation of Each Work Process

Not only is there an extreme intensification of the division of labor if you look at society as a whole, but if you look at any of these worlds of work you have an extreme fragmentation of every specific work process. I suppose for most people, the great symbol of this fragmentation is the assembly line—the fellow who stands at some place in an industrial process and performs some kind of motion all day long. He has no idea how this relates to what the guy down the line does or what the guy up the line does and work becomes extremely fragmented. This fragmentation of work is not due to some kind of evil or some kind of inhuman idea on the part of people who manage industry, but it is inherent in machine production. If you are going to use machines efficiently and economically, you will have to fragment work.

This fragmentation has been spreading to an unbelievable degree to non-technological and non-industrial types of work. The most important example is the office, and bureaucratic organizations of all sorts whether political, economic or private which are also really assembly lines, except that what is being moved is not machines but bits of paper; but the way in which papers are being moved is again fragmented; all they have to know is a number of simple steps by which papers are transferred from one basket to another. Even the so-called professions have become invaded by the same kind of work. The way in which scientific research is organized in this country both in the natural and in the social sciences is fragmented to a frightening degree. Or take another illustration—law firms, the large ones. I remember the terrible shock I had some years ago when a friend of mine was a young lawyer in New York and I visited him for the first time in his place of work. There he sat with fifty others in a sort of factory-type room and what he was doing was industrial type of work. Of course he didn't do the important legal work but what he was doing, again, was transferring bits of paper from one basket to another, and doing a number of relatively simple things to the papers *en route*.

What does this fragmentation of work mean socially? What it means is that there is a loss of any sense of unity because it becomes more and more difficult to conceive of what one is doing as a meaningful whole, whether it is the factory worker on the assembly-line. Man who has no notion and incidentally no interest in the final product of his factory, or whether it is a lawyer who deals with a hundred briefs a day—this junior type of lawyer, and he again doesn't care, he doesn't know—the whole thing loses any kind of meaning for the people who are involved in the work.

APPENDIX IV-E(v)

Chapter 5

PLACES: THE NEW NOMADS

Every Friday afternoon at 4:30, a tall, graying Wall Street executive named Bruce Robe stuffs a mass of papers into his black leather briefcase, takes his coat off the rack outside his office, and departs. The routine has been the same for more than three years. First, he rides the elevator twenty-nine floors down to street level. Next he strides for ten minutes through crowded streets to the Wall Street Heliport. There he boards a helicopter which deposits him, eight minutes later, at John F. Kennedy Airport. Transferring to a Trans-World Airlines jet, he settles down for supper, as the giant craft swings out over the Atlantic, then banks and heads west. One hour and ten minutes later, barring delay, he steps briskly out of the terminal building at the airport in Columbus, Ohio, and enters a waiting automobile. In thirty more minutes he reaches his destination: he is home.

Four nights a week Robe lives at a hotel in Manhattan. The other three he spends with his wife and children in Columbus, 500 miles away. Claiming the best of two worlds, a job in the frenetic financial center of America and a family life in the comparatively tranquil Midwest countryside, he shuttles back and forth some 50,000 miles a year.

The Robe case is unusual—but not that unusual. In California, ranch owners fly as much as 120 miles every morning from their homes on the Pacific Coast or in the San Bernardino Valley to visit their ranches in the Imperial Valley, and then fly back home again at night. One Pennsylvania teen-ager, son of a peripatetic engineer, jets regularly to an orthodontist in Frankfurt, Germany. A University of Chicago philosopher, Dr. Richard McKeon, commuted 1000 miles each way once a week for an entire semester in order to teach a series of classes at the New School for Social Research in New York. A young San Franciscoan and his girlfriend in Honolulu see each other every weekend, taking turns at crossing 2000 miles of Pacific Ocean. And at least one New England matron regularly swoops down on New York to visit her hairdresser.

Never in history has distance meant less. Never have man's relationships with place been more numerous, fragile and temporary. Throughout the advanced technological societies, and particularly among those I have characterized as "the people of the future," commuting, traveling, and regularly relocating one's family have become second nature. Figuratively, we "use up" places and dispose of them in much the same that we dispose of Kleenex or beer cans. We are witnessing a historic decline in the significance of place to human life. We are breeding a new race of nomads, and few suspect quite how massive, widespread and significant their migrations are.

THE 3,000,000-MILE CLUB

In 1914, according to Buckminster Fuller, the typical American averaged about 1,640 miles per year of total travel, counting some 1,300 miles of just plain everyday walking to and fro. This meant that he traveled only about 340 miles per year with the aid of horse or mechanical means. Using this 1,640 figure as a base, it is possible to estimate that the average American of that period moved a total of 88,560 miles in his lifetime.[*] Today, by contrast, the average American car owner drives 10,000 miles per year—and he lives longer than his father or grandfather. "At sixty-nine years of age," wrote Fuller a few years ago, ". . . I am one of a class of several million human beings who, in their lifetimes, have each covered 3,000,000 miles or more"—more than thirty times the total lifetime travel of the 1914 American.

The aggregate figures are staggering. In 1967, for instance, 108,000,000 Americans took 360,000,000 trips involving an overnight stay more than 100 miles from home. These trips alone accounted for 312,000,000,000 passenger miles.

Even if we ignore the introduction of fleets of jumbo jets, trucks, cars, trains, subways and the like, our social investment in mobility is astonishing. Paved roads and streets have been added to the American landscape at the incredible rate of more than 200 miles per day, every single day for at least the last twenty years. This adds up to 75,000 miles of new streets and roads every year, enough to girdle the globe three times. While United States population increased during this period by 38.5 percent, street and road mileage shot up 100 percent. Viewed another way, the figures are even more dramatic: passenger miles traveled within the United States have been increasing at a rate six times faster than population for at least twenty-five years.

This revolutionary step-up in per capita movement through space is paralleled, to greater or lesser degree, throughout the most technological nations. Anyone who has watched the rush hour traffic pileup on the once peaceful Strandvëg in Stockholm cannot help but be jolted by the sight. In Rotterdam and Amsterdam, streets built as recently as five years ago are

already horribly jammed: the number of automobiles has multiplied faster than anyone then thought possible.

In addition to the increase in everyday movement between one's home and various other nearby points, there is also a phenomenal increase in business and vacation travel involving overnight stays away from home. Nearly 1,500,000 Germans will vacation in Spain this summer, and hundreds of thousands more will populate beaches in Holland and Italy. Sweden annually welcomes more than 1,200,000 visitors from non-Scandinavian nations. More than a million foreigners visit the United States, while roughly 4,000,000 Americans travel overseas each year. A writer in *Le Figaro* justifiably refers to "gigantic human exchanges."

This busy movement of men back and forth over the landscape (and sometimes under it) is one of the identifying characteristics of super-industrial society. By contrast, pre-industrial nations seem congealed, frozen, their populations profoundly attached to a single place. Transportation expert Wilfred Owen talks about the "gap between the immobile and the mobile nations." He points out that for Latin America, Africa and Asia to reach the same ratio of road mileage to area that now prevails in the European Economic Community, they would have to pave some 40,000,000 miles of road. This contrast has profound economic consequences, but it also has subtle, largely overlooked cultural and psychological consequences. For migrants, travelers and nomads are not the same kind of people as those who stay put in one place.

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[*] This is based on a life expectancy of 54 years. Actual life expectancy for white males in the United States in 1920 was 54.1 years.

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Continuing urbanization is merely one of a number of pressures driving us toward greater "temporariness" in our human relationships. Urbanization, as suggested earlier, brings great masses of people into close proximity, thereby increasing the actual number of contacts made. This process is, however, strongly reinforced by the rising geographical mobility described in the last chapter. Geographical mobility not only speeds up the flow of places through our lives, but the flow of people as well.

The increase in travel brings with it a sharp increase in the number of transient, casual relationships with fellow passengers, with hotel clerks, taxi drivers, airline reservation people, with porters, maids, waiters, with colleagues and friends of friends, with customs officials, travel agents and countless others. The greater the mobility of the individual, the greater the number of brief, face-to-face encounters, human contacts, each one a relationship of sorts, fragmentary and, above all, compressed in time. (Such contacts appear natural and unimportant to us. We seldom stop to consider how few of the sixty-six billion human beings who preceded us on the planet ever experienced this high rate of transience in their human relationships.)

If travel increases the number of contacts—largely with service people of one sort or another—residential relocation also steps up the through-put of people in our lives. Moving leads to the termination of relationships in almost all categories. The young submarine engineer who is transferred from his job in the Navy Yard at Mare Island, California, to the installation at Newport News, Virginia, takes only his most immediate family with him. He leaves behind parents and in-laws, neighbors, service and tradespeople, as well as his associates on the job, and others. He cuts short his ties. In settling down in the new community, he, his wife and child must initiate a whole cluster of new (and once more temporary) relationships.

Here is how one young wife, a veteran of eleven moves in the past seventeen years, describes the process: "When you live in a neighborhood you watch a series of changes take place. One day a new mailman delivers the mail. A few weeks later the girl at the check-out counter at the supermarket disappears and a new one takes her place. Next thing you know, the mechanic at the gas station is replaced. Meanwhile, a neighbor moves out next door and a new family moves in. These changes are taking place all the time, but they are gradual. When you move, you break all these ties at once, and you have to start all over again. You have to find a new pediatrician, a new dentist, a new car mechanic who won't cheat you, and you quit all your organizations and start over again." It is the simultaneous rupture of a whole range of existing relationships that makes relocation psychologically taxing for many.

The more frequently this cycle repeats itself, of course, in the life of the individual, the shorter the duration of the relationships involved. Among significant sectors of the population this process is now occurring so rapidly that it is drastically altering traditional notions of time with respect to human relationships. "At a cocktail party on Frogtown Road the other night," reads a story in *The New York Times*, "the talk got around to how long those at the party had lived in New Canaan. To nobody's surprise, it developed that the couple of longest residence had been there five years." In slower moving times and places, five years constituted little more than a breaking-in period for a family moved to a new community. It took that long to be "accepted." Today the breaking-in-period must be highly compressed in time.

Thus we have in many American suburbs a commercial "Welcome Wagon" service that accelerates the process by introducing newcomers to the chief stores and agencies in the community. A paid Welcome Wagon employee—usually a middle-aged lady—visits the newcomers, answers questions about the community, and leaves behind brochures and, sometimes, inexpensive gift certificates redeemable at local stores. Since it affects only relationships in the service category and is, actually, little more than a form of advertising, the Welcome Wagon's integrative impact is superficial.

The process of linking up with new neighbors and friends is, however, often quite effectively accelerated by the presence of certain people—usually divorced or single older women—who play the role of informal "integrator" in the community. Such people are found in many established suburbs and housing developments. Their function has been described by urban sociologist Robert Gutman of Rutgers University, who notes that while the integrator herself is frequently isolated from the mainstream of social life in the community, she derives pleasure from serving as a "bridge" for newcomers. She takes the initiative by inviting them to parties and other gatherings. The newcomers are duly flattered that an "oldtime" resident—in many communities "oldtime" means two years—is willing to invite them. The newcomers, alas, quickly learn that the integrator is herself an "outsider" whereupon, more often than not, they promptly disassociate themselves from her.

"Fortunately for the integrator," Gutman says, "by the time he or she managed to introduce the newcomer to the community and the newcomer in turn had gone on to abandon the integrator, there were new arrivals in the settlement to whom the integrator could once again proffer the hand of friendship."

Other people in the community also help speed the process of relationship formation. Thus, in developments, Gutman says, "Respondents reported that the real estate agents introduced them to neighbors before they had taken possession. In some cases, wives were called on by other wives in the neighborhood, sometimes individually and sometimes in groups. Neighboring wives, or husbands, encountered each other casually, while out gardening and cleaning up the yard or in tending children. And, of course, there were the usual meetings brought about by the children, who themselves often were the first to establish contact with the human population of the new environment."

Local organizations also play an important part in helping the individual integrate quickly into the community. This is more likely to be true among suburban homeowners than among housing development residents. Churches, political parties and women's organizations provide many of the human relationships that the newcomers seek. According to Gutman, "Sometimes a neighbor would inform the newcomer about the existence of the voluntary association, and might even take the newcomer to his first meeting; but even in these cases it was up to the migrant himself to find his own primary group within the association."

The knowledge that no move is final, that somewhere along the road the nomads will once more gather up their belongings and migrate, works against the development of relationships that are more than

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THE MODULAR MAN

Any change in job entails a certain amount of stress. The individual must strip himself of old habits, old ways of coping, and learn new ways of doing things. Even when the work task itself is similar, the environment in which it takes place is different. And just as is the case with moving to a new community, the newcomer is under pressure to form new relationships at high speed. Here, too, the process is accelerated by people who play the role of informal integrator. Here, too, the individual seeks out human relationships by joining organizations—usually informal and clique-like, rather than part of the company's table of organization. Here, too, the knowledge that no job is truly "permanent" means that the relationships formed are conditional, modular and, by most definitions, temporary.

lives of the children.

A recent study of high school students by Harry R. Moore of the University of Denver indicated that the test scores of children who had moved across state or county lines from one to ten times were not substantially different from those of children who had not. But there was a definite tendency for the more nomadic children to avoid participation in the voluntary side of school life—clubs, sports, student government and other extra-curricular activities. It is as though they wished, where possible, to avoid new human ties that might only have to be broken again before long—as if they wished, in short, to slow down the flow-through of people in their lives.

How fast should children—or adults for that matter—be expected to make and break human relationships? Perhaps there is some optimum rate that we exceed at our peril? Nobody knows. However, if to this picture of declining durations we add the factor of diversity—the recognition that each new human relationship requires a different pattern of behavior from us—one thing becomes starkly clear: to be able to make these increasingly numerous and rapid on-off clicks in our interpersonal lives we must be able to operate at a level of adaptability never before asked of human beings.

Combine this with the accelerated through-put of places and things, as well as people, and we begin to glimpse the complexity of the coping behavior that we demand of people today. Certainly, the logical end of the direction in which we are now traveling is a society based on a system of temporary encounters, and a distinctly new morality founded on the belief, so succinctly expressed by the co-ed in Fort Lauderdale, that "frankly, you'll never see these people again." It would be absurd to assume that the future holds nothing more than a straight-line projection of present trends, that we must necessarily reach that ultimate degree of transience in human relations. But it is not absurd to recognize the direction in which we are moving.

Until now most of us have operated on the assumption that temporary relationships are superficial relationships, that only long-enduring ties can flower into real interpersonal involvement. Perhaps this assumption is false. Perhaps it is possible for holistic, non-modular relationships, to flower rapidly in a high transience society. It may prove possible to accelerate the formation of relationships, and to speed up the process of "involvement" as well. In the meantime, however, a haunting question remains:

"Is Fort Lauderdale the future?"

APPENDIX IV-E(viii)

THE STREAMLINED FAMILY

One simple thing they will do is streamline the family. The typical pre-industrial family not only had a good many children, but numerous other dependents as well—grandparents, uncles, aunts, and cousins. Such "extended" families were well suited for survival in slow-paced agricultural societies. But such families are hard to transport or transplant. They are immobile.

Industrialism demanded masses of workers ready and able to move off the land in pursuit of jobs, and to move again whenever necessary. Thus the extended family gradually shed its excess weight and the so-called "nuclear" family emerged—a stripped-down, portable family unit consisting only of parents and a small set of children. This new style family, far more mobile than the traditional extended family, became the standard model in all the industrial countries.

Super-industrialism, however, the next stage of eco-technological development, requires even higher mobility. Thus we may expect many among the people of the future to carry the streamlining process a step further by remaining childless, cutting the family down to its most elemental components, a man and a woman. Two people, perhaps with matched careers, will prove more efficient at navigating through education and social shoals, through job changes and geographic relocations, than the ordinary child-cluttered family. Indeed, anthropologist Margaret Mead has pointed out that we may already be moving toward a system under which, as she puts it, "parenthood would be limited to a smaller number of families whose principal functions would be childrearing," leaving the rest of the population "free to function—for the first time in history—as individuals."

A compromise may be the postponement of children, rather than childlessness. Men and women today are often torn in conflict between a commitment to career and a commitment to children. In the future, many couples will sidestep this problem by deferring the entire task of raising children until after retirement.

This may strike people of the present as odd. Yet once childbearing is broken away from its biological base, nothing more than tradition suggests having children at an early age. Why not wait, and buy your embryos later, after your work career is over? Thus childlessness is likely to spread among young and middle-aged couples; sexagenarians who raise infants may be far more common. The post-retirement family could become a recognized social institution.

THE ASSEMBLY LINE

Instead of being given a job in one place, which he might have managed, he was informed he had to be relief man at various stations on the line, which meant moving back and forth like a blue-assed fly, so that as soon as he got used to doing one thing, he was hustled over to another, then to something else, and something else, until his head was spinning. The same thing went on for the first two weeks so that he hardly knew—since the instructions he was given were minimal—what he was supposed to be doing from one minute to the next. Not that he'd have cared that much. Except for what the black guy, Wingate, had said, Rollie Knight—as usual—was not expecting anything. But it just showed that nothing they ever promised worked out the way they said it would. So . . . Bullshit!

Of course, nobody, *but nobody*, had told him about the speed of the assembly line. He'd figured that one for himself—the hard way.

On the first day at work, when Rollie had his initial view of a final car assembly line, the line seemed to be inching forward like a snail's funeral. He'd come to the plant early, reporting in with the day shift. The size of the joint, the mob flooding in from cars, buses, every other kind of wheels, you name it, scared him to begin with; also, everybody except himself seemed to know where they were going—all in one helluva hurry—and why. But he'd found where he had to report, and from there had been sent to a big, metal-roofed building, cleaner than he expected, but noisy. *Oh, man; that noise!* It was all around you, sounding like a hundred rock bands on bad trips.

Anyhow, the car line snaked through the building, with the end and beginning out of sight. And it looked as if there was time aplenty for any of the guys and broads (a few women were working alongside men) to finish whatever their job happened to be on one car, rest a drumbeat, then start work on the next. No sweat! For a cool cat with more than air between his ears, a cincheroo!

In less than an hour, like thousands who had preceded him, Rollie was grimly wiser.

The foreman he had been handed over to on arrival had said simply, "Number?" The foreman, young and white, but balding, with the harried look of a middle-aged man, had a pencil poised and said peevishly, when Rollie hesitated, "Social Security!"

Eventually Rollie located a card which a clerk in Personnel had given him. It had the number on it. Impatiently, with the knowledge of twenty other things he had to do immediately, the foreman wrote it down.

He pointed to the last four figures, which were 6469. "That's what you'll be known as," the foreman shouted; the line had already started up, and the din made it hard to hear. "So memorize that number."

Rollie grinned, and had been tempted to say it was the same way in prison. But he hadn't, and the foreman had motioned for him to follow, then took him to a work station. A partly finished car was moving slowly past, its brightly painted body gleaming. *Some snazzy wheels!* Despite his habit of indifference, Rollie felt his interest quicken.

The foreman bellowed in his ear: "You got three chassis and trunk bolts to put in. Here, here, and here. Bolts are in the box over there. Use this power wrench." He thrust it into Rollie's hands. "Got it?"

Rollie wasn't sure he had. The foreman touched another worker's shoulder. "Show this new man. He'll take over here. I need you on front suspension. Hurry it up." The foreman moved away, still looking older than his years.

"Watch me, bub!" The other worker grabbed a handful of bolts and dived into a car doorway with a power wrench, its cord trailing. While Rollie was still craning, trying to see what the man was doing, the other came out backward, forcefully. He cannoned into Rollie. "Watch it, bub!" Going around to the back of the car, he dived into the trunk, two more bolts in hand, the wrench still with him.

He shouted back, "Get the idea?" The other man worked on one more car, then, responding to renewed signals from the foreman, and with an "All yours, bub," he disappeared.

Despite the noise, the dozens of people he could see close by, Rollie had never felt more lonely in his life.

"You! Hey! Get on with it!" It was the foreman, shouting, waving his arms from the other side of the line.

The car which the first man had worked on was already gone. Incredibly, despite the line's apparent slowness, another had appeared. There was no one but Rollie to insert the bolts. He grabbed a couple of bolts and jumped into the car. He groped for holes they were supposed to go in, found one, then realized he had forgotten the wrench. He went back for it. As he jumped back in the car the heavy wrench dropped on his hand, his knuckles skinned against the metal floor. He managed to start turning the single bolt; before he could finish, or insert the other, the wrench cord tightened as the car moved forward. The wrench would no longer reach. Rollie left the second bolt on the floor and got out.

With the car after that, he managed to get two bolts in and made a pass at tightening them, though he wasn't sure how well. With the one after that, he did better; also the car following. He was getting the knack of using the wrench, though he found it heavy. He was sweating and had skinned his hands again.

It was not until the fifth car had gone by that he remembered the third bolt he was supposed to insert in the trunk.

Alarmed, Rollie looked around him. No one had noticed.

At adjoining work positions, on either side of the line, two men were installing wheels. Intent on their own tasks, neither paid the slightest heed to Rollie. He called to one, "Hey! I left some bolts out."

Without looking up, the worker shouted back, "Forget it! Get the next one. Repair guys'll catch the others down the line." Momentarily he lifted his head and laughed. "Maybe."

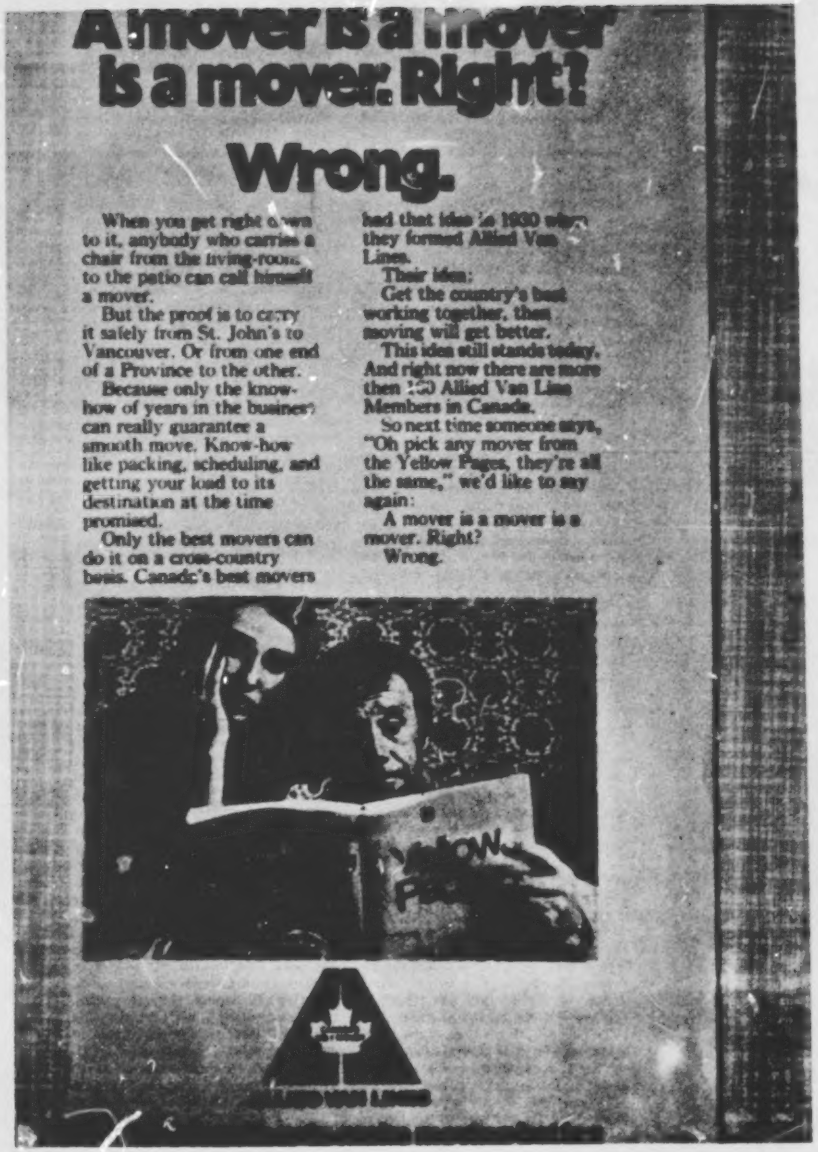
Rollie began inserting the third bolt through each car trunk to the chassis. He had to increase his pace to do it. It was also necessary to go bodily into the trunk and, emerging the second time, he hit his head on the deck lid. The blow half-stunned him, and he would have liked to rest, but the next car kept coming and he worked on it in a daze.

He was learning: first, the pace of the line was faster than it seemed; second, even more compelling than the speed was its relentlessness. The line came on, and on, and on, unceasing, unyielding, impervious to human weakness or appeal. It was like a tide which nothing stopped except a half-hour lunch break, the end of a shift, or sabotage.

Rollie became a saboteur on his second day.

He had been shifted through several positions by that time, from inserting chassis bolts to making electrical connections, then to installing steering columns, and afterward to fitting fenders. He had heard someone say the previous day there was a shortage of workers; hence the panic—a usual thing on Mondays. On Tuesday he sensed more people were at their regular jobs, but Rollie was still being used by foremen to fill temporary gaps while others were on relief or break. Consequently, there was seldom time to learn anything well, and at each fresh position several cars went by before he learned to do a new job properly. Usually, if a foreman was on hand and noticed, the defective work would be tagged; at other times it simply went on down the line. On a few occasions foremen saw something wrong, but didn't bother.

While it all happened, Rollie Knight grew wearier.



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Wrong.

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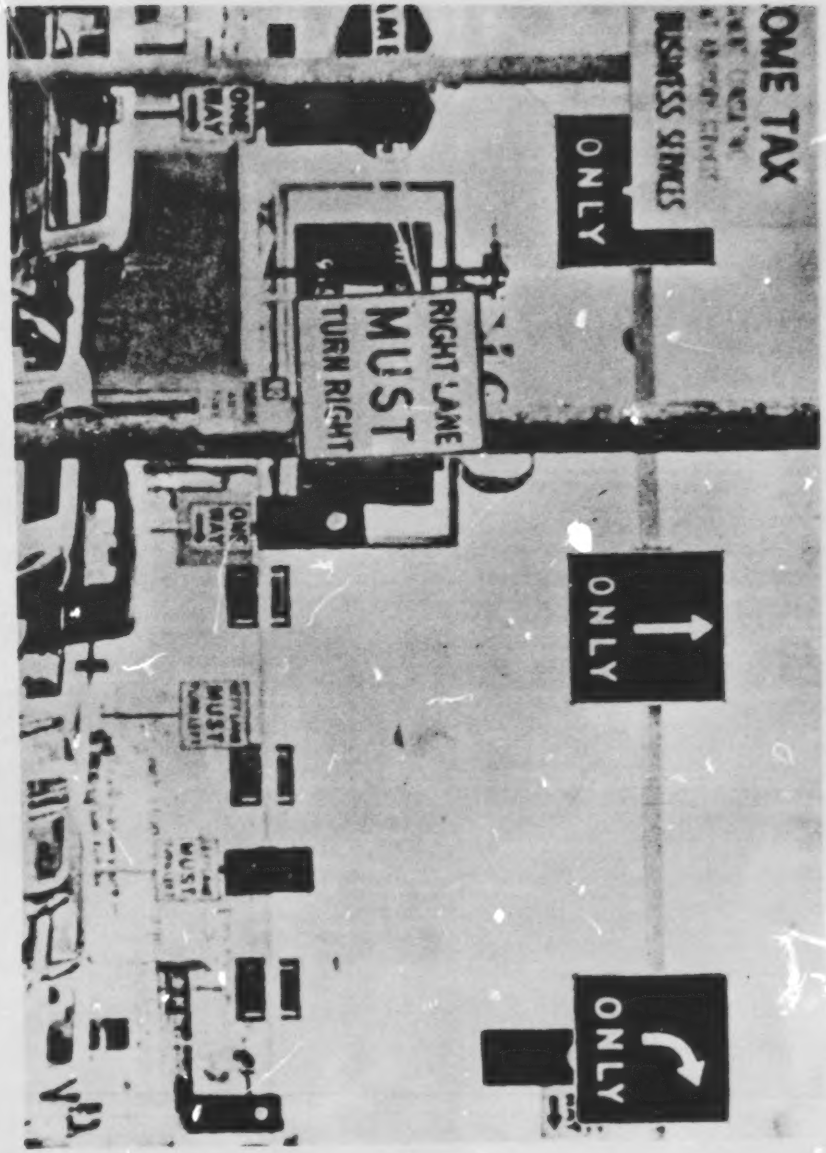

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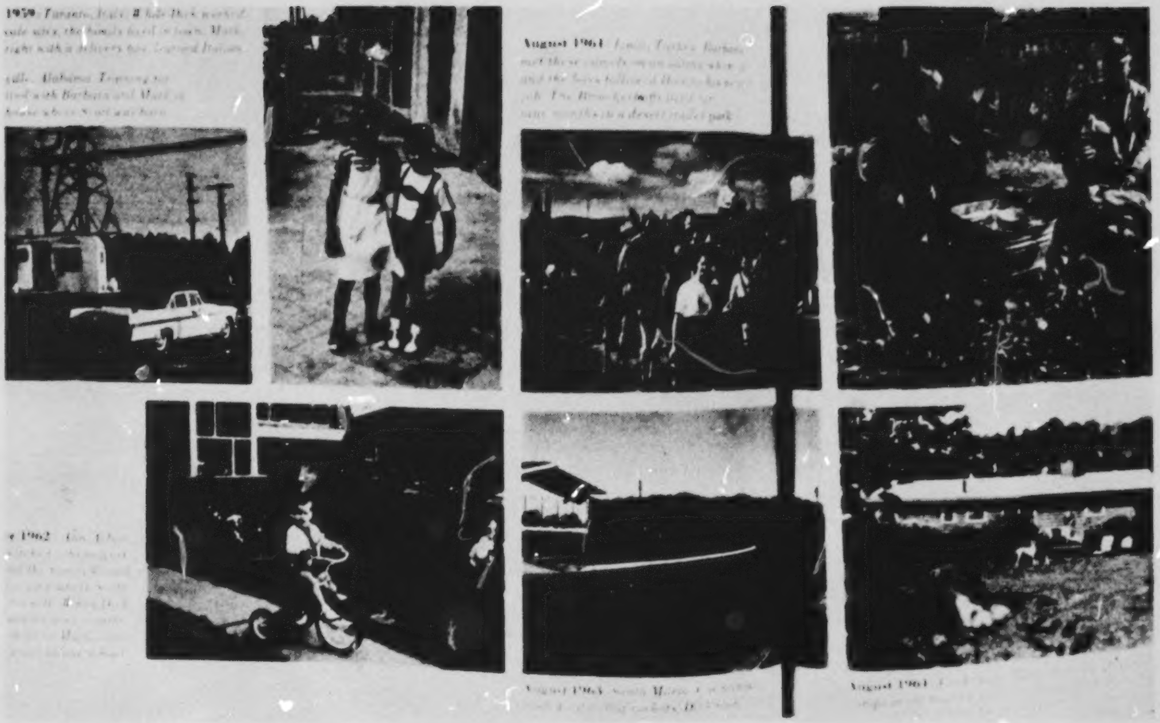
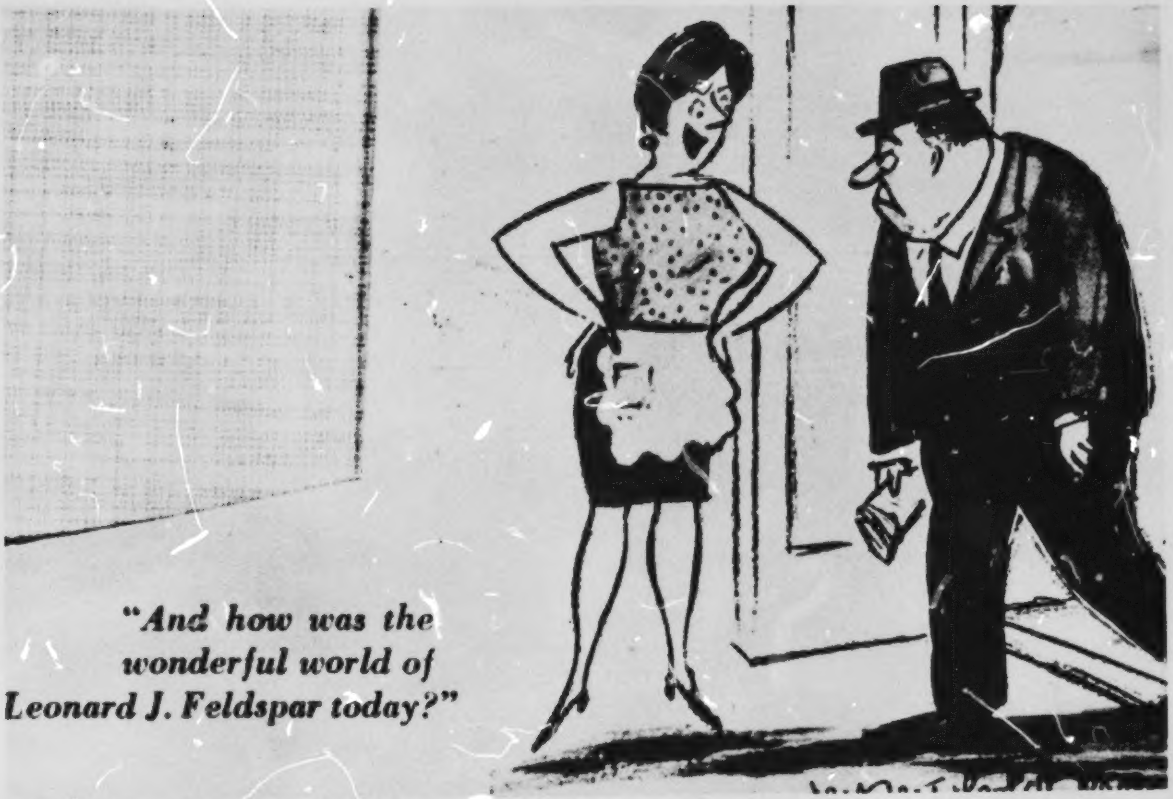
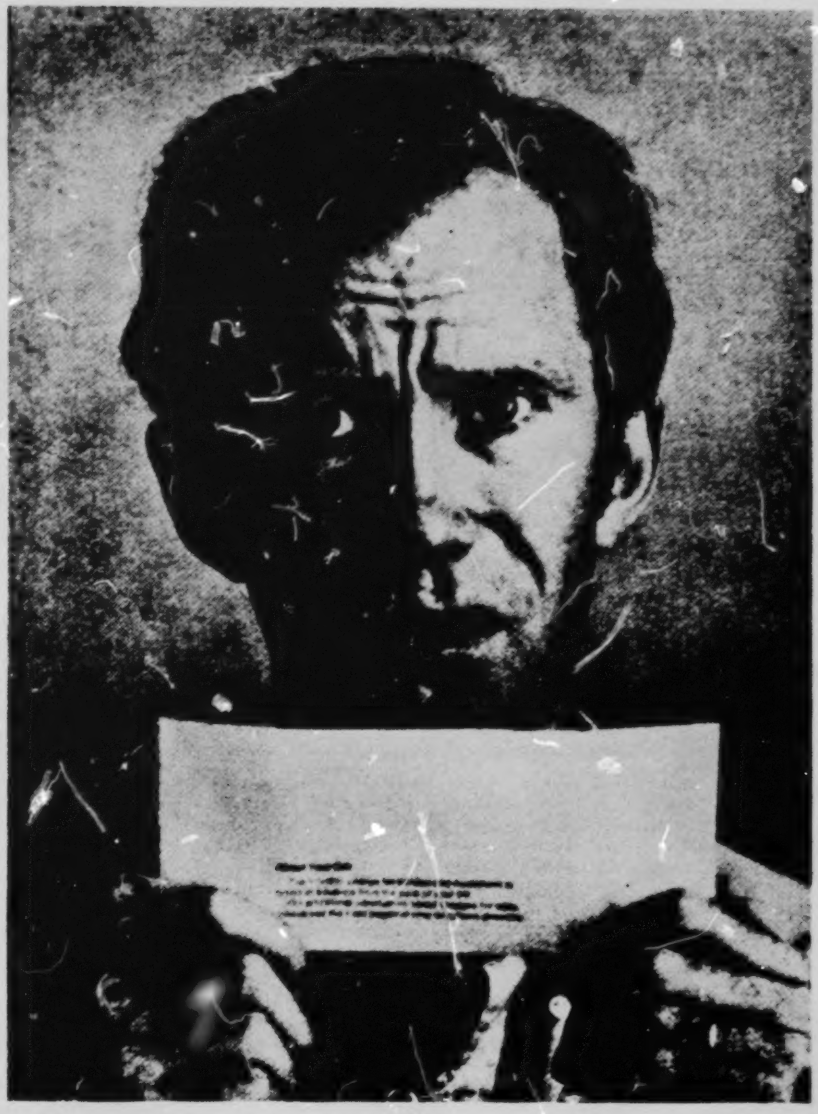
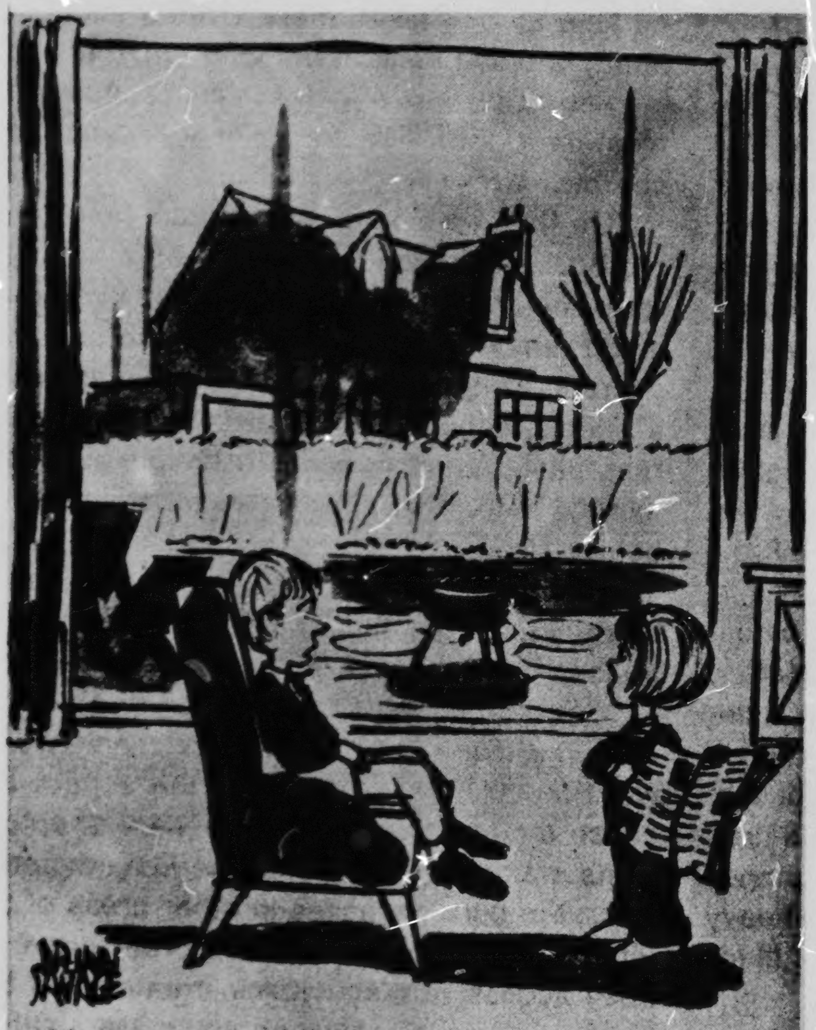




"And how was the wonderful world of Leonard J. Feldspar today?"




BRIAN SAVAGE

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"Affluent means 'unhappy.'"

STORE & BASEMENT
OR LOFT
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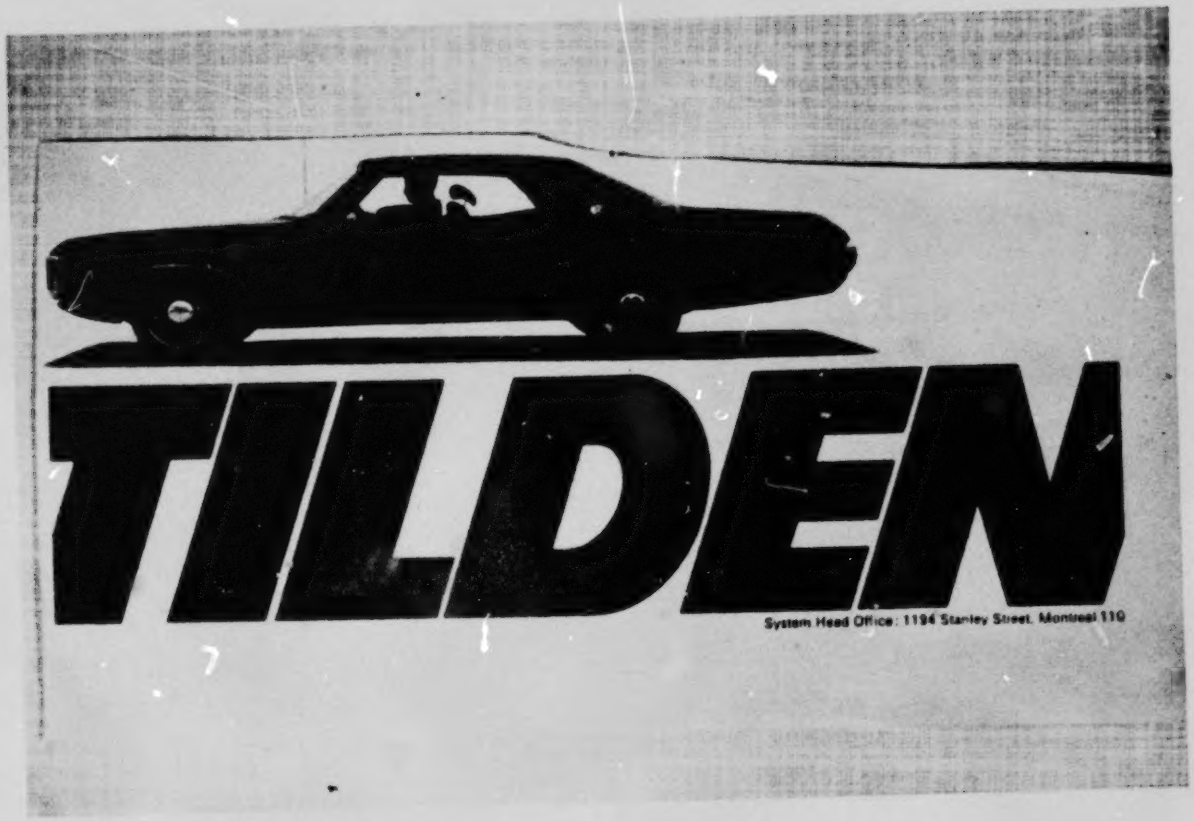
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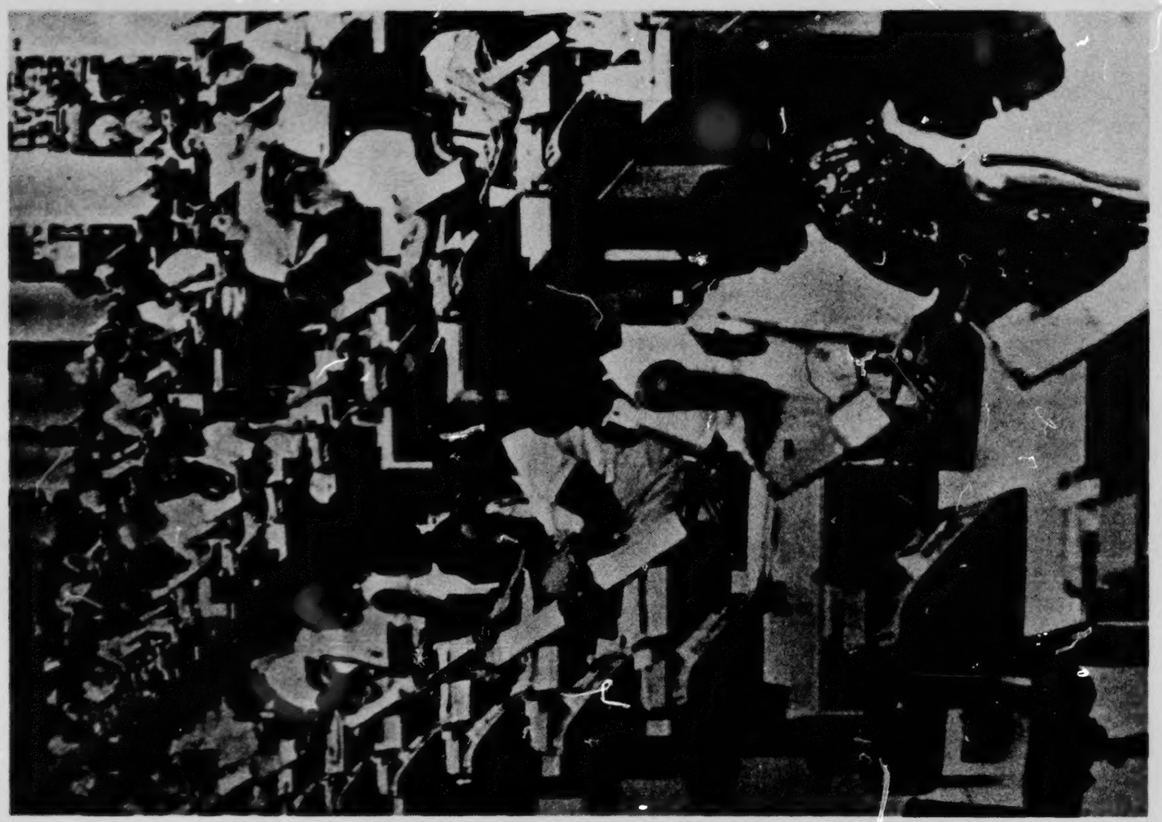

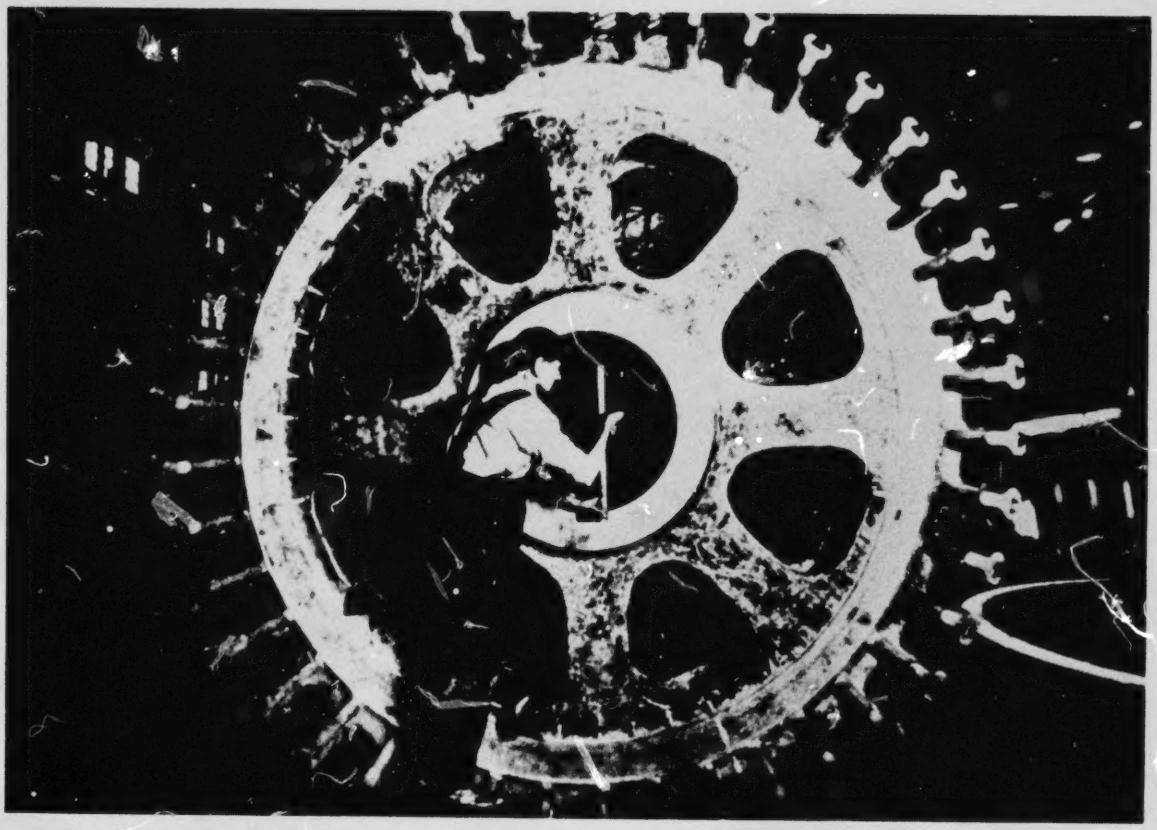

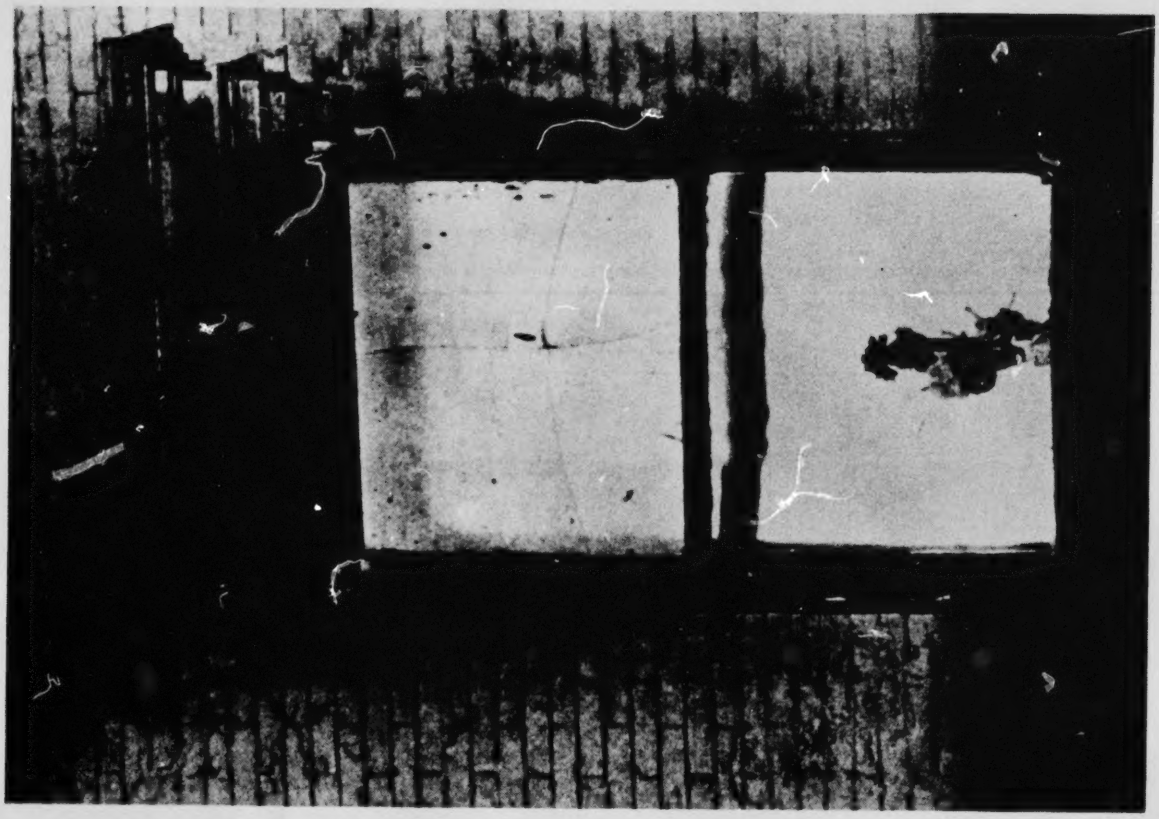

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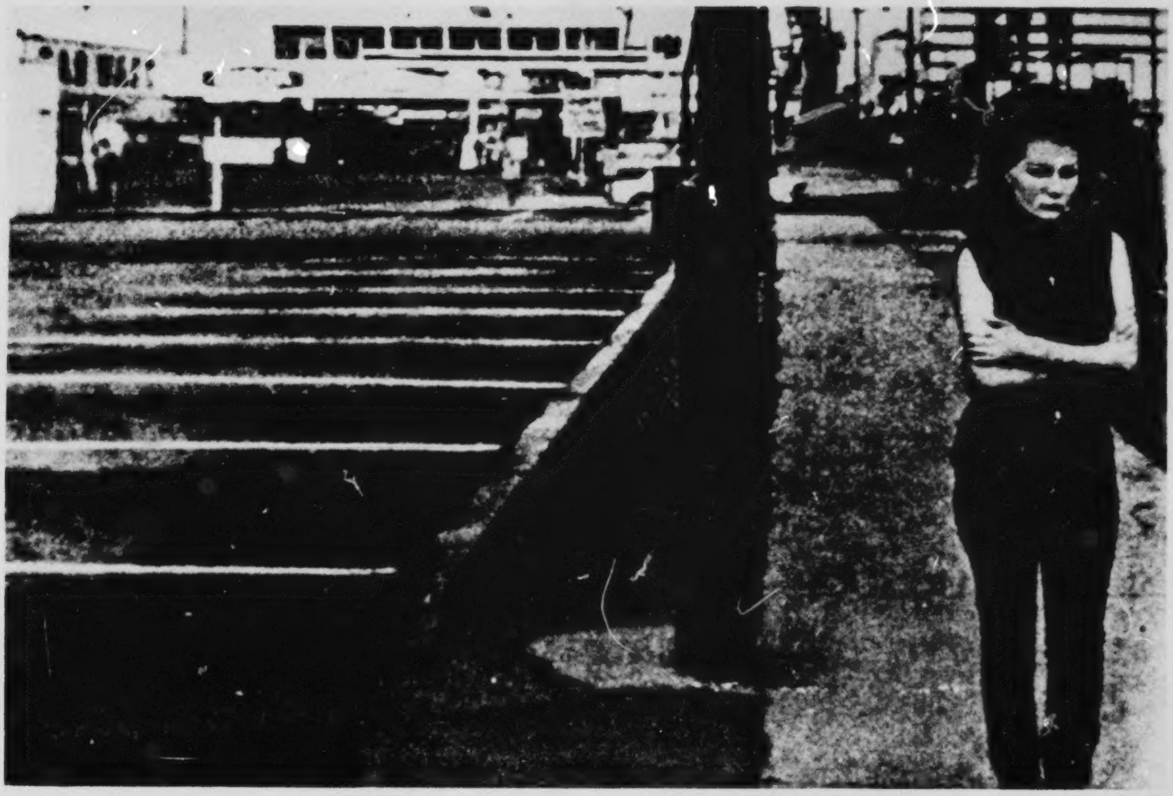
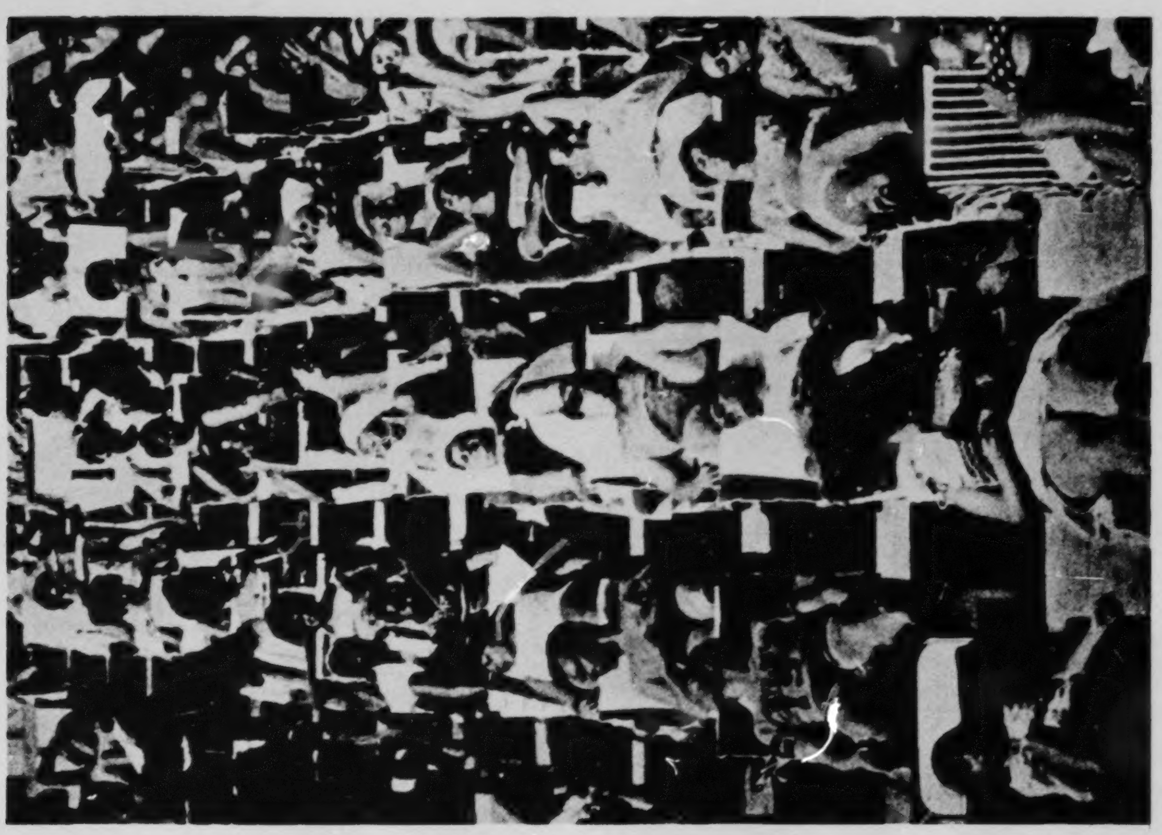
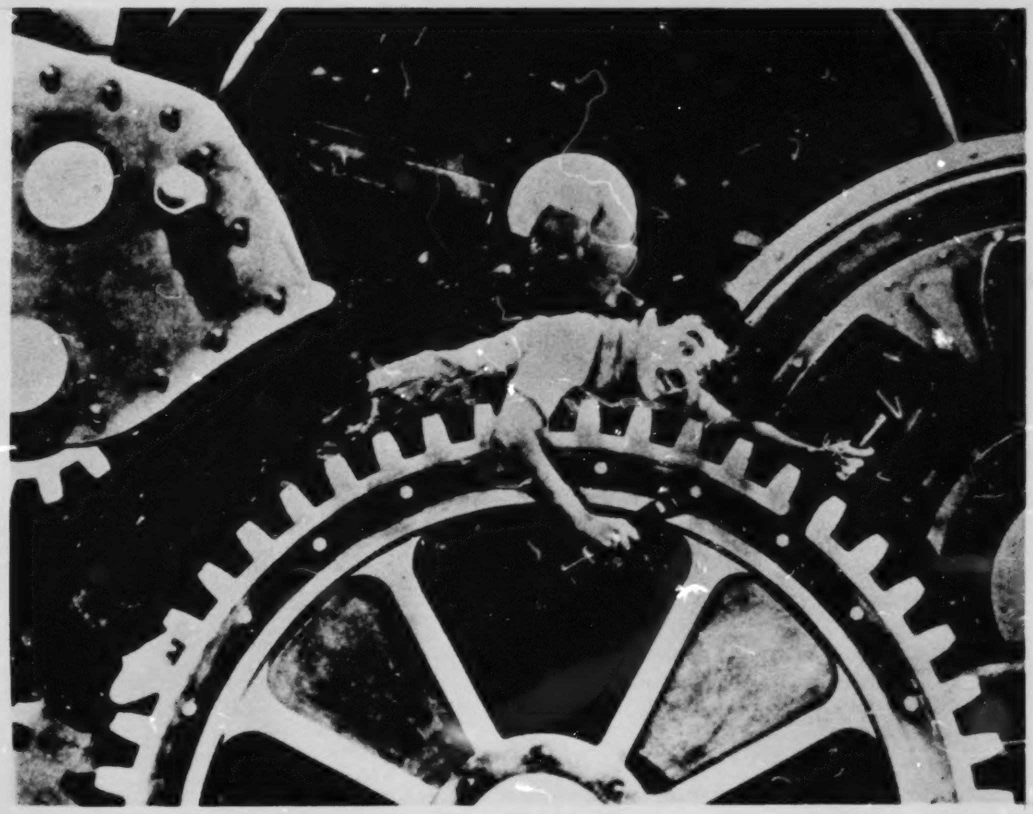
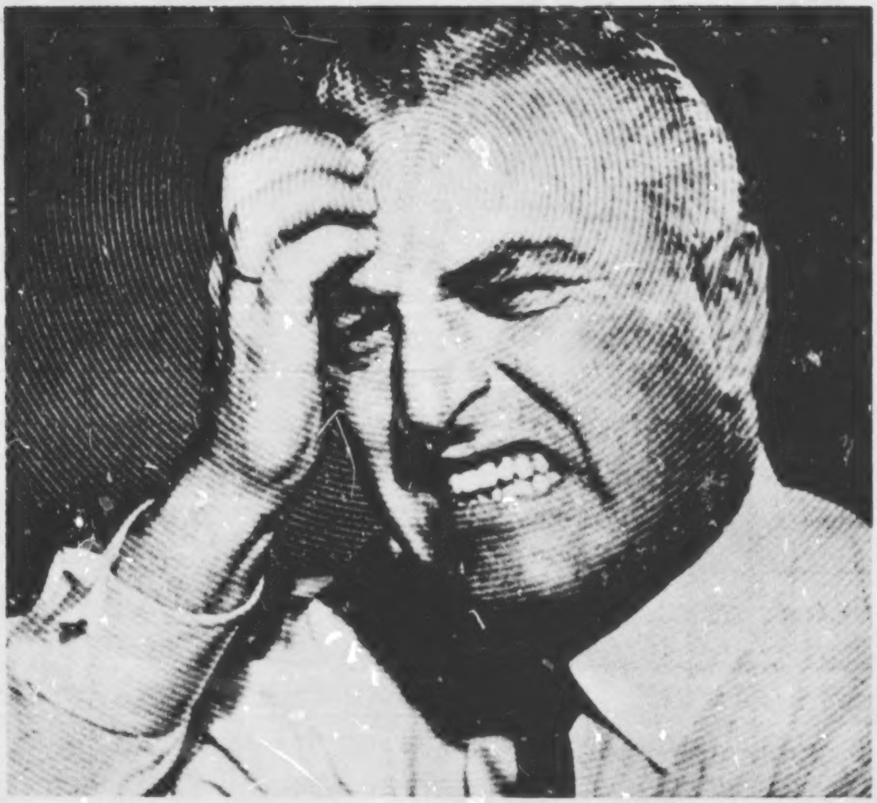
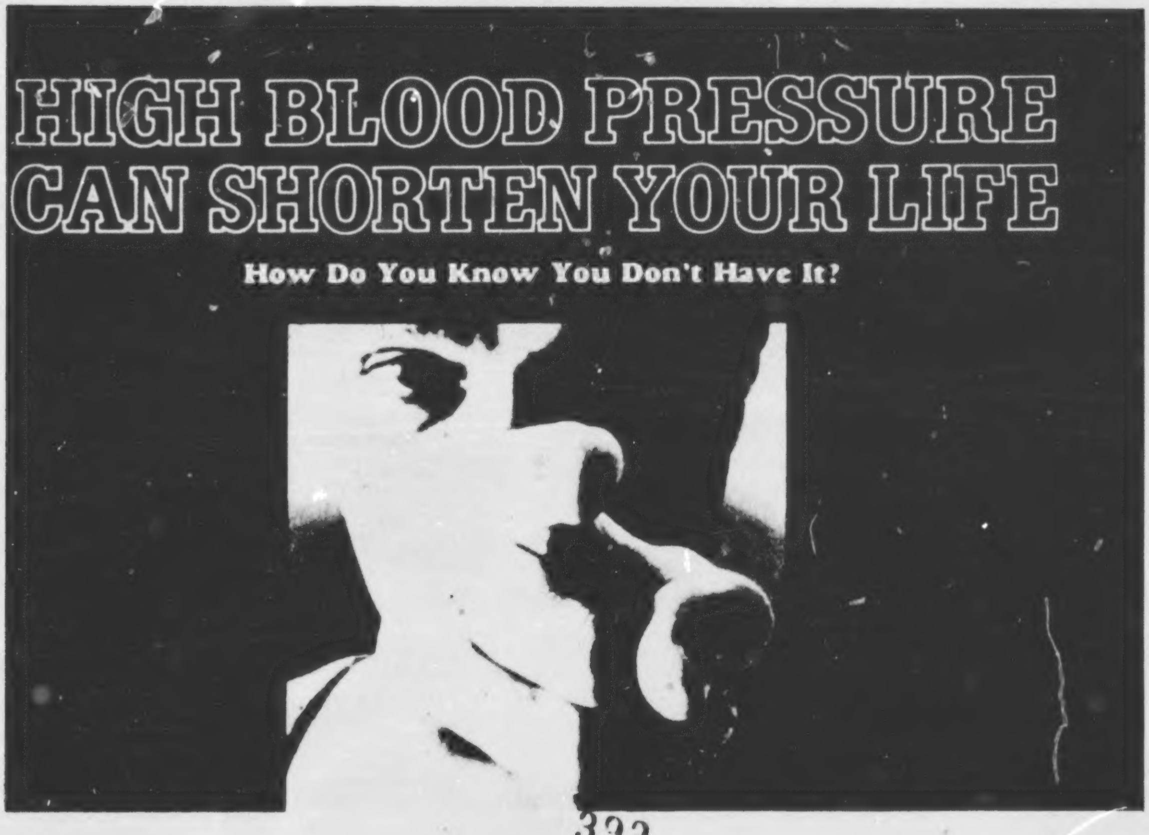


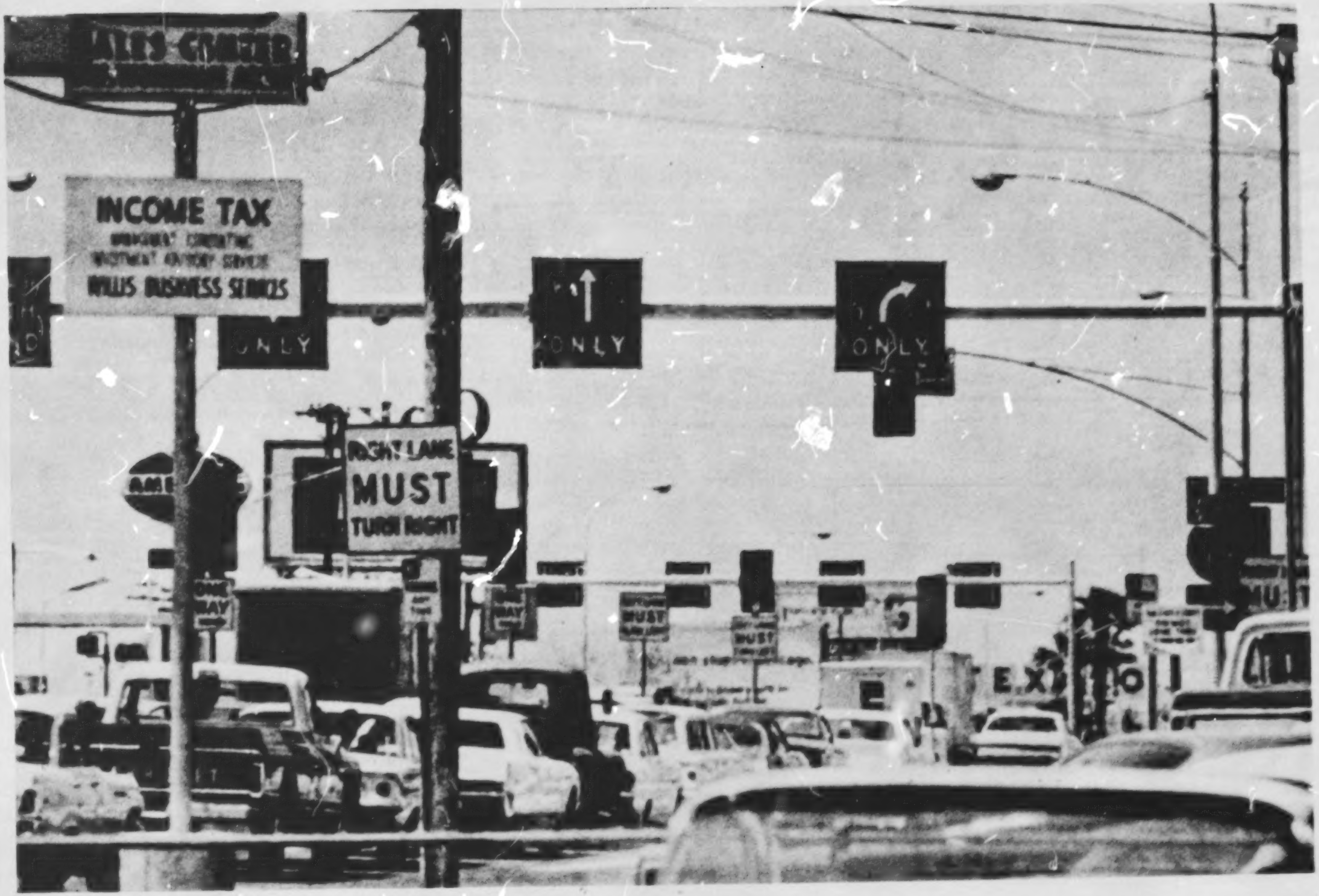







HIGH BLOOD PRESSURE
CAN SHORTEN YOUR LIFE
How Do You Know You Don't Have It?

LOVE
YOU


INCOME TAX
WILLIS BUSINESS SERVICES
ONLY
ONLY
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RIGHT LANE MUST TURN RIGHT
ONE WAY
MUST
MUST

397

398

Do you have to give up your identity to make it in a big corporation?

LABOUR STUDIES UNITS

prepared for the

ONTARIO FEDERATION OF LABOUR

by

ERIC HOLMES - BRANTFORD COLLEGIATE
NEIL McKINNELL - BRANTFORD COLLEGIATE
GREG MURTAGH - ONTARIO FEDERATION OF LABOUR

February 1976

Unit 5 of 9 Units

USERS ARE FREE TO
DUPLICATE MATERIALS
EXCEPT FOR
COMMERCIAL PURPOSES

opeiu:343

RATIONALE

In preparing this unit, there was a constant fear that a simplistic listing of personality traits would add little to the students' understanding of labour, its leaders or an understanding of leadership in general.

Consequently it was decided that an effective approach would be a behavioural one. The student should be encouraged to look for a method by which personality could be assessed, thus going far beyond the simple listing of personality traits characteristic of many leaders. As well it was believed that students should have an opportunity to delve into leadership vis-a-vis time and spatial factors, e.g. could a leader be successful at one time and on one issue yet be unsuccessful in another.

Finally it was believed that an effective unit on leadership must provide an opportunity for application of the concepts learned to people closer to them, e.g. the local leader. In turn this would give the student a further opportunity to assess and even to predict the relative success of individuals.

opeiu:343

CONTENT	STRATEGY	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
A. Sample study of the autocratic-democratic leadership sheets are attached per Appendix V-A(ii).	Students should take 20-30 minutes to fill out questionnaire V-A(i). The teacher should lead a socratic lesson using the following questions to provide a general model used by students in subsequently assessing labour leadership. Determine for each as many descriptive adjectives as possible. As students describe their findings the teacher should place these on the board. Then students should try to find patterns or types. Alternately the identifications of types or styles of leadership might be accomplished by having students discuss their answers to the questionnaire in small groups listing various characteristics under each type. Note. These styles are not good or bad in themselves. The instructor must be aware that, while particular characteristics may be dominant in a person, frequently circumsances will play a determinant role in the style portrayed. Consequently	Appendix: V-A(i)	1. To determine characteristics of leadership. 2. To clarify their own views of effective leadership. 3. To define leadership.

CONTENT	STRATEGY	RESOURCE	OBJECTIVES
	students in evaluating should consider the circumstances in attaching a particular characteristic to a leader.		
	The instructor should then hand out Appendix V-A(ii). Using this the students should re-examine the lists of styles and their characteristics which they have developed and attempt to apply the terminology in their descriptions to the terms used in Appendix V-A(ii).	Appendix: V-A(ii)	1. To introduce two extremes of leadership styles. 2. To reinforce the students concepts of leadership styles.
	To reinforce the concepts students should do the exercise in Appendix V-A(iii). The teacher should use this exercise as the basis for a class discussion.	Appendix V-A(iii)	
B. Labour Leadership Analysis. 1. Personal History e.g. Joe Morris, Charles Millard, Grace Hartman, etc.	Using the accompanying Appendix V-B(i) Personal History Inventory, collect the data on each leader for use in evaluating them. The instructor should divide the class into groups of four or five students and assign two leaders for each group to develop a personal history of them. Upon completion each student group should prepare a Summary on ditto to be handed out to other students	Appendix: V-B(i) Appendices V-B(ii) - (xiv) will be biographical data. - See also YEARS OF HARD LABOUR by Morden Lazarus for biographical sketches.	1. To gather historical data on labour leaders.

CONTENT	STRATEGY	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
	in order to assure common information. The instructor should stress that in some cases the information will not be obvious and that the student will have to make subjective interpretations by reading between the lines.		
B.2. Leadership styles of Labour Leaders. David Archer Donald MacDonald William Mahoney Lynn Williams Claude Jodoin Aaron Mosher Grace Hartman Henry Weisbach Shirley Carr Charles Millard Joseph Morris Dennis McDermott Silby Barrett	Using the Leadership Style Summary form (Appendix V-B(xv) and the biographical profiles (Appendix V-B(ii)-(xiv) students should list leadership characteristics for the two personalities. The teacher should build the entire summary sheet on the board from the answers given by the various student groups. (It should be noted that information on some of the leaders is sparse). As a class and using the summary chart, the students should attempt to assess the leadership style of each of the labour leaders as being more or less autocratic or democratic and discuss their reasons for feeling this way. The instructor must point out that circumstances may alter a leader's style. A general discussion should also be undertaken to show how people can differ in making a subjective interpretation.	Appendix V-B(xv) Leadership Style Summary form. Appendices V-B(ii) - (xiv).	1. To analyze and summarize biographical data. 2. To determine factors which influence subjective evaluation. 3. To apply leadership style characteristics to labour leaders.

CONTENT	STRATEGY	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
	An interesting exercise would be to have the students do a similar analysis of political and business leaders and then draw comparisons.		
C. Local Leadership.	Teacher should obtain a list of local leaders from local labour councils Students should attempt to interview these leaders in order to build a personal history inventory (Appendix V-B(i)) and assess their style of leadership as being more or less autocratic or democratic. A summary may be made in the classroom via student reports. (Appendix V-B(xv)). Local political and business leaders could also be analyzed in this fashion for comparison.	Local Labour Council.	1. To apply theories of leadership to the community. 2. To be able to list some local labour leaders and their leadership characteristics.

LEADERSHIP QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Who is the most effective person or best leader you have ever known personally?

2. Please write a short description of him/her. What are his/her major characteristics?

3. Who is the worst leader you have known personally?

4. Please write a short description of him/her identifying what characteristics make him/her the worst?

5. Who is the most effective leader you have viewed on a national level? (the person selected may be from any field, e.g. politics, sports, religion, entertainment, etc.)

6. Please write a brief explanation identifying what characteristics make this person an effective leader.

7. Define the word "leader".

AUTOCRATIC LEADER - DEMOCRATIC LEADER

The following are the two sets of approaches which seem to distinguish the autocratic leader from the democratic.

AUTOCRATIC	DEMOCRATIC
Boss	Leader
Voice, sharp	Voice, friendly
Command	Invitation
Power	Influence
Pressure	Stimulation
Demanding cooperation	Winning cooperation
I tell you what you should do	I tell you what I will do
Imposing ideas	Selling ideas
Domination	Guidance
Criticism	Encouragement
Fault-finding	Acknowledgment of achievement
Punishing	Helping
I tell you	Discussion
I decide, you obey	I suggest and help you to decide
Sole responsibility of BOSS	Shared responsibility in team

LEADERSHIP STYLES

A

I put out enough effort to get by. I don't feel responsible for the feelings of others. I go along with decisions made by others. I accept the opinions of others and avoid expressing mine. I avoid conflict. I rarely get aroused or stirred up.

B

I rarely lead but I support the effort of others. I praise others to keep them happy and involved. I support the decisions made by others in order to maintain harmony. I support the opinions and attitudes of others in order to maintain harmony. I smooth over conflict to keep people happy. When tension arises I try to overcome the disturbance it produces by being warm and friendly.

C

I drive myself and others to complete the task. I ignore the feelings of others. I make up my mind and hold to my position. I have strong convictions and hold to them. I suppress conflict to maintain my own position. I react to tension with resistance and counter arguments.

D

I maintain a good steady pace toward the goal by "giving and taking". I am concerned about the feelings of others because only by keeping them involved can progress be made. I strive for decisions that are workable with consideration for differing points of view. When differing opinions occur I attempt to mind and follow a middle course. I work for an acceptable solution when conflict occurs. Tension bothers me, but although I get aroused, I keep my emotions within limits so that some progress can be made.

E

I strive for best results through team interaction. The needs of the team members will be met through involvement in achieving the goal. I encourage exploration of all points of view so that decisions represent the best thinking and are understood and accepted by all. I seek out ideas, opinions and attitudes of others and although I have clear convictions of my own, will change when sound evidence is presented. I encourage the examination of conflict and resolve it through the understanding of underlying causes. When aroused, I control myself in order that the tensions can be resolved.

APPENDIX V-A(iii)

8

LEADERSHIP STYLE ASSESSMENT FORM

INSTRUCTIONS:

1) Read carefully the five Leadership Styles on the accompanying page.
2) Referring back to Appendix V-A(ii) Autocratic-Democratic Leader, assess each style according to those Characteristics.
3) Determine whether they are more Democratic or more Autocratic.
4) Place a check mark (x) at the appropriate position on the scale for each Leadership Style which describes your decision made in step (3).

DEMOCRATIC	AUTOCRATIC

STYLE (A)

____

STYLE (B)

____

STYLE (C)

____

STYLE (D)

____

STYLE (E)

____

PERSONAL HISTORY INVENTORY (one sheet per leader)

NAME: Place of Origin (Canadian region or Ethnic Origin)	FAMILY BACKGROUND (Education of Parents Ethnic Background)	AGE: Education and Age at which entered work force	Work Experience	Union Activities (high points)	Priorities in Life.

APPENDIX V-B(i)

PR MEMO

In the normal course of events, biographies of prominent people in the trade union movement are not too plentiful. Requests usually come from some moderator on a panel, who wants a thumbnail history of the guest speaker, or from news media, who want a person's life boiled down to one terse paragraph to go along with a particular news story concerning the individual.

For this reason the narrative description of an individual's career in the movement, when hurriedly snatched from the files to fulfil some such request, usually resembles nothing less than a bus schedule, full of arrivals and departures such as "appointed chairman 1962," "served on Human Rights committee 1956-1966," "President Local double-ought-splash 1968-1974." Just a series of numbers, with little or nothing to say about the human being supposedly described in the "biography."

In the January edition of "THE LABOUR GAZETTE", the magazine of the federal Department of Labour, there was a five page article by Jack Williams, formerly public relations director of the CLC, which very ably filled in the spaces between the dates in the career of David B. Archer, president of the Ontario Federation of Labour.

In view of the growing number of requests from not only the media and panel moderators for such biographical material on Brother Archer in recent months, we are taking the liberty of reprinting the LABOUR GAZETTE article for distribution among the affiliates of the OFL. We think Brother Williams' article goes much farther in showing the man than any list of dates concerning appointments, elections and length of service.

ED COSGROVE
Director, Public Relations

THE DAVID ARCHER STORY: PARALLEL OF LABOUR'S OWN

David Archer

By JACK WILLIAMS

The mere recital of the facts of labour history can, and often does, hide a very human story of the struggle of the labour movement in Canada, from its basely-breathing infancy to a mature place in today's social structure. David Archer, President of the Ontario Federation of Labour, is one of the individuals whose life illustrates something of what went into the building of the movement. A conversation with him not only provides the flavour of earlier times, but also points up some of the similarities, and some of the differences, over a span of years.

Archer has a Scottish background. Born in Edinburgh in 1912, he came to Canada as a young child just after World War I. His family had left the pinch of postwar unemployment in a small Scottish mining community. In Toronto he, like many others, left high school as a youth and went job hunting. He found work first in a bakery and later in a textile mill.

The social consciousness that is characteristic of him today was apparent at an early age, and he sought to express it through membership in a long-forgotten organization, the NYAC's (New Youth Association of Canada), which was the predecessor of the Co-operative Commonwealth Youth Movement, associated with the CCF. Archer was one of the early leaders in the CCYM.

It was through a strike at a tannery on Toronto's Eastern Avenue that he had his first contact with the labour movement. This was about the time the CIO was making its appearance in Canada through Local 222 of the United Auto Workers at Oshawa. Archer met Charles Millard, who later became Canadian director of the United Steelworkers; Hugh Thompson, a UAW organizer from the United States; and Fred Dowling, later Canadian director of the United Packinghouse Workers.

"These were men destined to become leaders of the labour movement in Canada, but none of us realized it then," Archer says.

"I was rather left-wing and a fight was raging politically about the United Front — against war and fascism, and later for peace and democracy. I became very interested and when a big May Day parade was held in Toronto, the CCF laid down an edict that members were not to participate because it was communist-sponsored. Some of us did participate: Bill Dennison (until recently mayor of Toronto) and others who belonged to the left-wing faction; it becomes rather humorous now. We were expelled from the CCF for marching in the parade, but we weren't out for long."

It was at this parade that Archer met his wife, Doris, who was to become a personality in her own right in the Canadian labour movement, and whose untimely death a few years ago deprived the movement of one of its most active women members.

Archer explains the meeting this way:

"I had worked laboriously on a big banner. It read: 'More blood, more bonuses; more deaths, more dividends.' It sounds pretty cliche-ish now; but as a youngster it looked good to me. The Communist Party got a couple of the best looking girls in the Young Communist League to carry the banner, and one of them was Doris. After the parade

I asked her to go to a show with me. She soon quit the Young Communist League, much to her father's dismay, and joined the CCYM with me.

"I was out of work so I took a job with the CCF as a general organizer at $10 a week, except most of the time they didn't have the $10. Graham Spry was my boss and he got $15, but they seldom had the $15 either."

As a young man Archer travelled about Ontario raising funds for the Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy during the Spanish Civil War, the money being used largely for the blood transfusion service organized by Dr. Norman Bethune. Archer's father-in-law was a barber and ran what was known as "The Little Red Barber Shop" on Toronto's Danforth Avenue. There Hugh Garner, the Canadian writer, signed up for service in the MacKenzie-Papineau Battalion that served in the Spanish Civil War.

When economic conditions improved, Archer was again able to get regular work, but because of his union activity the jobs usually did not last long.

"There wasn't any kind of protection so I got fired," he says. "I ended up at the Ontario Silk Knit where we immediately formed a union. I was the president, even though I was a foreman. Jimmie Garfinkle, now a Toronto labour lawyer, was treasurer. Henry Weisbach, who is now a senior member of the OFL staff, was shop steward. We joined the Textile Workers' Organizing Committee (CIO) and went on strike for recognition of our union. The strike petered out and we lost.

"That was about 1940-41. I had tried to enlist in the army in 1939 but they turned me down as medically unfit. By 1941 the test of whether or not you were accepted for service was very different. They were no longer just looking for five-foot-ten fellows; they just felt your brow to see if you were warm."

Archer met that criterion, but his military career was brief. He developed an ulcer and after a gastrectomy he was discharged. On the invitation of Millard, he went to work for the Canadian Congress of Labour as an organizer, and later transferred to the Textile Workers.

"We had trouble in the Textile Workers," he recalls. "We broke away to form an independent organization, and this has some bearing on what is happening today. We felt we could do better with a purely Canadian organization; but it was a dismal failure. Arthur Williams (at one point a CCF Member of Parliament) was the president of this Canadian Textile Workers and I was the secretary-treasurer. It wasn't long before we went to the States to see the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, who were supposed to be angling the Textile Workers' Organizing Committee of the CIO. I guess I was one of the few persons belonging to a Canadian union who asked an international to, for God's sake, take us over. I thought I was right, and I still think I was right."

Then there was a period with the United Packinghouse Workers, running a strike at the Canada Packers plant in Peterborough, and after that a job with the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union.

Archer continued to have a strong enthusiasm for politics; but he is a man of few illusions.

"About this time I went out to Alberta to try to help the CCF get elected," he explains. "When I got there they had a farmers' government. When I left the Social Credit was firmly in the saddle. I wasn't very successful."

He was still identified as somewhat of a radical. There was the occasion which has been identified, in somewhat exaggerated terms, as "the free speech riots of Toronto Beaches."

Archer gives this description:

"We had been told we would be allowed to make speeches in a certain part of the Beaches. The trouble was that there weren't any people in that part and we decided the ball park would be a much better place to express our views. The police decided otherwise. We started to speak but we were soon taken away. I still remember the opening words of my speech, they were the only words I got out. I said: 'We should tell these Cossacks to keep their bloody hands off the members of our class—' And at that point I disappeared from the scene.

"During the Depression we tried to stop evictions. A number of us were arrested for opposing sheriffs. On one occasion we placed a flag on the verandah and put all our children out there, while we locked ourselves in the house. As the police charged the children sang God Save the King. It didn't take them long to trample on the flag and get the children out of the way. Then one policeman put his foot through a window, cutting his leg. My father-in-law—five-foot-two and weighing 110 pounds—was given a month in jail for biting a policeman."

When the Ontario Federation of Labour was formed as the provincial branch of the Canadian Congress of Labour, Archer became its executive secretary. He was also, at various times, executive secretary, and later president, of the Toronto Labour Council.

Now he looks back on those years from a smartly furnished office in the $4,500,000 office building which the Ontario Federation of Labour owns in the modern Don Mills area of Toronto. One of the Federation's tenants is a chartered bank; its neighbours include some of the country's largest corporations. The struggling organization of the depression days now boasts a membership of well over three-quarters of a million men and women.

And how does Archer consider himself in these circumstances, and in the light of a somewhat colourful background?

"I would still like to think I'm a radical. I'm sure there are some—my own kids—who don't think so; but I would like to think so. I'm certainly still a Marxist. That was my training. After school I kept going to night classes. I probably attended more classes at the university than somebody who got his degree. There wasn't anything else to do, and it kept you out of the cold.

"Perhaps I'm not as adventurous a radical as some of the younger people seem to be. I have a feeling that many of them will grow out of that; and, of course every day you see some people who were very vocal in their radicalism showing up in the most peculiar places —right-wing places, if you can use that term any more.

I'm afraid that testing your radicalism or your militancy in 1930 terms is a very silly thing to do at this stage. It's a very mixed-up situation we find ourselves in, it's much more complex. I don't believe there is a right and a left; I think you go around in a circle, and if you go far enough to the left you meet the right."

Archer's experiences of past years are still reflected in his public declarations. For example, this, from a recent statement:

"It has only been through sacrifice that trade unionists have achieved any of the benefits they enjoy today under union contracts. Benefits that are still denied most working Canadians except where, through union pressure, legislation has been enacted to provide minimum protection. We of the trade union movement have often been cast in the role of constant complainers. As trade unionists, we like to think the individual has certain inalienable rights and that the systems and procedures of government are basically designed to safeguard those rights. So we will continue to protest when such agencies of government tread on the pride and dignity of men and women."

As senior officer of a large organization, recognized as the spokesman for unions in the most highly-industrialized part of Canada, Archer faces the difficult task of accommodating his militancy to the everyday responsibilities of his position.

"I could have a field day taking off after the Premier and the Minister of Labour, and not having a good word for anyone in a government position," he says. "Sometimes in a convention you have a very vocal delegate taking the floor and demanding to know just what you have done and why you are not more militant. And then the next day that very same delegate may be on the telephone asking if you can help get a government conciliation officer into a strike situation, or asking you to try to arrange a meeting with the Premier. It's easy to be a rabblerouser; but it destroys your credibility, and, I think, your usefulness as an officer of the Federation."

An important part of Archer's activities has been related to labour legislation. He has been a member of the Ontario Labour Relations Board since 1948. He thinks labour legislation tends to lag behind the times.

"In Ontario, particularly, I think the labour legislation is too static; and, frankly, I think the Ontario Labour Relations Board is much too bound by precedent and just doesn't understand what is going on in the industrial field today," he explains.

"Almost every place in the world is trying to give expression to some kind of workers' voice, as they call it in Europe, some worker participation in decision-making. This doesn't seem to have hit Canada at all, and the United States very little, apart from the recent humanism cry of the United Auto Workers. Our employers seem to be as reactionary, and as bent on management rights and maintaining those rights as they ever were, and the Government seems still to believe that all these rights belong to management, unless they are modified by law or prohibited by agreement.

"The federal Government has moved a little bit away from this in view of the Woods' Report, and I think perhaps the NDP governments in the western provinces are experimenting; but there is nothing in Ontario."

Discussing frequently-heard suggestions for the adoption of voluntary arbitration, Archer is sensitive to the dangers of nomenclature:

"The word 'arbitration' has become a four-letter word; you just can't discuss it. If we talk about 'final settlements,' then I think it is true that it is being discussed. Here in Ontario, and elsewhere, legislation prohibiting strikes during the term of an agreement was adopted much against the wishes of the trade union movement. This was looked on as a most serious curtailment of the strike weapon.

"Now, while they don't like it, they seem to have accepted it. More recently, of course, there is the suggestion that, because of the tremendous technological changes taking place, it should be permissible to strike on these issues which could not be anticipated at the time the agreement was reached. The federal Government has taken that position, and I notice the new British Columbia legislation does something about it. Ontario has done nothing.

"I think we have to keep looking at new ways and means; but basically our labour relations are an adversary procedure, and they will remain that way. Discussions are difficult because, as far as the word 'arbitration' is concerned, it arouses more heat than light. While the labour movement has pretty well accepted the idea of finding some form of final settlement during the life of an agreement, it is not ready to have the agreement itself imposed by a third party, and there is assistance in this position from the Canadian Manufacturers' Association."

Archer sees the whole field of labour-management relations and bargaining becoming much more complicated as a result of the growth of multinational corporations.

He puts it in these terms:

"The multinational companies are the greatest problem—one might say threat—that faces the trade union movement; or, if you want to put it in left-wing terms, the workers of the world. The rise and power of these multinationals has put them almost beyond the control of individual states. I don't have the answer; but certainly it is not to crawl back into the security of the womb, as some of the Canadian unions are suggesting. There is room for Canadian unions, particularly in the public service, and may be in some other areas. But this is not an answer to the challenge of multinational companies."

Archer has deep feelings regarding what is often described as labour's social responsibilities. The biographical sketch provided by the Ontario Federation of Labour demonstrates his personal involvement in an extraordinarily wide range of activities. They include membership in: the executive of the Ontario Economic Council; Board of Governors of York University; advisory committee, Business Administration Department, Ryerson Polytechnical Institute; Board of Directors, Toronto Symphony; Board of Trustees, United Appeal; Board of Governors, Toronto Arts Foundation; Board of Directors, St. John Ambulance; and The Prime Minister's Advisory Committee on Economic Policy.

"I've never been a business trade unionist," Archer says with some vigour. "If that was all the union was, then it wasn't for me. I really wanted to change the world, and I still do. I suppose if I were a Communist I'd raise hell; since I'm a socialist, I want to lower heaven, as J. S. Woodsworth used to say.

"I think the trade union movement is doomed if it doesn't assist those less fortunate than itself, and those who are not in the trade union movement. I think this is why we have to take political action, to make transfer payments better and to change legislation in a way that will open the doors of our unions to some of those people who are now precluded through tough legislation. I think it would be good if they could better their conditions by their own efforts, rather than simply being the beneficiaries of government largess; and I'm not talking about work ethics or anything like that. They need organization and militant action, the experience would do a lot for them."

The President of Canada's largest provincial labour organization is able to back up his theories with examples of concrete actions.

"Our Federation is giving considerable assistance to the Anti-Poverty League. We intend to go down and have a good look at the situation concerning immigrant fruit pickers in southwestern Ontario. We want to see what we can do to assist them. Considering that they are largely Mexicans, and not Canadian nationals, and that they are only in the country for two or three months. I doubt whether the traditional union structure will fit their needs. But we are willing to send people and spend money in an effort to see that they at least get minimum protection, rather than the exploitation they have now.

"We have been co-operating with the senior citizens and we sent a commission across the province investigating their conditions and talking to them —asking them what they want, not telling them. We are certainly going to do more of this sort of thing.

"Over the past three or four years our Federation has tried to activate the community Labour Councils. We have a full-time person servicing them. We placed their representatives on our Executive Council and we finance their attendance at meetings. We offer to assist them, financially or otherwise, in projects that gain our approval. The Labour Councils, at the community level, are the non-commissioned officers of the labour movement, and unless you get them working you are not effective."

The Ontario Federation of Labour, with its 750,000-plus members, is larger than any national labour organization was a few years ago. Yet Archer is an ardent advocate of a strong national organization. By virtue of his OFL office he is a Vice-President of the Canadian Labour Congress. While he feels some changes are necessary in the structure of the Canadian labour movement, including allocating greater responsibility to provincial organizations, he is emphatic that the situation is not one of competition or rivalry between the OFL and the CLC. Any changes that come will be the result of an amicable agreement.

"I think we have to be looking at our structure [illegible] the time if we are going to keep pace with what is happening in the outside world," he said. "This is vital to the whole future of the labour movement."

* * * *

This is the sixth article in a series on Canada's top labour leaders. Jack Williams was formerly Public Relations Director of the Canadian Labour Congress and, from 1970 until his retirement in 1972 was editor of the CLC magazine, **Canadian Labour.**

Globe & Mail Dec. 20/73

By WILFRED LIST

The socialist zeal of an earlier time still burns brightly behind the horn-rimmed glasses as David Archer surveys the social and labor scene. But at 61, the president of the [illegible]-member Ontario Federation of Labor is today more a pragmatist than a fire-breathing radical.

The responsibility of leadership has tempered his actions, if not his views; he is as much at home rubbing elbows with the city's elite on some of the cultural boards on which he sits, as at a union rally where he has delivered an emotional speech condemning the system.

Mr. Archer is a consummate union politician. He knows that to hold power or office a labor official needs votes, so he is prepared to cater at least once during an OFL convention to the militants who cherish the tough "give-them-hell" rhetoric.

Some see this as out of character for the normally mild-mannered OFL president and regard the appeal to emotion as an exercise in cynicism.

But Mr. Archer is candid: "There is a group within the labor movement that sees anyone who doesn't agree with calls for a general strike as a reactionary. A tough speech satisfies them."

Champion of underdog

"The art of politics is to stay in power and you do what you can. Whether it's cynical depends on whether you believe in what you are saying, and I do."

There is no question of his sincerity in his championship of the cause of the underdogs in society—the elderly poor, the low-wage earners, the farm laborers, the badly housed.

Not a man who seeks power for its own sake, he has held the top office in the OFL since [illegible] — a job that pays $21,000 a year. He wants to lead labor to paths of wider and more vigorous community action projects, but he has no illusions of grandeur; nor does he want to be an Ontario version of the flamboyant Louis Laberge, president of the Quebec Federation of Labor, which promoted mass worker action in that province.

That type of program, he says, seems to have lost the QFL what credibility it had in the province and has isolated the Quebec federation politically. Even the Parti Quebecois wanted to stay at arm's-length from the QFL in the last provincial election, he notes.

Mr. Archer runs the OFL from a modest but comfortably furnished office in the federation's $3.1-million building on Gervais Drive. The building was co-operatively financed by the union movement and has almost doubled in value since it was built in [illegible]. The project was a tribute to the perseverance of the OFL's former secretary-treasurer, Douglas Hamilton, now a member of the Workmen's Compensation Board.

Much of Mr. Archer's time is spent on the speech circuit at functions across the province. It's there he can fire off broadsides against the ills of society, while later working quietly and politely with those who hold power politically in an effort to gain the changes labor seeks.

He is amused that even those who sometimes scorch the federation leadership for not being militant enough often privately later appeal to Mr. Archer to use his position and the elite's respect for him to arrange meetings with top political figures to try to remedy a problem confronting a union or local.

Mr. Archer fits none of the stereotypes of the union "boss". He is of medium height, dresses well, is articulate but not dominating, is open-minded and easy-going. But it was an ulcer that brought his discharge from the army about a year after he enlisted in 1941, having been turned down earlier in 1939.

Perhaps, his critics would say, he is too relaxed; that he should be out pushing and prodding unions into a more militant stance; intervening in strikes (on behalf of the striking unions) by creating common fronts; and blasting off at the Government and political leaders more.

But Mr. Archer replies that OFL-affiliated unions do not want the federation putting its nose in their affairs, and harsh rhetoric is counter-productive.

"You can't rant and rave and posture. The people soon see through that as nothing but a sham."

The OFL convention in mid-November saw the strengthening of the left wing with the re-entry into the federation of the United Electrical Workers and some of its leaders who are members of the Communist Party of Canada.

But this does not give Mr. Archer cause for concern.

"I have no fear of them trying to get control," he says. He sees the Communist left as sensible and the Communist Party itself as a spent force in Canada.

Mr. Archer was himself a radical—although he wouldn't put it in the past tense—during the early days of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, the predecessor of the New Democratic Party. In fact he was in the left-wing faction of the CCF.

"I don't think the young militants today are nearly as radical as we were. We had a blueprint for the destruction of the system. The young are chopping away, but they are not as fundamentally radical as we were. We were more to be feared because we intended to destroy the system."

Mr. Archer, who fought the Communists in the late 1940s during their efforts to win control of trade unions, says he is still a socialist. He is a staunch New Democrat who participated in the founding of the party.

Static legislation

Today his efforts and those of the OFL focus on social projects. The OFL is one of the few major bodies championing the cause of the underdog in society. It commissioned and recently completed and published a $20,000 study of the plight of elderly people and is promoting a program to improve their lot.

The federation is also working with an anti-poverty organization and has fought in the past for medicare, better housing and other social measures.

Mr. Archer has served on the Ontario Labour Relations Board since 1948, but he feels it does not understand the labor scene and is too tied to precedents. He sees the province's attitude to labor as out of tune with the times and today's labor legislation as static.

He regards employers as reactionary in their attitude to preserving management's rights, and the Ontario Government as behind the times in acquiescing in management's position.

Mr. Archer likes the experiments with labor legislation in the Western provinces that have New Democratic Governments. While the British Columbia Federation of Labor has raised a clamor over aspects of B.C.'s new labor legislation, Mr. Archer says labor in Ontario could live with such legislation.

Mr. Archer's roots in the trade union movement go back to the early days of the major organizing drives in the late thirties and into the forties. He led a strike at a tannery, lost several jobs for union activity, helped to organize textile workers, worked for the packinghouse union, and later became executive secretary of the old central labor federation, predecessor to the present OFL. He was also secretary of the Toronto Labor Council in the heady days of inter-union fighting and battles against the bosses.

He has never been a business trade unionist—that is one whose focus is only on union affairs. It was his broader outlook that took him into the CCF youth movement and later the CCF and NDP.

He was once jailed for taking part in demonstrations in a Toronto Beaches area ruled out of bounds by police.

Recently, he recalled that his last words before being hauled into a paddy wagon were: "We should tell these Cossacks to keep their bloody hands off members of our class."

Later, he was arrested when he and others tried to prevent the sheriff from carrying out eviction orders.

Those were wild days that he recalls with relish.

It was during a Communist-organized common front May Day parade, in which he participated, that he met the girl who was to become his wife. Doris, then a member of the Young Communist League, was helping to carry a banner that read: "More blood, more bonuses, more dividends." The romance led her to quit the Communist league and join the CCF youth movement with Mr. Archer. They were inseparable until she died a few years ago.

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He has two sons and a daughter. The oldest son, Ian, is an information officer at IBM; the other, David, is a lineman. His daughter works for a trust company in Toronto.

Like many of the radicals of the Depression and post-Depression years, the Edinburgh-born son of a miner travels in respectable circles today. He is an executive member of the Ontario Economic Council, a member of the board of governors of York University. He sits on the board of directors of the Toronto Symphony Orchestra and of the St. John Ambulance. He is a member of the board of governors of The Toronto Arts Foundation and is on the Prime Minister's Advisory Committee on Economic Policy. He is also a past chairman of the Housing Authority of Toronto.

Schooling ended at 14

Not to be overlooked is his role as a vice-president of the Canadian Labor Congress, chairman of the Ontario Histradut Trade Union Council, and a member of the advisory committee of the Business Administration Department at Ryerson Polytechnical Institute.

That's not a bad array of offices for someone whose formal schooling ended at the age of 14. But during his years of unemployment he filled much of his time in night courses at the University of Toronto.

"I probably spent as much time there as many of the students in a three-year course today."

If nothing else, it kept him out of the cold, he says.

Looking to the future, Mr. Archer hopes for strong, young leadership to emerge in the Canadian Labor Congress.

With CLC president Donald MacDonald stepping down next May, the field may open up. He also wants to see more leadership at the local labor council and national labor centre levels to help the poor and other disadvantaged.

The dominating issue today is the disparity between the haves and have-nots, he says. "The trade union movement has to do something about this, otherwise it is doomed."

Government could help by more favorable labor legislation that would remove obstacles from union efforts to organize the unorganized so they can improve their lot, he says.

The OFL is trying to do its part by seeing what can be done for the unorganized migrant farm workers in Southwestern Ontario. At the very least, he hopes the OFL's efforts will lead to some minimum standards for these workers.

And so, by tacking to the wind where necessary, Mr. Archer continues to ride the crest of trade union popularity and at the same time keep his doors open to those who hold political power.

leaders in government Labour Unions Leaders

JOANNE STRONG

The informal Donald MacDonald

Dec 11/72 Gm

WHAT MAKES a labor leader tick? Passion. Donald MacDonald is 63 years old now, gaunt and gone bony. But when I asked him about his youth in the Cape Breton coal mines, the president of the Canadian Labor Congress remembered it still, with emotion.

"I lived in a hell on earth," and his low voice took on an edge. Which emotions make a voice go raspy? "No one, no one today would believe the work conditions in the coal mines . . . I could tell you revolting things."

How full of contrasts life is. I had come to Ottawa on a snowy day to lunch with MacDonald. The fluttering snow outside the restaurant window made it seem particularly cosy inside.

The president of the Labor Congress was not quite what I had expected . . . a gentleman in the old public school sense of the word, well dressed in a grey pin stripe, well spoken. I had not expected a Jimmy Hoffa, but perhaps a Donald Crisp, because of How Green Was My Valley.

Of course, he's read How Green Was My Valley, several times. And then, pow . . you hit a raw nerve. And in a pleasant restaurant in the Sheraton Motor Inn, the man who rose from the ranks of Cape Breton miners to the presidency of the 1,700,000-member CLC talked of ugly memories. While we sipped on consomme au sherry and the snow fluttered by the window.

"We were all blighted," he said, "those of us who went through the depression years. I think I can recognize some of the things that make me what I am.

"The living conditions of my boyhood were much more vicious even than the working conditions. You understand, it wasn't the number of hours, but the conditions.

"I went into the coal mines because in 1927, when I was 18, the 8-hour day was an exception to the rule—people forget that—but anyway, the miners had it, the 8-hour day. And that made it better than other kinds of work.

"For 14 years. I was smothered in coal dust. At that point, I was a surface worker. In some places underground it would be worse. The system used to be that a father would take his 14-year-old into the pit to start. Of course today you have to be 18.

"The bitterness and hatred that are engendered in human beings when they are subjected to brutalizing conditions —the general public never understood the motivation behind our anti-social behavior." Because, of course, he was explaining. What brought him into the labor movement.

Bitterness and hatred. Do I sound bitter? I have been told I sound bitter. I hope not. But there are feelings there —one is seared by one's experiences."

"The material and economic degradation we knew are worse than anything known today. People say to me, ah, that's all history, why talk about it?"

But "there are things today that can make people bitter. There is nothing so dehumanizing as the assembly line in the auto industry. Spending your life turning a bolt or screw over and over again . . . that can engender policies of desperation

"That is why the break up of the assembly line system in Sweden, in corporations like Volvo, and its replacement by team work should interest us all . . ." He broke off. "But no one is interested in talking with us. I have never known the unions to be in such disfavor."

He lit his pipe and looked at me, sad eyes through rimless glasses. "I cannot think of anyone, outside of yourself, who is interested in writing about labor leaders as human beings." He is close to retirement now, and sees at the end of a long career a labor movement which is still not an integral part of the community but only tolerated.

"I began at 18 in the coal mines, and at 21 was president of my local in the United Mine Workers. Once a great union. I blush now to mention its name.

"My work has been my passion and that makes me one of a dying breed. There must be an attitude somewhere in between the feelings of today's youth about work and our foolishness."

His education came through extension courses of St. Francis Xavier University. He is still a great believer in the power of educating people. "But I mean real education, not what passes for education today." He has never given up his constant reading of history, biography and economics.

"That's very Scottish," he pointed out, proud of his Scottish heritage. "The Scots believe in work, and they believe in education."

After a period in politics in the forties he dropped out because "I was such a poor politician," he admitted. "I found I could only be my real self in the trade union movement." Having chosen, he and his wife, Gertrude, moved to Ottawa.

Since becoming president of the CLC on 1968, he has had little time for leisure activities, "outside of some avid fishing." He and his wife "are very close because there's only the two of us."

Their son, also a Donald, is married, with two children, and lives in Pickering, where he is an international representative for the Chemical Workers Union. However, the MacDonalds still see a lot of young people.

Name-a-like Donald S. Macdonald, the Cabinet minister, lives not far away and phone calls and mail are constantly getting crossed.

"Although you might add that he lives in the exclusive Rockcliffe area and I do not," Mr. MacDonald said. Memory dies hard, as does the sense of barricade between those who have always had and those who had not.

APPENDIX V-B(iii) THE GLOBE & MAIL, MAY 2, 1968 16

Tough ex-laborer top CLC presidential candidate

By WILFRED LIST

The man with the inside track for the presidency of the 1.5-million-member Canadian Labor Congress is a 59-year-old Maritimer whose philosophy was molded in Nova Scotia's bitter labor struggles.

If he moves up to the No. 1 position at next week's CLC convention in Toronto, secretary-treasurer Donald C. MacDonald will be the antithesis of his predecessor, the ailing Claude Jodoin. Where Mr. Jodoin was the diplomat, the master of compromise and a man who avoided confrontation where possible, Mr. MacDonald is none of these things. He is outspoken, sometimes acid-tongued, and liable to meet issues head-on in defense of his views.

He is an establishment man with a difference. And the difference is that while the power structure is not vested in the president exclusively, he will leave no doubt over who is boss.

Donald MacDonald is a hot presidential favorite, but until he was elected secretary-treasurer of the old Canadian Congress of Labor in a stunning upset in 1951, he was more familiar with the underdog role.

He knew the poverty of Cape Breton because he was a part of it. After his father died, his mother ran a boarding house, where most of the roomers were union leaders or members, who frequently were jobless either through strikes or lack of work.

In this atmosphere, Mr. MacDonald acquired his strong identification with the working man and his early contacts with trade unionism.

At 17, he went to work for Dominion Coal Co. Ltd. and immediately was involved in Local 4560, District 26, United Mine Workers of America. He led a reform movement that eventually took power in the local with Mr. MacDonald as president.

It was a strenuous life, emptying coal cars with shovel and muscle. Sometimes, when the coal was heavy with water, it was hard to dislodge. When this happened the men's earnings suffered because they were paid by the ton.

He remembers the day when he grossed 26 cents for 25 hours' work, and was left with 1 cent in his pay envelope after the company deducted 25 cents for union dues. He still has the penny as a reminder of his early struggles.

That incident led to his fight for a guaranteed weekly minimum. When his members staged a wildcat strike, the company fired Mr. MacDonald for refusing to order the men back. The district officers of the union were happy to be rid of Mr. MacDonald, who was unpopular with them because of his outspoken independence. They prevailed on UMW president John L. Lewis to lift the local's charter. The strikers were hired back individually, but Mr. MacDonald was blacklisted.

He worked briefly for the Sydney Co-operative Society, but went into politics as a CCF candidate in the 1941 provincial election. He won a seat but was defeated after one term.

He became a staff member of the Canadian Congress of Labor and was appointed secretary-treasurer after Pat Conroy resigned in a dramatic confrontation with power brokers in the congress. Mr. MacDonald faced the same forces when he stood for election in 1951 as the underdog against William Mahoney, then assistant director of the United Steelworkers of America.

Mr. Mahoney had the leaders of most major unions backing him, but Mr. MacDonald, who had donned the mantle of David to battle the Goliaths of trade unionism, had the majority of rank and file delegates. It was one of the greatest election upsets in the history of the congress.

It was his stubbornness—a trait he still displays—in refusing to bow to the big unions' choice that carried him to victory by 455 to 410.

Mr. MacDonald and Mr. Mahoney have long since repaired their differences. But until recently, Mr. Mahoney, now national director of the United Steelworkers, had been proposed by many as a candidate for the CLC presidency, and there was strong pressure on him to run.

Since Mr. MacDonald is part of the establishment, there is little doubt he would have deferred to Mr. Mahoney this time if the executive council of the congress had decided that the steel union leader should be the administration candidate.

Mr. MacDonald is a tall, spare man with an upright bearing and rapid stride. He is seldom separated from his pipe and looks professorial behind his horn-rimmed glasses.

He lacks the charismatic qualities of some union leaders, but he is a fluent speaker and can move an audience with his sense of outrage.

His critics feel he may lack the drive and flexibility to take the congress in new directions, but stubbornness, and even rigidity, can also be an asset, as it was the time he stood firm against AFL-CIO president George Meany.

Mr. Meany wanted to strip the congress of one of its seats on the governing body of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. Mr. MacDonald stood up to him at a meeting of the ICFTU and in biting tones refused to back down in face of Mr. Meany's power play.

Although most of the unions in the congress are international organizations, the congress has made it clear it would brook no interference from the AFL-CIO in its affairs and has successfully maintained its autonomy.

Mr. MacDonald recognizes that the CLC can move only as rapidly as its affiliates permit.

"You can persuade, but you can't impose decisions on them," he says, recognizing that some measure of diplomacy is desirable.

He feels tremendous progress has been made over the past 25 years and notes that affiliates subscribe to an internal disputes settlement plan that has minimized conflict between unions. But sometimes the big unions have succeeded in violating the rules governing jurisdiction with seeming impunity.

The affiliates collectively may be supreme, but Mr. MacDonald's view is that the congress has a wider responsibility to the labor movement as a whole. This obligation motivated the congress to tangle with the Seafarers International Union of Canada during the violent battle on the Lakes, Mr. MacDonald says.

Although he is prepared to defend the autonomy of the congress with all its resources, he is also a champion of international trade unionism.

The report of a special commission established to study the structure of the labor movement offered a lengthy justification of international unions, but failed to recommend that Canadian officers be elected by the Canadian membership.

Mr. MacDonald justifies this by stating that while Canadian autonomy is desirable, what might be appropriate in one situation might not be in another.

"The assumption is that all Canadian members want to select their top officers, but this is not so."

He sees merit in the consolidation of unions, but concedes there are no quick solutions for the present divisions. And large unions are not always better than smaller ones.

"By the nature of their industry, some smaller unions are capable of doing an excellent job for their members."

While union leaders are preaching the doctrine that the future belongs to the large unions, Mr. MacDonald offers the unorthodox view that over-large unions can become unwieldy and lose touch with the members.

Mr. MacDonald made his greatest impact since becoming acting president, after the illness of Mr. Jodoin, with a spirited attack against Bill C-186 during a meeting of labor officials with Prime Minister Lester Pearson and members of his Cabinet. The bill was designed to change the procedures and structure of the Canada Labor Relations Board to appease the Confederation of National Trade Unions, the rival Quebec-based trade union organization. Where Mr. Jodoin would probably have used softer language in making his point, Mr. MacDonald used the sledgehammer technique.

The relationship between the Government and the congress has varied with the men who have occupied the offices of power. It dipped to near-bottom in John Diefenbaker's regime, although the congress and former Conservative Labor Minister Michael Starr had a reasonably harmonious relationship. Things improved when Allan MacEachen took the Pearson labor portfolio and Mr. MacDonald and Mr. MacEachen had an especially cordial relationship. But the atmosphere chilled appreciably during the term of former Labor Minister John R. Nicholson.

Mr. MacDonald's view of the optimum relationship is one in which the Government recognizes the role of labor in society and gives consideration to its views on a continuing basis. He thinks the AFL-CIO has a far better relationship with the U.S. Administration than the CLC has with Ottawa.

Would the congress be on a better footing in dealing with the Government if the labor body was not identified with the New Democratic Party?

This point has been raised in the past but Mr. MacDonald says it has no validity because the relationship was the same when there was no connection between the labor movement and the CCF, predecessor of the NDP.

Mr. MacDonald lacks one of Mr. Jodoin's great assets: his bilingualism. Although his mother was Acadian French, Mr. MacDonald long ago lost any fluency in French, and this will be one of his handicaps in presiding over an organization with a large French-speaking membership. In Quebec alone, affiliated unions represent 350,000 members. His unilingualism is a sensitive point with Mr. MacDonald, but it is not expected that the delegates from Quebec will raise this as an issue in the election.

Believing the union movement must become involved in the community, Mr. MacDonald is active in the St. Francis Xavier University extension program and in the promotion of co-operatives. He is chairman of the national labor co-operative committee.

Although he has little time for recreation, he likes to read; his tastes are cosmopolitan and include biography and history. He is an avid fisherman, but seldom gets a chance these days to drop a line from the boat he owns.

THE GLOBE & MAIL, MAY 2, 1968.

DONALD MACDONALD

By Rev. G.E. Topshee
Associate Director
St. F.X. Extension Department

Testimonial Dinner
Holy Redeemer Parish Centre
August 24, 1968

The man we are honoring this evening, Donald MacDonald, is an outstanding son of Nova Scotia. This in itself is a great distinction. But he is also a person who is outstanding nationally, and we can refer to him as an outstanding son of Canada. This dinner is a great occasion for all who are present. His many friends here in Cape Breton are proud of the fact that Donald MacDonald has worked his way to the top. He holds the highest position of the Labour Movement in Canada. He is President of the Canadian Labour Congress with 1,500,000 members.

Most of those present are aware of the singular contributions our honored guest has made to various movements for the common good, locally, nationally and internationally. I will simply make passing reference to these this evening and concentrate my remarks on the man himself.

It gives me special pleasure to pay tribute to Donald MacDonald because in a great measure he represents the qualities and the attitudes which the Adult Education Program and Leadership Training Courses of the St. F.X. Extension Department try to develop in people.

Donald has been a committed trade unionist since he was a teenager, but he has never been one to concern himself exclusively with the technical side of Unionism. Although he fully understood the importance of his work at the negotiation table and the importance of obtaining good contracts for the people he represented, his unionism had wider dimensions than that. He recognized the role of the union member in society and the importance of involvement in all aspects of society if improvements gained at the bargaining table are to be secured, expanded and made to serve society as a whole.

As you know, when Donald became a fighting champion of Labour he received, as a result, a personal setback in the field of employment. He was black-listed by DOSCO. While engaged in this struggle, he interested himself in and actively promoted the initial growth of the Co-operative Movement in our area, assisting in the organization and serving in official capacities of both the Whitney Credit Union and the Sydney Co-operative Society. His keen realization and appreciation of the role the Movement could play, in collaboration with Labour, in promoting the material and social welfare of masses of the people, prompted this interest on his part. He thus became a personal and respected friend of Dr. Coady, Dr. Dan MacCormack, Father Mike MacKinnon and other pioneers of the Movement in this area.

When the advantages of Co-operative Housing were demonstrated at Tompkinsville, Reserve Mines, he spark-plugged the organization of the second Co-operative Housing Group of its type in Canada, on Matilda Street, Whitney Pier.

You also know that he entered politics and that, while in the House of Assembly at Halifax, he strongly championed measures aimed to better labour conditions and to rectify other inequalities in our social structure.

He graduated from Sydney Academy a few years before the great economic depression. His activities during the depression read like a catalogue of the social and economic developments being set afoot to mitigate and hopefully to end the depression.

It is said that some persons are born to greatness. This seems to mean that some persons are born with a silver spoon in their mouths. They are born into wealthy families who can exercise power and position to further whatever aspirations and talents their progeny may possess.

Some persons have greatness thrust upon them because, though they may be born under humble circumstances, they display such initiative, drive, perseverance, that they eventually win the right to be termed great.

I do not think that our guest of the evening belongs to the first group. He was not born with a silver spoon in his mouth. Neither do I think that he belongs strictly to the second group. There are other categories of people who are offshoots of both groups. Some people from the first group acquire sympathetic attitudes towards their fellow men and are commonly termed philanthropists. Offshoots from the second group are those who, in addition to acquiring greatness through their personal initiative, drive, perseverance, also build up a love of people and deep concern for people. They direct all their energy and drive in promoting the common good. They concern themselves with the problems of their poorer brothers. Their charity and love of neighbour are clearly manifest in the manner in which they treat their fellow beings. This is the special category in which I would like to place Donald MacDonald.

Working with people and for people sometimes lead to disillusionment. Misunderstandings are easily created and more easily continued. Man easily misinterprets motives of others and causes many unnecessary conflicts. In spite of the great challenges that the leader dares to overcome and the occasional triumphs that are his, the ordinary leader of men becomes burnt out long before his time. On the other hand, the extraordinary leader, motivated by his love of people, continues to fight for and to inspire his fellows as long as he is able to breathe.

A good illustration of this concerns the passing of the late Dr. M.M. Coady. Coady was an idea man. He was a master in communications, always looking for new examples and illustrations to explain ideas to people. Dr. Coady was constantly searching his mind for ideas that would help to further the great programs of adult education and economic co-operation to which he had devoted his life. As he lay dying, enclosed in an oxygen tent, his hand suddenly reached out and opened a flap of the tent, and he said to one of those who were standing so sorrowfully by his bed:

"Quick, get a pencil and paper! I have just thought of an idea that should be written down."

According to our faith, loving man is akin to loving God, and I am sure our Creator smiled with pleasure as He noted that the last concern of Dr. Coady on this earth was the promulgation of an idea that would serve to promote the welfare of his fellow human beings.

Last January I accompanied hundreds of labour men as we marched up Parliament Hill to the Railroad Room where we watched in admiration as Donald MacDonald presented the annual Brief of the Canadian Labour Congress to Prime Minister Pearson and his Cabinet. It was a hard-hitting presentation and then, after it was read, Donald MacDonald made an exceptionally able defence of the proposals involved. He stood his ground in protracted debate with Sharp, Winters, Martin and company. He condemned Bill C-186 which, he claimed, would undermine the organized Labour Movement.

Only a person filled with zeal for the welfare of the people could have given this Brief so ably, and then defended it so inspiringly. Only love of his fellow man can keep such a person active while he has breath to give utterance to his ideas, paralleling the records of such men as the late Dr. Coady.

Donald has another attribute that stands him in good stead: He has unlimited courage. I do not have all the facts, but I am told that on one occasion, when standing on or near a bridge that links West Germany with the satellite countries, he risked his freedom and perhaps his life by snatching one of his colleagues, who unwittingly strayed too near forbidden territory, from the claws of the Russian bear. This took courage of one sort, the bravery that comes naturally from his Highland ancestors who were ever ready - and sometimes over-ready - to fight for what they deemed their rights. There is courage of another sort, the rare courage that enables some gifted persons to rise again when, in life's struggle for recognition, fate has dealt some blow that would have permanently disabled most persons - the courage to rise in a crowded hall and bespeak in ringing tones the ideals in which one believes, regardless of any vocal opposition which may be evident. It isn't easy for the ordinary person to do this - it takes moral courage of an extraordinary sort.

Nine years ago St. Francis Xavier University honored Donald MacDonald and did honor to itself when it conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. At that time, Monsignor M.J. MacKinnon, who knew whereof he spoke, cited him for "dedicated leadership and a sense of responsibility which had led him into so many avenues of service and leadership to his fellow man as a unionist, legislator, and active worker in fields like consumer co-operatives, credit unions, co-operative home building and adult education". Speaking further, Father Mike said: "In a day when unionism, especially on the national and international levels, is being weakened by attack from without and dishonest leadership from within, Donald MacDonald and the union he represents stands out without stain or blemish."

Nothing that has happened in the intervening years has given cause to amend or dilute the judgment which Father Mike MacKinnon made in May of 1959. In fact, Donald MacDonald's work in the intervening period and his election to President of the CLC, if anything, underlines and emphasizes the accuracy of that assessment of Donald MacDonald as a committed man, a unionist of depth and sensitivity, whose leadership and interests know no narrow bounds but extend to every activity in which the working man can reach his fullest potential and enjoy the greatest degree of security of mind and body and useful service that this world can afford.

In his high and honored position as President of the Canadian Labour Congress, Donald MacDonald will meet persons of influence in all brackets of our society, but I am sure he will always maintain the humility that goes with greatness, and that he will never forget the people who look to him for guidance and leadership. We wish him continued success in all his future endeavors.

BIOGRAPHY -- WILLIAM MAHONEY

Bill Mahoney was born March 31, 1917 in Cardiff, Wales. A year later he came to Canada with his parents and settled in Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario.

Forced out of school by the Depression, he went to work in a bush camp. At 17 he was hired by Algoma Steel, first as a time checker, later as electrician's helper. In 1937 he joined the Algoma Steelworkers' Union, then an affiliate of the All-Canadian Congress of Labour. Laid off from Algoma in 1938 he worked as an electrician with Chromium Mining and Smelting until his recall in 1939 to Algoma's electrical department.

Shortly after the Algoma Steelworkers joined the Steelworkers Organizing Committee, Mahoney became the Local's Recording Secretary. By August 1941 he was a full-time staff representative, while continuing until 1947 to hold elected office in the Local Union.

His prominence in national activities of the union dates from 1941 when a central committee was established to launch a drive for a 55-cent minimum hourly rate in the Basic Steel industry. Chairman of the committee was C.H. Millard. Its secretary was Bill Mahoney.

Loaned to the Canadian Congress of Labour in 1947 as director of organization for the five Western provinces, he returned to the Steelworkers in 1949 as assistant to the National Director.

In 1956, with the appointment of Charlie Millard as organizing director of the ICFTU, Mahoney became Acting National Director of the union. In four referendum elections he has been confirmed as Steelworkers' National Director, each time without opposition.

A member of the CCL Executive Council for several years, Mahoney was elected to the Congress Executive in 1951, and in 1956 replaced Charlie Millard as Ontario Regional Vice-president of the newly-formed Canadian Labour Congress. He is presently the senior General Vice-president of the Congress, a position to which he was elected by the 1958 and subsequent conventions.

Maheney has served on the Board of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions since 1956, originally as a substitute for CLC President Claude Jodoin and, from 1967, as a full member. In 1972 the ICFTU Congress in London elected him a Vice-President of the international body.

International activities in addition to those of the ICFTU have included attendance at conferences of the International Metalworkers Federation, the ILO Iron and Steel Committee, and ORIT - the ICFTU regional organization covering Canada. In 1971 Mahoney chaired the first World Nickel Conference at Lausanne,Switzerland, sponsored by the IMF and attended by a large delegation of Canadian nickel industry workers.

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In Canadian public affairs Mahoney is a well-known spokesman for labour through television, radio and press. Appointed in 1963 to the Economic Council of Canada he has taken part in discussions leading to the Council's publication of nine annual reports and a number of special reports. In a related field he has served for several years as a member of the Executive of the Private Planning Association. In 1961 he was named to the Board of Governors of York University, Toronto.

He was a founding member of the board of the Sault Ste. Marie and District Group Health Association - a pioneer in the field of consumer-sponsored health centres based on the active support of local steelworkers.

As Steelworkers' National Director, Bill Mahoney heads a team of some 20 staff specialists supplying support services to union staff and locals across Canada in such areas as education, legal and legislative matters, industrial engineering, research, white collar workers, occupational safety and health and public relations. The Canadian office was recently moved to a new location at 55 Eglinton Avenue East, Toronto.

Bill Mahoney married Bernice Currie in 1936. Of their family of ten children - six boys and four girls - eight are still living.

October, 1972.

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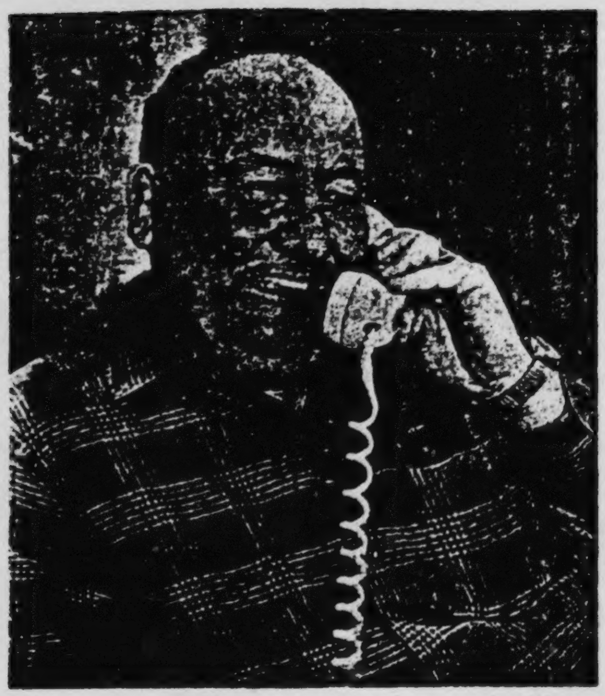

This is
Bill Mahoney!

Like the United Steelworkers' Union, Bill Mahoney came up the hard way. He was raised in a steel town, in a union family and went to work in the industry at 17 years of age.

Bill grew up fighting the company to establish decent wages and working conditions. *He won early recognition from his fellow workers as an able and tough spokesman* serving both as steward and recording secretary of his local 2251 at Algoma Steel in Sault Ste. Marie.

Mahoney has fought the most powerful corporations and the most hostile governments, meeting them head on and winning their grudging respect while gaining important victories for Canadian steelworkers. He has done all the tough jobs that can be thrown at a union leader – organizing and representing working people in every part of Canada, from B.C. to Cape Breton; from northern Labrador to Southern Ontario. He has been instrumental in the fight that brought base rates in the steel industry from 30¢ an hour in the year he started to work, up to $3.71 in 1972.

During his sixteen years as the National Director of Canada's largest and most effective union, Mahoney has given leadership in history making struggles for the democratic rights of Canadian workers. When Noranda's goons and Duplessis police tried to break our union in Murdochville he was there to support the workers against them. He was there too in Sydney leading the union's successful fight to save Steelworkers' jobs when a multi-national corporation pulled the main prop from under the economy of Cape Breton.

No one who saw it will forget the T.V. interview last winter in which Bill Mahoney spoke out for Canadian workers against harmful U.S. trade restrictions. Mahoney has publicly tackled the better known Canadian union haters and voiced the feelings of all Canadian trade unionists. Mahoney speaks for you with the gut reactions of an honest union member.

What of the FUTURE?

Bill Mahoney believes that it is the job of the National Director to try to carry out policies democratically adopted at National Policy Conferences. These are some questions Bill feels should be worked out in 1973: –

Canadian unity

Bill believes that all language or regional barriers must be overcome *by still greater contact between all our members across Canada* on matters of common concern. He has worked, and will continue to work with the Directors of both Districts to organize special industry and corporate conferences. These have brought together and united the members working for the same company or industry.

Our Union's rapid growth has created new problems of communication. Mahoney believes in complete co-operation and co-ordination of the National Office team with District Directors and staff to strengthen our communications. Both District Directors have made improvements through annual regional conferences. Some members and staff feel that further solutions might include the creation of additional districts and an overhaul of the timing and structure of the National Policy Conference.

Bill Mahoney wants these ideas discussed and decided democratically at the next Policy Conference. *He asks for direction from you, the members, about how to build a better union.*

More help for small locals

Despite the hard work of members and staff, there are many small locals that don't match the major bargaining gains made with the big corporations. Bill Mahoney believes we need to develop methods to close or narrow the gap and develop maximum bargaining strength.

The Canada-Wide Industrial Pension Plan (CWIPP) for small groups is one approach to this problem. It was developed by a Canadian Labour Congress committee led by members of Bill Mahoney's staff from the Steelworker's National Office.

Another alternative is simultaneous multi-employer bargaining in small industry groups or on a city-wide or area-wide basis, like the pattern developed in Vancouver.

Bill Mahoney believes one of our union's biggest jobs is to organize the working poor. Says Mahoney: "We need to continue the political fight for decent minimum wage laws. Collective bargaining through democratic unionism is the only sure way to kill poverty."

Mine safety

Your union represents almost 100 per cent of Canada's metal mining employees. The underground operations of Noranda's Brunswick mine were recently closed, forcing a government investigation and special measures to control an underground fire. Safety expert Ken Valentine from Mahoney's National Office team was on hand to advise the New Brunswick miners. Bill Mahoney believes in action – not talk – when our members' lives are in danger.

BIOGRAPHY - Lynn Williams

Director of District 6, United Steelworkers of America

Almost all his life, Lynn Williams has been close to the important currents in Canadian labour. He joined the Steelworkers in 1947 when he took a job in the John Inglis plant in Toronto. He's still a member of the Inglis union, Steelworkers' Local 2900.

That local's members elected Lynn a delegate to the first summer school on labour courses organized by the old Canadian Congress of Labour (which later became the C.L.C.).

Later, he was offered a job with the C.C.L. on the T. Eaton Co. organizing campaign in Toronto. Other retail campaigns took him through Ontario and Saskatchewan.

Lynn was offered a number of jobs while he worked as a representative for the C.C.L. In 1956 he joined the Steelworkers.

For the Steelworkers, he went to British Columbia, Sudbury and Toronto, taking time out briefly in 1956 to run in the provincial election for the C.C.F. in York West. (He finished second to a Tory who later became a cabinet minister.)

Lynn went to the Niagara Peninsula in 1957 and soon was named area supervisor. When he left eight years later, the number of plants and offices organized had increased 100 per cent, and the union's membership in the area had doubled, too.

Lynn established the Peninsula Steelworker newspaper for the area and re-organized the Steelworkers' Area Council, which sponsored a Sunday morning news programme on a Welland radio station (he often

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wrote the labour news himself). After the merger of the C.C.L. and the old Trades and Labour Congress, new municipal labour councils were organized in the Peninsula towns, with Williams taking the lead in getting them started.

In 1964 Lynn experienced what he remembers as "a wonderful break." He was picked by the C.L.C. for a three-month in-depth course on labour issues at the International Institute for Labour Studies in Geneva, Switzerland. It was held under the auspices of the International Labour Organization and included unions from western, communist and third-world countries.

The next year, District 6 Director Larry Sefton asked Lynn to move to the district office in Toronto -- where he was a troubleshooter moving across the district from the Pacific Coast to the Ontario-Quebec border.

He helped direct the 1965 organizing campaign in Sudbury at International Nickel, when the former International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers tried, and failed, to win back the Inco workers. Since 1966, Lynn has headed up the Sudbury-Port Colborne bargaining teams at Inco.

Bargaining with the giant nickel and copper producer has produced several benchmarks for the North American mining industry: negotiated pension increases for retired employees; full pensions for 30 years' service at age 60; minimum $360-a-month pensions for 30 years' work as early as age 55; fully-employer-paid welfare, and joint union-management safety committees that the company had long opposed.

At the district office, he was also responsible for staff training. He's been co-ordinator of the District 6 regional conferences (face-to-face, wide-open and far-ranging discussions for locals and staff). He also co-ordinated the World Nickel Conference in 1971, Larry Sefton's idea to bring together mining and metal unions from around the globe. The first world conference was in Geneva.

In 1973, when Larry Sefton announced his decision to leave the district director's job, Lynn was nominated by almost 300 of the district's locals for the election to pick Sefton's successor. Lynn won the election by a 2-1 margin.

In the campaign, Williams described the director's job as "administrative, creative and educational." He summed up the job as "a real gut concern about people and what they can do together for themselves."

"No other organization or institution carries out such fundamental responsibilities with the democracy we practice," he said.

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He called union organization "the best chance mankind has for peaceful change and improvement."

He promised to do all he could to see that democratic unionism is "nurtured, protected and extended to build an industrial and social democracy that meets the needs of the time."

Outside the union, Lynn spends his time with his family (his wife, Audrey, and he have four children, ages 5 to 21) and diverse other interests.

When people in the Peninsula needed a university, Lynn was asked to join the founders' committee for the new Brock University and was on the institution's first board. He's been a vice-president of the Ontario New Democratic Party.

He was on the board of the C.M. Hincks Centre, a Toronto treatment facility for emotionally-disturbed children. In 1972 he was appointed to the governing council of the University of Toronto, the only representative of labour on the board.

Williams sees as major influences in his life his long close association with the labour movement, his early interest in community and youth work, and his family, especially his childhood during the 1930's. "The difficulties of the depression years for so many of our friends made a deep impression on me," Williams recalls. His father is a minister.

Lynn was born July 21, 1924, in Springfield, Ontario. His family moved to Aylmer, Ontario, until Lynn was six, then moved again to Sarnia, then Hamilton.

He attended public schools in Aylmer and Sarnia and Sarnia Collegiate Institute and Technical School. He graduated from Westdale Secondary School in Hamilton.

Lynn worked his way through Hamilton's McMaster University, earning a bachelor of arts degree while employed part-time in community work for the Hamilton Y.M.C.A.

In 1940 Lynn joined the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation. He's been a C.C.F. and the New Democratic Party member ever since.

After earning his degree at McMaster in 1944, he served in the Navy and returned to Hamilton, married and looked for more education.

He enrolled for post-graduate work at the University of Toronto in economics and industrial relations. He had become convinced,

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he says today, that "trade unionism is a much more useful way to work at social needs and objectives than any other."

It was then he decided he wanted to work in the union movement, as he puts it, "out where the action is."

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DEATH OF CLAUDE JODOIN

Joe Morris, president of the Canadian Labour Congress, today announced that Claude Jodoin, founding president of the CLC, died quietly in his sleep early this morning (Saturday, March 1, 1976), at St. Vincent's Hospital, Ottawa. He was 61. He is survived by his wife, Lily.

"The labour movement and the working people of Canada and the world owe a tremendous debt to Claude Jodoin," Mr. Morris said. "We are sure that the entire country joins the trade union movement and his wife Lily in mourning this tragic loss.

Claude Jodoin literally gave his life for the working people of Canada. As a prominent leader in the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada, and its final president, and as the first president of the CLC, elected at the founding convention in 1956, he was generous in responding to the needs of workers.

We remember him on the picket-line, at Gaspe Copper and elsewhere, at trade union conferences, national and international. His working life was cut tragically short, with a paralyzing stroke in May, 1967, and he remained hospitalized for the rest of his life."

Claude Jodoin was born in Westmount, Quebec, on May 25, 1913.

Forced to leave school at an early age because of the depression of the 1930s, he became an organizer for the International Ladies' Garment Workers, in 1937, and manager of the Montreal Joint Board of the ILGWU in 1947.

During the Second World War, he was a captain in the Mount Royal Fusiliers, Second Battalion, Reserve.

He was president of the Montreal Trades and Labor Council from 1947 to 1954. That year he was elected national president of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada. He had previously served as a TLC vice-president and chairman of its Union Label Committee of the Congress for several years.

For many years, he was a member of the Executive Board of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions; and from 1951 to 1960, of the Governing Body of the International Labour Organization.

He was unanimously elected president of the Canadian Labour Congress at its founding convention, held in Toronto in 1956; and re-elected at the next five biennial conventions, 1958-1966.

In 1967 he received the award of the Order of Canada; and a Centennial Medal.

In 1972, he was named to the Labour Hall of Honour, founded that year by the CLC.

On May 16, 1967, a few days before he became ill, Claude Jodoin received an honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from the University of New Brunswick, Fredericton.

The citation said, in part:

> "His boyhood ambition was to be a surgeon. But the crash of '29 and the Depression forced him to trade the scalpel for the pick and shovel....In the sweat shops of Montreal, he saw the need for surgery of a social kind, when cutters were driven to sleeping on their tables and a pair of workers might share a weekly wage of $7.50."

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JODOIN SPURNS $10,000 SENATE SEAT WHEN PM OFFERS VOICE FOR LABOR

By JOHN LEBLANC

OTTAWA, MAY 2 (CP) - Prime Minister St. Laurent has been trying to get President Claude Jodoin of the Canadian Labor Congress to become a senator.

Jodoin has turned down repeated overtures from the prime minister, according to government officials. These started more than a year ago.

The 44-year-old labor leader, first chief of the 1,000,000-member congress formed last year, could have become the youngest member ever summoned to the Upper House.

MONTREAL, MAY 2 (STAFF). - Canadian Labor Congress president Jodoin confirmed today he had talked with Mr. St. Laurent and was offered a Senate vacancy which he declined. "The CLC is opposed to non-elected legislative bodies", he said, "and it would be quite impossible for me to hold a seat. I say this with all due respect for the senators".....

With this refusal, he picks up the distinction of being one of the rare persons to decline the $10,000-a-year lifetime jobs sought by many major politicians and other public figures. Few persons have rejected a Senate appointment.

A former Quebec Liberal who split with that party, Jodoin was understood to have been proffered a Senate seat with the prime minister specifying he would sit as an independent and that any public announcement of the appointment would make this clear.

This has rarely been done before. Senators usually take seats as Liberals or Conservatives. In Jodoin's case, it was understood, he was told he could operate strictly as a spokesman for the labour movement.

Jodoin, who has come up with a rush to the top spot in Canadian unionism, was offered the senatorship first while he was president of the Trades and Labor Congress of Canada, and the offer was renewed after he became first head of the CLC formed out of a merger of the TLC and the Canadian Congress of Labor.

The proposal is part of a reported inclination by the Prime Minister to get away from straight political appointments and to bring in representatives of the Canadian economy apart from politicians.

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At present, the Senate is overwhelmingly Liberal.

Jodoin was brought up in a Liberal background, in a Montreal family that revered Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and he was a Liberal - and the youngest - member of the Quebec Legislature at the age of 29. He has headed Canada's Young Liberals.

He later dropped his Liberal tie and ran for the Legislature as a straight labor man. He lost out, in Montreal's St. James riding.

He is the comparative rarity of a college-educated man making his way to the top ranks of labor.

Starting off as a bush worker, he gave himself a classical education and then became an organizer with the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union in Montreal's needle centre.

He was the right-hand man of ILGWU Canadian chief Bernard Shane when the TLC tapped him for its top job.

When the TLC made him its youngest president last year - after several years as Quebec vice-president - he became the congress' first French-Canadian chief in 45 years.

Globe and Mail, May 3, 1957

MOSHER, JODOIN FIRST SELECTED

The Brotherhood's founding president, A. R. Mosher, has been named as one of the first two members of the Canadian Labour Congress' Hall of Honour. The CLC's first president, Claude Jodoin, was also selected.

The Hall of Honour has been established as a means of commemorating the contributions and deeds of outstanding leaders, members and friends of the Canadian labour movement.

The selections were made after extensive balloting by the 30 members of the CLC executive council.

In addition to his association with the Brotherhood, Brother Mosher was also the founding president of the All-Canadian Congress of Labour and the Canadian Congress of Labour. At the time of his death in 1959, he was honourary president of both the CLC and the Brotherhood.

Brother Jodoin was elected the first president of the CLC in 1956 and held that post until he suffered a serious illness in 1967.

Brother Mosher was born in Cow Bay, N.S. on May 10, 1881.

His first job, at the age of 15, was in a gold mine. By 1907 he was a freight-handler with the Intercolonial Railway at the Halifax Freight Sheds, from which he led a one-week strike for improved wages and working conditions.

The founding convention of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees, was held in Moncton in October, 1908. The delegates unanimously elected Brother Mosher Grand President. He served as national president until 1952, when he was appointed honourary president, at the convention at which he announced his retirement.

President Mosher's leadership extended beyond the immediate concerns of Canadian railway workers. In 1923, the CBRE was the first union in North America to affiliate with the International Transport Workers' Federation. And in 1927, he was elected president of the All-Canadian Congress of Labour, a centre for national and regional unions. When Canadian affiliates of the Congress of Industrial Organizations merged with the ACCL in 1940, the name was changed to the Canadian Congress of Labour. He was president of the CCL from its inception until the merger with the Trades and Labour Congress, in 1956.

During the Second World War, Brother Mosher served on the National Wartime Labour Relations Board, the National Advisory

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Committee on Selective Service and the Minister of Labour's Advisory Committee. In recognition of these services, he was made a member of the Order of the British Empire.

In 1953, he was awarded the honorary Doctor of Laws by St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, N.S.

He died at his summer home, near Ottawa, September 26, 1959.

Upon his death, the present honourary president of the Brotherhood W. J. Smith wrote in Canadian Transport: "A. R. Mosher was the personification of the labour movement...What fantastic gains the workers have made since 1908 when A. R. and his Moncton companions launched an attack against the mighty management fortress which had so little sympathy at that time for labour! He was a seer. He had faith in labour's cause."

Canadian Transport, November 15, 1972.

AARON ROLAND MOSHER

Aaron Roland Mosher, founding president of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railroad Employees, the All-Canadian Congress of Labour and the Canadian Congress of Labour, was born at Cow Bay, N.S. on May 10, 1881.

His first job, at the age of 15, was in a gold mine. By 1907 he was a freight-handler with the Intercolonial Railway at the Halifax Freight Sheds, from which he led a one-week strike for improved wages and working conditions.

The founding convention of the CBRE, now the Canadian Brotherhood of Railroad, Transport and General Workers, was held in Moncton in October, 1908. The delegates unanimously elected A.R. Mosher Grand President.

He served as national president of his union until 1952, when he was appointed honorary president of the CBRT, at the convention at which he announced his retirement.

President Mosher's leadership extended beyond the immediate concerns of Canadian railway workers. In 1923, the CBRE was the first union in North America to affiliate with the International Transport Workers' Federation. And in 1927, he was elected president of the All-Canadian Congress of Labour, a centre for national and regional unions.

When Canadian affiliates of the Congress of Industrial Organizations merged with the ACCL in 1940, the name was changed to Canadian Congress of Labour.

Mosher was president of the CCL from its inception until the merger with the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada, at the founding convention of the Canadian Labour Congress, in 1956.

He was appointed an honorary president of the CLC together with Percy R. Bengough, former TLC president.

During the Second World War, Mr. Mosher served on the National Wartime Labour Relations Board, the National Advisory Committee on Selective Service and the Minister of Labour's Advisory Committee.

In recognition of these services, he was made a member of the Order of the British Empire.

In 1953, he was awarded the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws by St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, N.S.

He died at his summer home, near Ottawa, September 26, 1959.

Heading Canada's biggest union new challenge for amazing Grace

Globe OCT. 23/75

By WILFRED LIST

Grace Hartman may soon have to exchange her gentle tones and soft smile for a table-thumping, raised-voice performance as North America's first woman to hold the top office in a major national union.

"And if that posture becomes necessary, I can do it," she said in an interview after her election yesterday as president of the 210,000-member Canadian Union of Public Employees—Canada's largest union.

It will be an extraordinary transformation for this apparently gentle grandmother who began her union career as a clerk in North York township and moved yesterday from the No. 2 position in CUPE—as the national secretary-treasurer to the presidency.

The way to the highest office in CUPE was opened with the retirement at the Union's convention of president Stanley Little.

Although about 42 per cent of CUPE's members are woman, Mrs. Hartman does not look on her role as reflecting woman power in the union movement.

"There's not much use electing a woman if she is not able to do the job, and I wouldn't want it on those terms."

Her post of secretary-treasurer, which she held for eight years, was an administrative one. Now, she will be more directly concerned with policy, with relations with her union colleagues on the executive of the Canadian Labor Congress, and intervening in any of the union's critical collective bargaining disputes.

She wants to see locals of her union get contracts without the need for strikes and thinks the trend among locals is to do everything possible to avert strikes.

But Mrs. Hartman comes to the top office at a period of major economic trauma brought on by the federal Government's wage and price ceilings, while at the same time the union faces a heavy bargaining program. Municipal employees in Toronto and Montreal, hospital workers in Ontario and Quebec, Hydro workers in Quebec are just a few of the larger CUPE groups with bargaining ahead.

She thinks that there may be a different response to her intervention in bargaining when needed, than the reaction by management to a union leader who is a man. She found that to be the case when she was president of the North York local. She was regarded as just as hard a bargainer as any male union leader, but the atmosphere seemed calmer.

"I like to resolve differences without all the roaring and shouting that often takes place, but I know that somehow that's what many employees expect."

At 56, Mrs. Hartman has a maximum of nine years to head the union, which includes a diverse group, from garbage collectors to university faculty members, hospital aides, librarians, clerks, and employees of boards of education, among other institutions.

The percentage of women in the union has been steadily increasing and so has their participation at conventions. About 34 per cent of the delegates at the 1975 convention are women, compared to slightly more than 20 per cent at the last convention.

This has led to a change in the tone of the convention, she feels. There is a greater concentration on the business at hand. Many of the women are in the union for the first time: young entrants to the labor force and older women returning to it; and for many this is their first convention.

"Once they become involved they will bring a whole new dimension to union affairs. They will be just as militant and maybe more tenacious, but there will be a greater understanding of the special problems of women and this will be brought home to the male delegates."

Mrs. Hartman has played a key role in the union's emphasis on battling discrimination against women in the work place and fighting for matters of special concern to women such as day care centres.

In 1971 the union adopted a program for improving the position of women in the public service. The program, entitled The Status of Women in CUPE, helped give direction to the campaign to improve the lot of women in the union and in the work force where CUPE has contracts.

There are four women on CUPE's 17-member executive board and more may be in the offing. At one time, there were only Mrs. Hartman and Shirley Carr, now an executive vice-president of the CLC.

"Never in my wildest dreams had I thought I would end up as president," she says.

The qualities of a union leader as she sees them include a basic understanding of the problems of the members. And coming from the rank and file she feels she has acquired those insights.

Unlike her predecessor, Stan Little, Mrs. Hartman is a shy person, not given to mingling or glad-handing at functions. She prefers to talk quietly about the problems of individuals or locals. She will be doing much more travelling and speaking in her new role.

Mrs. Hartman has a phenomenal capacity for work and is often in her office in Ottawa late into the night. Her quiet manner is carried over in her relations with her staff and she tends to reflect seriously on the views of the staff on policy matters.

She is involved in the community with poverty groups, native people's organizations and with such issues as improving housing and medical services.

Mrs. Hartman favors wider area bargaining, but feels local issues should still be dealt with at the local level.

She sees potential for expanding the organizing efforts of the union and places emphasis in bargaining on pensions and health and welfare plans. As the proportion of women increases in CUPE, there will also be more pressure for maternity leave and provision for day care centres under the collective agreements, she says.

Mrs. Hartman has been identified with the union movement since she took a job at North York in 1954. Her husband, a sheet metal worker in Toronto, was an active unionist. The Hartmans maintain their home in Toronto and she commutes most weekends.

Mrs. Hartman feels that relations between CUPE and the CLC have improved since the union created a confrontation with the congress leadership at the CLC's last convention. That began basically over a difference over CUPE's demand for jurisdiction in the provincial civil service field and then spilled over into other areas.

4 THE GLOBE AND MAIL, TUESDAY, OCTOBER 30, 1973

$50 Histadrut dinner honors leader of UAW in Canada

By WILFRED LIST

Dennis McDermott, Canadian director of the United Auto Workers, had rekindled an old love: Israel.

The articulate, frank-speaking leader of the 120,000-member Canadian section of the auto union was an admirer of the Jewish state before it attained nationhood in 1948. Today, he is one of the most zealous champions of Israel within the Canadian trade union movement.

Last night, the Ontario Trade Union Committee for Histadrut, and about 800 guests honored Mr. McDermott at a $50-a-plate dinner to raise funds for the construction of a vocational high school in Hedera, Israel that will be named after the union leader. The dinner brought together representatives of the trade union movement, Government and management executives who deal with the UAW.

Histadrut is Israel's all-pervasive labor federation, which is aligned with the Labor Party in Israel. Histadrut operates factories, co-operative farms and other enterprises.

"The role of Histadrut has to be seen to be believed. It's an absolute model of a trade union movement and the extent of its democratic structure is just amazing," says Mr. McDermott, who visited Israel a month ago as a guest of Histadrut.

It's strong praise from a union leader who is not often given to expressing himself in superlatives.

At 50, Mr. McDermott is at the top rungs of the labor movement in Canada. Although he will be 51 next month, he is regarded by many in the union movement as one of the few union leaders in tune with the younger generation of union members.

He is an activist rather than an intellectual in expression. He pinpoints the biggest single task ahead for the union movement as the discarding of old attitudes and structures and the need to adapt itself to a changing social scene.

Mr. McDermott's strength lies in his forcefulness, his ability to articulate his views, leadership qualities that have blunted the factional opposition within the union, and deep roots in the union that go back to his days as a shop steward at Massey-Ferguson Industries Ltd., then called Massey-Harris.

In a trade union movement with few charismatic figures, Mr. McDermott stands out as one of the colorful labor leaders. In part it is his brashness, his irreverence, his tendency to shoot from the hip in taking after politicians from Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau down.

He has cultivated the youth image with his sharp dress, often tieless but mod shirts, and his stylish hairdo. It makes him stand out in the labor crowd; and he is aware of this and enjoys the limelight.

Mr. McDermott feels he has a rapport with the younger generation in the union.

He said recently: "I find we share many of the same values. These kids thumb their noses at the Ford Motor Co. far more than the older ones ever did because they don't accept the old work habits, they don't have the same work ethic we had."

Nor does he believe in assuming the entire union work load himself. He believes in delegating work and while there are around-the-clock days during crisis periods, he is basically a 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. person.

(Yesterday, he flew to Detroit for an international executive board meeting and flew back in a chartered plane for the dinner with UAW international president Leonard Woodcock, secretary-treasurer Emil Mazey and executive board member John Edwards.)

He is abrasive and impatient at times, but it doesn't seem to bother him that these characteristics raise an edge with some union associates.

Nor is he afraid of a fight either with union colleagues or with management. But he does not believe in confrontation for its own sake.

Mr. McDermott says the trade union movement and his union have been innovative in many fields, but bargaining is still a process steeped in anachronisms.

"We throw everything but the kitchen sink on the bargaining table and then replay all the old scenarios."

Last week, he talked toughly and frankly to the UAW's Ford of Canada negotiating committee to get it to discard the chaff and sort out its priorities for serious bargaining here this week with Ford.

Mr. McDermott has mellowed somewhat since he became Canadian director and later the first Canadian to become an international vice-president of the UAW.

Away from the union, his outside interests are limited. He is somewhat of a loner. He collects corks (he has 20 bagfulls, "enough to build a raft,") he likes paintings "and to run around the art galleries."

Mr. McDermott lives apart from his wife. They have four children.

HENRY WEISBACH

Henry Weisbach was born in what was then Austria-Hungary and later became Czechoslovakia. There he finished public and high school.

At age 14, he went to work in a glass factory for a few weeks and worked in a confectionery store as an apprentice.

Later Henry became an apprentice in an office job. During the apprenticeship, he attended Business School (eight hours a week during working hours). As the boss made apprentices do all kinds of work which had nothing to do with office work, Henry complained to the union about it.

The case went to the Labour Court and the boss was fined (four times in three years). Since according to the legislation he could not fire an apprentice during his apprenticeship, he could not do very much. However, on the day his apprenticeship was over, he was out of a job. Henry was unemployed for three months.

By this time, Henry became active in the socialist youth movement. He found employment first in the Social Democratic newspaper in the neighbouring town. Finally, Henry was hired by the Food and Transport Workers in town and became financial secretary of the local union (5,000 members).

Henry became Party Secretary of the Social Democratic Party in Northern Bohemia. He was also commander of para-military formation (to guard the meetings) and was forced to Prague, then to England and Canada.

At first Henry farmed in British Columbia, then became a shopkeeper and ran a co-op store. He then became a textile worker and steelworker in Toronto.

After becoming a riding organizer for the CCF in the election campaign of 1948, Henry became involved in full-time union work. He has worked for the Canadian Congress of Labour, Canadian Labour Congress and the Ontario Federation of Labour in various capacities.

Henry's father was a factory worker but was killed in the First World War. His stepfather was also a factory worker, Social Democrat and trade unionist. They were Sudeten Germans.

Interested in reading, photography, and trade union matters, Henry is involved in instructing labour courses, arbitration cases, unemployment insurance and generally is interested in the advancement of working people for a better life. His religion is Lutheran.

"My priorities in life have always been to fight for a better standard for the working people," says Henry. "The vehicle I considered best equipped to do so was the trade union movement. I became particularly interested in occupational health and safety, in education and in political education."

During his years in Canada, Henry has served on the councils of the old C.C.F. and assisted in the formation of the New Democratic Party in Ontario.

SHIRLEY CARR: A Profile

by JACK WILLIAMS

Shirley Carr first woman to be elected to a top office in the Canadian Labour Congress, believes the Canadian labour movement is headed toward a much more promising future: and she intends to have a part in getting it there. Mrs. Carr is a woman who expresses herself with a determination that leaves the impression she would be annoying, at least, to anyone who got in her way

When she stepped into the important position of executive vice-president of the Canadian Labour Congress last spring, she had a background in public service unionism at both local and provincial levels. Beyond this, she came of a trade union family. Her father had been a Cape Breton coal miner before moving to Ontario and establishing a butcher business at Niagara Falls. That was before the Great Depression, and during the difficult days of the thirties the business collapsed

The Carr family went through the bitter experience of getting along on welfare for several years: and so it was not surprising that Shirley, the seventh of nine children, later showed an interest in social work. When she left school she filled various positions in the offices of the Township of Stamford before she reached the welfare department. But it did not take long for her to decide: "That was my cup of tea."

As a permanent employee she had her first contact with the union. A short time later, the Township merged with the City of Niagara Falls, and the union, confronted by an antagonistic management, entered a difficult period of adjustment. It was during this time that Mrs. Carr emerged as a leader, eventually becoming president of a new local of the Canadian Union of Public Employees.

Jack Williams, former public relations director for the Canadian Labour Congress, is a freelance writer

Thomas Studio

Of the 450 members, 400 were men. Then she was elected president of CUPE's Ontario Division

This, in addition to being a wife and a mother—the Carrs have one son—might seem enough to keep anyone busy: but she still found time to serve as a vice-president of the Niagara Falls division of the Council of Women, and vice-president of the Niagara Falls YWCA. As if that were not enough, she studied at and graduated from the School of Labour Studies at the Niagara College of Applied Arts and Technology, and took a correspondence course in welfare administration from the Ryerson Polytechnical Institute. She still maintains her Niagara Falls women's organizational connections, though her absence from home prevents active participation.

All this is symbolic of a drive that seems characteristic of Mrs. Carr. A headline in the *Vancouver Sun* when she was a candidate for the CLC office during the convention in that city—"Shirley Reaches for the Top"—is an accurate description of more than a single event

A Politician at Heart

Trim and vivacious, her dress reflects per personality—businesslike without any sacrifice of femininity. She speaks forcefully in private conversation as well as in her public addresses. Some of her critics have suggested that she sometimes is inclined to overstate her case, but obviously the emotions run deep. At heart she is a politician, enjoying the new experience of working at the national level and ready to benefit from that experience.

Her election at Vancouver was taken for granted, and she easily led the race among three candidates for the two executive vice-president positions. Her name was on the slates of both the administration and the "reform" groups.

This marked the first occasion a woman had been elected to a full-time position in the CLC. It was regarded as recognition of the place of women in the labour movement, a nod in the direction of a new status for women.

Mrs. Carr has some definite views about this trend, and about the Women's Liberation Movement:

"First of all, my basic philosophy is that I am a trade unionist; and as a trade unionist I believe in equality for everyone. I think the Women's Liberation Movement has done some good things, and has brought forward some good information. But I also think they are destroying some of the things we had already done, and I tell them this.

"Quite frankly I'm a bit afraid of 1975—International Women's Year. I think the secretariat in Ottawa is turning it into just a polished political campaign. I'm afraid all this publicity in the newspapers and on radio and television is going to turn people off, just as political campaigns do. This money should be used at the grass roots, where the people who need the help are. What is being done is being done by professionals who are unable to get down to the level of working people to talk to them in their own language.

"The Liberation Movement itself has some problems. Some of these gals have real hang-ups; on abortion, for instance. We were making real progress on this issue; but when women shackle themselves to benches and all that, they destroy everything we had done. They just turn people off. Now the issue of abortion is coming forward again, and something will have to be done about it."

She recognizes difficulties in establishing equality for women on the job, and even within the union movement:

"It's starting, but the real problem is on the management side. They are doing all kinds of things to stop equality. The phrase 'equal pay for equal work' leaves something to be desired; it should be 'equal pay for work of equal value.' The unorganized women bother me, and so do women who hire domestics at $1 or $1.50 an hour.

Photo Features

Carr: worried by women's attitude

"But this year the trade union movement is really pressing to eliminate discrimination through clauses in collective agreements. I think this will be an important year for coming to grips with equality as far as collective bargaining is concerned."

Women in Unions

Turning to the participation of women in unions, she is familiar with the problem presented by the heavy home responsibilities that many women face. She points also to a common tendency to regard all women as being established with a husband. There are thousands of single parents, widows, and women who have remained single.

"It isn't that they don't want to come to union meetings," she says. "I know from my own experience that there are often things they have to do in the home. But unions should do more to encourage them. They should be invited to become active, and perhaps take an office. They don't always have to take the big positions if they haven't the time.

"I do think more women are becoming aware that they should take part. Women are often the first to be laid off when there is unemployment. If there isn't a seniority list, they are in difficulty."

As a white-collar worker she is sensitive to labour's performance in that area; and she is frank in admitting that, apart from the public service, it has not been good

"There certainly isn't the progress I would like to see in the banks and insurance offices and that sort of thing. There are reasons for this. Sophistication means a great deal to the young women these companies have as employees. But to say that you work in a bank or a lawyer's office is not enough. These people are being had—by their salaries and by fringe benefits. Not necessarily by working conditions, because they are usually pretty good. But those who are unionized have all these other benefits, and better salaries as well. We have had trouble reaching these people. What we need are organizers who speak their language, and who are acceptable to them; but who also know the union movement."

She has strong views also about labour relations in the public service, where she has spent most of her working life. She told the annual general meeting of the Civil Service Association of Ontario last fall:

"It is clear that the serious question facing the policy-makers in Canada is no longer whether the Queen should negotiate. That dilemma has been resolved in the affirmative. The present concern is to find the appropriate mechanism at each stage of the bargaining process to accommodate the rights that are available to workers in the private sector, with the particular characteristics and restraints in the public service.

"Therefore, governments have an opportunity and a responsibility to take the initiative in encouraging the organization and development of trade unions; and encouraging conditions for true collective bargaining among their own employees, and establishing the ground rules for good collective bargaining in the private sector. What we want is the Government of Ontario to come out and say that Ontario thinks free collective bargaining is good for the workers, and good for Ontario."

Indignant and Annoyed

She is indignant when public employees are treated as second-class citizens, and becomes annoyed with those "who think they owe their souls to their employer, the government." "It's like it was a few years ago when a teacher couldn't go into a beverage room and have a beer," she explains, with a typically working-class analogy. "But now, for the first time, it's changing. Public employees are thinking like trade unionists. They are saying, 'I work eight hours for you, and I get paid for eight hours. The remainder of the day is mine. I don't sell my mind and my soul to you.' There hasn't been as much of this feeling in the private sector. It's more free and easy there. People see the issues and say, 'We need a union.'"

She adds:
"In a free society working people should not be subject to authoritarian control in the work place to a degree that would be considered intolerable in the community at large."

Mrs. Carr has obviously given considerable thought to the philosophy and practice of collective bargaining, and she relates the conclusions to her broader social views:

"Considerably more money, effort and time is being put into machine development than into understanding and developing people. This is not to say that effort can be measured only by time and money; but management that stints on the effort to understand and develop its workforce is neglecting its most valuable asset. A special relationship must exist between management and worker, and if that relationship is right, and production and administration go smoothly, then the financial results ensuing represent an ever-increasing improvement in rewards.

"The reason the present system of collective bargaining is not working across the country is because there is scope for too much intervention by a third party. This restricts a free and natural relationship between worker and company. More freedom will bring greater responsibility. Governments can improve relations by good labour legislation. They can improve relations by their good example. And they can improve relations by activity that would stimulate the development of labour-management co-operation."

As she became increasingly prominent in the labour movement, Mrs. Carr was quickly recognized as one of those pressing for structural and other changes. Her age—45—had not removed her too far from some of the younger elements, and proposals for shifts in emphasis had an important place in her platform as a candidate for the CLC office. She is strongly in favour of mergers to create larger, more efficient and more viable unions. She foresees, for example, the time when there will be one union in the public service field.

This is not going to be easy to accomplish, and Mrs. Carr is having some first-hand experience through her assignment to try to bring together the various associations of public employees at the provincial level. She reports progress and is optimistic.

She has been identified as a strong nationalist, at times critical of international unions; but this is an over-simplified assumption.

She explains:
"I can appreciate that people want to keep certain ties with their international unions. I have no quarrel whatsoever with that; but the Canadian membership must control its

own destiny. They are working toward this and there is great progress. In my opinion, there are going to be big changes in the next five years."

International Unionism

She draws a distinction between "continental unionism" and "international unionism." Last November she was a delegate to the International Labour Organization's regional conference on the Americas (North and South) and was elected vice-chairman of the workers' delegation. Representatives of labour, management and government from 26 countries spent their time in Mexico City examining methods of improving the living and working conditions of peasants, and strengthening tripartism within the organization and the nations.

This is the type of international relationship that impresses her.

"When people talk about international unionism they need to start re-arranging things. True international unionism means unions around the world, not just on this continent. One day we are probably going to have that—all the steelworkers under one umbrella, that sort of thing.

"We may have some sort of continental relationship between the United States and Canada, and then a truly international organization beyond that. That is the only way we are going to be able to reach the unorganized, the farm workers and the migrant workers. And that is the only way we can really approach such problems as the food crisis. We have to start at that level, holding conferences among people from our own organizations.

"The 1974 United Nations Conference on Women showed that up very clearly. Unions did not have an opportunity to contribute to that conference, but it was clear that the problems that have to be ironed out are common to everybody. If unions don't have this kind of international communication we are in some difficulty. Governments are speaking from positions far away from those of labour. They don't know and they are not aware of the real problems, because they are not involved with working people.

"At the conference in Mexico City we dealt with the migrant workers and underprivileged people. It was a tripartite conference—labour, management and government—and politics were played. But after all the fun and games it was the union representatives who put the cards on the table and did the work, because they know the problems.

"The government people are all officials who haven't had any other work experience in their lives; and the management people never carried a lunch bucket. It's the rank-and-file union people who know the facts of life."

So Mrs. Carr's opinions cover a wide spectrum, and they include a lively interest in politics. She tested the political waters as an NDP candidate in Niagara Falls in 1971. She was not successful, but she enjoyed the experience.

"It was fabulous," she recalls. "That was at the time when I was active in Ontario with CUPE, and I don't know which was the more exciting, being president of the Ontario 70,000 membership, or being a political candidate."

Worried by Women's Attitude

But she thinks politics can be more frustrating than working in the labour movement, particularly as a member of a third party; and she is also worried by the attitude of women.

"I find the reaction of women in politics almost the same as in the trade union movement. All too often women are against women, and you find that in unions too. It's not always the men in society or in the trade union movement that stop women from getting ahead. Women have to learn to like each other, and they don't. I think the green eye of jealousy comes out, and they react a lot differently to men. You can tell if a man isn't going to vote for you, but it's hard to tell about women. There is just no way you are going to be able to prove to some women that you can do the job. That's the same in politics and unions."

But this has by no means discouraged her: she has not lost her interest in politics.

Would she run again?

"Oh, I think so. I've been approached several times, and I think I could probably win in Niagara Falls; but right now I just have too much to do in the trade union movement."

And the outlook for that movement?

"It's bright. Some people are talking about the union movement being on the way out. I don't see it, in no way whatsoever. We are going to be bigger and stronger and more viable; and we are going to be able to do a better job for the people."

And there is no doubt that Shirley Carr intends to personally see that this happens.

APPENDIX V - B (xi)

BIOGRAPHY OF THE MONTH

CHARLES H. MILLARD was born in St. Thomas, Ontario, on August 12, 1896, but most of his boyhood was spent in Gravenhurst, for his father was tubercular and required treatment at the "San" there. In this experience began his advocacy of health and welfare services and his particular concern for the plight of miners with their high incidence of tuberculosis and silicosis.

He chose the trade of carpenter but had hardly finished his apprenticeship when World War I broke out. He joined the Canadian Expeditionary Force and served for four years in France, being discharged in 1919 with the rank of Company Sergeant Major.

Settling in Oshawa, he married Jessie Mogridge of Galt and began to raise a family of five children, four sons and a daughter.

Raised in a Methodist home Mr. Millard's convictions as a labor leader and politician have a strong base in the Christian social gospel. During his years in Oshawa he led a large Bible class of young men. All his life he has tried hard to build a bridge of communication and understanding between organized religion and organized labor through such agencies as the Religion-Labour Council. For several years he was a member of the United Church's Board of Evangelism and Social Service and latterly has been a member of that Board's International Affairs Committee.

Mr. Millard's career in the labor movement began in the middle thirties when, as a carpenter in the General Motors Oshawa plant, he helped establish the first local union of the United Automobile Workers there. He was elected president of the local and led the now historic strike of 1937 when Premier Mitchell Hepburn failed to "keep the CIO out of Ontario." Shortly afterward he became head of the United Automobile Workers in Canada, then Representative of the CIO.

In 1940 he was appointed a director of the Canadian section of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee which, although in its infancy, had come under Communist influence. His housecleaning was done with a thoroughness which made him a favourite target for Communist attack from that time on. In 1940, he helped to found the Canadian Congress of Labour which brought into one central organization a number of national unions and the newer CIO groups. He was an executive officer of the CCL until 1956, when it merged with the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada to form the Canadian Labour Congress. He had been a member of the Unity Committee which arranged the merger and at the merger convention was elected a vice-president of the CLC.

Meanwhile the Steelworkers Organizing Committee had become a constitutional union, the United Steelworkers of America, in 1942. In its first elections he was chosen National Director of Canada and was re-elected in all the periodic referendum votes of the union until his retirement in the fall of 1956.

When Mr. Millard first took office, there were fewer than 5,000 active members in the Steelworkers Union - the majority of them in Nova Scotia. By 1956 there were some 75,000 members of local unions in every province.

-more-

However, his concern was never just "how big and strong we can be," but "what kind of a movement are we building?" He thought of the labor movement as an instrument which, in addition to providing more "bread and butter" for its members, would develop programs to develop the individual's capacities, to strive for better legislation, to influence national policies. So he set up within the Steelworkers departments of research, education and welfare, publicity, legislation and industrial engineering and appointed staff for political education and action. He successfully urged the establishment of similar departments in the national Congresses, with a significant addition, an International Affairs Department.

His organizing zeal was never confined to steelworkers. Shortly after taking on SWOC he became Canadian Director of the Packinghouse Workers and financed the early campaigns in that basic industry. He gave a helping hand to white collar organization, to the Rubber Workers, the Shoe and Leather Workers, the Retail Store Workers and the Textile Workers.

Mr. Millard made his first plunge into international unionism when, in 1945, he was a CCL representative at a conference in London, England, preliminary to the establishment of the World Federation of Trade Unions. By 1948 Communist misuse of the WFTU had become too blatant for the unions of the non-Communist world. They withdrew from it to form the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. Mr. Millard became Canadian labor's "first substitute" on the ICFTU's Executive Board. But his most consequential role was member of the Regional Activities Fund Committee which raised and spent the money for ICFTU's organization and education projects around the world.

He was thus a natural selection for the newly-created post of Director of Organization for the ICFTU to which he was appointed in July, 1956. From the headquarters in Brussels, Belgium, he served in this capacity until 1961, travelling to all parts of the world to help bring democratic organization and education to the workers of the emerging nations.

Despite his second retirement he accepted appointment in 1963 to the Board of Trustees for the Maritime Unions set up by the federal government as a result of industrial unrest on the Great Lakes and the findings of the Norris Commission. As Trustee-in-charge of the largest union, the Seafarers' International Union, he was instrumental in bringing about a mutually advantageous agreement with an association of shipping employers.

Since the termination of the Trusteeship early in 1968 he has been acting as a consultant on labor-management relations.

His interest and involvement in politics are as strong as ever. They began in the early '30s when he was attracted by the idealism and Christian flavoring of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation and particularly by its first leader, J.S. Woodsworth. Through the years he has contributed tremendously to the CCF and to its successor, the New Democratic Party. He sat in the Ontario Legislature as CCF member for York West for two terms, 1943-1945 and 1948-1951.

- THE SEARCHER - JUNE, 1969

COPY 2 - LABOUR UNIONS LEADERS

The CLC's New President

TACKLING THE CHALLENGES OF THE FUTURE

by Jack Williams

Joseph (Joe) Morris, newly elected President of the Canadian Labour Congress, is well accredited as a diplomat, both nationally and internationally; but he is going to need all his diplomatic skill to meet the challenges of his new position.

Morris is faced with the immediate task of melding the old with the new—in both the personalities of the CLC officers and its policies. If he is to succeed, he must increase the forward pace of the Congress, yet not lose the support of the more conservative elements of Canada's major labour organization.

In his favour are a solid background in trade unionism, a reputation of being able to get along with people and a willingness to meet difficult situations head-on. In the former CLC administration he was regarded as one of the officers most receptive to new ideas and methods.

Morris is a man of stocky, broad-shouldered build. He dresses carefully, and his choice of clothes reflects quality, rather than ostentation. At the age of 60 he moves with vigour, and keenly enjoys a game of golf, though the opportunities are less frequent than he would like. His other favourite form of relaxation is classical music. There have been occasions when an associate, impatient with the urgency of what seemed at the moment to be a stupendous problem, has had to sit quietly by until a recording finished.

In both public and private, Morris speaks slowly and with deliberation, sometimes pausing to find the right word so there will be no misunderstanding. Some critics have called his platform manner ponderous; he depends on logic, rather than oratorical flair to make his point. His language is simple but direct.

Joe Morris' link with trade unionism is lifelong. The British-born son of a trade unionist, he came to Canada as a boy when his family settled on Vancouver Island. It was there, in his early working days, that he first came in contact with his union, the International Woodworkers of America. He has been active in that organization since its founding in 1937. His union activity, and his career in the woods, were interrupted only when he served in the Canadian army during World War II.

Back in the woods after the war he worked at a number of jobs and was a scaler, one of the most highly skilled logging positions, when he left the logging companies to become a full-time union official. His experience in the woods is deeply imbedded—he still frequently refers to employers as "the operators."

In 1948 there was a breakaway movement in the IWA: a number of pro-Communist officers attempted to lead the membership into a newly formed national organization. Vancouver Island was a stronghold of the defecting faction, and Morris quickly moved into a leadership position among those who wanted to retain the IWA. After they were successful, Morris played an important part in re-establishing the union under new leadership. He also became prominent in the affairs of the British Columbia Federation of Labour.

He was elected president of the West Coast Canadian district of the union in 1953, the largest district in the international; and he held that office until he was elected an executive vice-president of the Canadian Labour Congress in 1962, the position he held when he was made president.

Morris won the presidential spot on the administration's election slate by a one-vote margin at a pre-convention meeting of the CLC's executive council. His opponent was the Congress secretary-treasurer, William Dodge, who had the disadvantage of facing retirement because of his age at the conclusion of the two-year term.

At the convention Morris received 1,448 votes; 842 went to his opponent, Gilbert McIntyre, a Nova Scotian member of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport and General Workers. Although there was no doubt about the outcome, the roughly one-third vote for McIntyre was considered significant as an expression of anti-administration sentiment, rather than opposition to Morris personally. It is in this atmosphere that the CLC President assumes his new responsibilities.

Morris has had a unique opportunity of observing and studying at first hand the issues that so deeply concerned delegates to the Vancouver convention. Since 1967, soon after it was established, he has headed the CLC's Commission on Constitution and Structure. This group has been making a continuous and intensive study of the objectives and needs of the labour movement in Canada, and of the Congress in particular. The major decisions reached at Vancouver were founded on its recommendations.

First Task

The action of the Vancouver delegates in rejecting some of the administration's candidates for office, and the sharp rebuff of the administration's position on special treatment for Québec, obviously presents problems for the new CLC President. His first task will be to try to form the new officers—three of them assuming CLC responsibilities for the first time—into an efficient working unit.

Commenting on the outcome of the elections, Morris told a news conference: "The delegates have the right to make whatever choice they desire; we believe in the democratic procedure. Whether it was a rebellion or not, I really don't know. It was probably the product of a situation."

He has no disagreement with the long-term objectives so strongly supported by the Vancouver delegates, but he foresees the possibility of some difficulties in their quick implementation.

"There are problems at the Congress level that are different from the pressures at the affiliate level," he explains. "There are realities that people have to look at; realities that are sometimes not obvious to delegates to conventions."

He described the report he presented to the convention on behalf of the Commission, (which was the focal point of the most important discussions) in these terms

"It was another step along the road we embarked on in 1968, when we consciously set out to make the structure of the Congress more flexible and better able to meet the pressures the movement is faced with Some think we were slow; but, whatever we have done, it has been significant and it has been effective I think that is a far better thing than to have proposed something wild and woolly that would not get acceptance It may slow up the process of development; but we have chosen to take the path of a slower, but more orderly and acceptable form of change

"The original proposals for standards for international unions were a product of the former administration It was not something that was forced on us, we presented it to the 1970 convention So, although it may appear that the new officers are more inclined that way, I don't think it will change the thrust of the Congress in this field one iota

"There are now five standards, and there is also an effective policing machinery, which we did not have before If we run into any problems it may be with regard to the policing It will depend on how hard we use the machinery There are certain constitutional safeguards to protect the autonomy of affiliates to the Congress

"I think that we have laid the groundwork for the preparation of a Code of Union Citizenship which we proposed in the Commission report to apply to everyone The question of violation of people's freedom of expression is not just concentrated in international unions. There are national unions that limit the right of members to participate and to take certain actions."

Morris Comments

Morris does not anticipate serious problems with the building trades unions, which were most vocal in questioning the right of the CLC to impose performance standards.

"The building trades have some questions; I suppose most unions have questions, they simply chose to express theirs," he said. "I think the commitment of the building trades to the Congress and its program is just as good and as sincere as that of any other affiliate. I have never found it otherwise."

After the convention Morris said that he was not surprised by the vote in favour of the Québec Federation of Labour's demand for greater autonomy and special assistance, a vote which was a resounding rejection of the administration's position.

"A confrontation had to come," Morris said "The seed of the problem was there, it just germinated a little faster than some people expected I hope we'll get at discussions with the Québec people at the earliest possible moment There is a problem, and if we don't solve it, it will get worse."

Varied Interests

Morris' particular interests in the labour movement are broad and varied—education, safety, international affairs and community programs, as well as such internal matters as the extension of union organization.

In the opinion of many of those most closely associated with him, Morris' most valuable characteristic is his ability to maintain a close relationship with the rank and file of union membership. Local union members, regardless of their status, find him approachable, ready to listen to their opinions and a comfortable man to talk with

He values this relationship as much as does any union member who comes in contact with him Faced with the alternatives of taking a popular public position or supporting the position of the membership, Morris would show no hesitation in allying himself with the membership, no matter what effect it might have on his public image He has both great respect for the individual and confidence in the common sense of working people as a group.

Labour Education

His interest in union educational activities has been valuable to him in maintaining contact with young union members. In the past seven or eight years the average age of those participating in these programs has dropped from the early forties to the early thirties Morris is firmly convinced that the sense of commitment among younger union members is just as great as it ever was.

In an interview with **The Labour Gazette** he elaborated his views on labour education.

"I suppose I have always been more insistent than some on an active educational program in the movement, because of the sort of experience I had when I was young. I got most of my training from older people who took the time to talk to me about the philosophy and workings of the trade union movement. If there is such a thing as a generation gap, it arises because the older people in the movement are reluctant to talk to the younger people. They feel there is a gap; I don't think the gap exists. I think there is a communication belt available there, and age doesn't really matter.

"We have something in common—a philosophy, an idealism and a commitment—and age doesn't matter when you have those three ingredients. After all, everyone has to learn by other people's experience as well as their own. The old can learn from the young, just as much as the young can learn from the old. When I take part in an educational happening I expect to learn as much from it as anyone. I think often I go away with more than they do, because they constantly open your mind to new uses for old ideas.

"I have always liked to circulate among the membership, in educational programs and other ways. That is where I get my fun. I enjoy talking with people, and particularly the younger guys. How can we shape the future of the movement if we don't talk to the people who are the movement? The young people's ideas are fresh, though they are often not crystallized. They like to test their mettle a bit and to get other people's ideas."

One of Morris' responsibilities as a CLC executive vice-president was supervision of the education department, and he was responsible for engaging the services of the University of British Columbia to make an in-depth study of union educational activities. This is the first study of its kind undertaken by a central labour body. It is hoped that the report will serve as a standard work for those interested in this field. Recently Morris was instrumental in having John Whitehouse, a leading Canadian educationalist, appointed Director of Education for the world program of the International Labour Organization.

His interest in education is related to the turbulent days following the 1948 IWA disruption. The union emerged with entirely new officers, and Morris was one of those who recognized the urgent necessity of a program to assist those who had been almost hurled into positions of responsibility.

Safety

Another area of interest connected with his logging experience is that of safety. Logging operations had long been regarded as highly hazardous, and Morris was prominent among those who introduced a health and safety program that won international recognition. He has since used his position on the central labour body to press for more vigorous safety and health programs in all industries.

An Internationalist

The Congress' new President is an internationalist in the broadest sense. He had his first experience abroad as a Canadian union delegate to various international conferences. In 1966 he was elected to the Governing Body of the International Labour Organization. He became Chairman of the ILO Workers' Group in 1970, and was re-elected to that position in 1972. There is no doubt that leaving the post because of the pressure of his new CLC duties is somewhat of a disappointment to him.

The Workers' Body of the ILO is a twelve-member committee composed of trade unionists from all parts of the world. The participation of delegates with such widely varying views and backgrounds makes the chairman's task an extremely difficult one. Morris' performance has reflected credit, not only on him personally, but on the Canadian labour movement.

A close observer of the international labour scene, John Mainwaring, Director of the International Labour Affairs Branch of the Canada Department of Labour, has described Morris' skill as a diplomat in these words: "He has the ability to get at the heart of issues that have political implications. He is straightforward and has everyone's respect and confidence."

Community Affairs

Morris and the CLC's new Secretary-Treasurer, Don Montgomery, share a deep interest in the expansion of union activity in community affairs. Both feel that with the growth of urban areas there has been a loss of much that is valuable in community life. Morris recalls growing up in the little Vancouver Island community of Ladysmith "where I not only knew everyone but knew the name of their dog too." This type of relationship, he fears, is being lost in a society that is in danger of becoming faceless.

"Many think of our people only as workers, not as citizens," he explains. "Our people rub shoulders with each other only at the workplace, and this can lead to a very poor lifestyle. We have to develop programs in the community that will translate the friendship created at the workplace into the life of the community."

Montgomery's sentiments are practically identical. As President of the Toronto Labour Council he has an extensive background in community programs, and some very firm views.

"The membership is convinced that the labour movement has to get into the communities where people live. They expect the labour movement to get involved in the battles to provide better housing and better recreational facilities, and to fight pollution. They expect us to do all the things that, as trade unionists, we say in our philosophy we will do. In other words, they want us to put up or shut up."

Union Growth

In addition to his very active interest and involvement in the broader activities of the labour movement, Morris retains a lively interest in such internal matters as not only the structure of the labour movement, but its expansion. He shares the frequently expressed concern that union growth has been no faster than that of the labour force as a whole.

He told **The Labour Gazette:**

"I suppose we could excuse ourselves by saying that the workforce in Canada is growing faster than anywhere else, so we have more people to organize, and the fact that we have been able to keep pace is, in itself, a victory. That is probably a fair rationalization, but we could and we should do better. New industries are coming in and new plants are going up, but our unions are so busy trying to organize the influx into present plants that they haven't got the time, or in some instances the resources, to do more. This is particularly true of the new secondary industries, particularly in small plants; and we have to fill this vacuum."

As far as white-collar organization is concerned, Morris admits, the results have not been all that might be expected.

He elaborates:

"If you talk in terms of certifications and contracts you could argue that it has been a bit disappointing in the Toronto area. But when you relate our activities and look on the scene as a whole there have been some tremendous changes in salary structures and fringe benefits for white-collar workers. Where we have not been successful in organizing we have created pressures on the operators to increase salaries and fringe benefits in order to keep us out. So there has been a beneficial effect for the workers, even though in terms of membership it has not been good for us."

Greatest successes organizationally have been in British Columbia, where there are three substantial units under contract, a unit of 500 white-collar people at Trail entering into negotiations, and certifications won for the employees of some small radio stations in the interior of the province.

"I think this will be our function as a Congress in whatever organizational program we undertake—to try to bring organization and unionization to people outside the main stream. Of course, if there are organizational opportunities in the metropolitan areas that no one seems to be taking advantage of, then we will pick them up, too, if we have the permission of the affiliates concerned."

Thus, there is a multiplicity of challenges confronting the organization Morris now heads. He has a good grounding to help him face his difficult assignment. The degree of his success during the next two years will be measured by the delegates who assemble in Montreal in May 1976 for the 11th Constitutional Convention of the Canadian Labour Congress.

(Jack Williams was born in Bradford, England, in 1907. At the age of four he came to Canada with his parents and settled in the St. Catharines, Ontario, region where he attended public and high schools. He worked for thirteen years with the **St. Catharines Standard,** then joined the staff of Canadian Press in 1941 as labour specialist in the Ottawa Parliamentary Press Gallery. In 1946, Williams became Public Relations Director for the Canadian Congress of Labour, remaining in that post until its merger in 1956 with the Trades and Labour Congress to form the Canadian Labour Congress. He then became Public Relations Director of the CLC and, from 1970 until his retirement in 1972, was editor of the CLC magazine **Canadian Labour.**)

REPORT ON BUSINESS — THE GLOBE AND MAIL, FRIDAY, APRIL 17, 1970 B5

LABOUR UNIONS – leaders

UAW's mod, aggressive McDermott stresses union's social focus

By WILFRED LIST

Mod, brash, aggressive and imbued with social zeal, a union leader for the tempo of the Seventies. That's Dennis McDermott, Canadian director of the United Auto Workers of America.

He is unlike most other union leaders in Canada—self-assertive, articulate and an innovator in the mold of his president, Walter Reuther.

At 47, Mr. McDermott holds the top office in the second largest international union in Canada. Next week he faces his second international convention since his elevation to the post two years ago.

And in these two years he has made the Canadian presence felt at the international executive board as never before—to the point where he will be elevated to the office of international vice-president at the convention.

If the convention accepts an executive board recommendation that pollution be made a bargaining issue this year, it will be because Mr. McDermott pressed for it at a board meeting.

He is a product of the UAW, a graduate of Local 439 at Massey-Harris Co. Ltd. in Toronto, where he faced his first collective bargaining challenge after taking office in a strike over wage parity.

But unlike those whose history in the UAW dates back to the early struggles for union recognition and survival, Mr. McDermott has little time for indulging in the rhetoric of the past or dwelling on traditions. His eyes are focused on the future.

His two years in office have somewhat tempered his aggressive approach to management, but they have also strengthened his dedication to advancing the cause of workers and of social justice.

Shortly after he took office, he commented in an interview: "I have never yet met a progressive management when it comes to labor relations. When your guard is down, management always shows its fangs."

But this week in an interview in his Windsor office, which has been transformed from the Victorian decor of his predecessor, George Burt, to the rich colors and mod setting of the Seventies, Mr. McDermott took a more benign attitude toward management.

"Both labor and management are becoming a little more sophisticated and civilized in their relations."

Note of regret

Then, as an afterthought, he adds with a note of regret: "Sometimes I doubt it. That applies to both sides, but more so with respect to management. We've been into a hell of a lot of wars we didn't seek.

"Inevitably there's going to be a change in the Seventies ... a greater recognition by management of unions and their total function and a greater recognition of employees as citizens and human beings.

"I really think this," he says for emphasis.

Mr. McDermott himself is a man of the Seventies. A short, round-faced and square-set figure with sandy hair, he makes his impact and presence felt by his style, his ability to communicate, his leadership qualities and administrative abilities. But he can also be impulsive, carried away by his feelings into paths from which he may later have to retreat.

A year ago when the UAW strike against North American Plastics at Wallaceburg was in its second year, he threatened that UAW members in the auto industry would refuse to handle components from North American if the auto companies continued to buy them.

Either there was no overwhelming support for this step from the members or else Mr. McDermott had second thoughts because the threat was not carried out. However, sporadic picketing several months ago by strikers from Wallaceburg briefly shut down some of the Big Three operations. The episode led to court injunctions and a million-dollar damage suit against the union.

Mr. McDermott looks less like a union leader and more like the new breed of swinging business executives. This week in his office he wore a suit with pink stripes, a purple shirt with red stripes and a wide, colorful tie.

But beneath the surface is an individual passionately dedicated to social causes. He led the Canadian delegation that visited the California vineyards last summer in support of the grape strikers; he has taken a strong position against the war in Vietnam and has lent his name in support of the activities of the Vietnam Mobilization Committee, an organization that is sponsoring a march on Ottawa on April 18 to demand an end to the Vietnam war.

Philosophy of involvement

He set out his philosophy in his first report as Canadian director to the UAW's Canadian Council, which represents the union's 115,000 Canadian members:

"If a member of our union is in difficulty, it is our business. If any member of our community is in distress, it is our business. If any person or group of persons in our society is deprived, underprivileged, or exploited, it is our business. Any form of human misery, no matter what its form, its origin or its geographic location, is our concern and if it is humanly possible, we should strive to do something about it."

The strong position taken by Mr. McDermott on social issues and his blunt, frank dialogue with the assortment of maverick, dissident and left-wing groups within the UAW has served to minimize the impact of factionalism in the union.

The opposition to the administration is composed of Communists and political innocents aligned with them. Mr. McDermott has been an uncompromising foe of the Communists, who unsuccessfully attempted to shape the direction of the union. His slate was elected without opposition at the Canadian council in 1968 and again in 1969.

Nor is there any creditable opponent to Mr. McDermott on the horizon at the convention in Atlantic City next week.

"The left-wingers and the mavericks consider themselves the ginger group or the innovators, but we've kept a step ahead of them," Mr. McDermott says with a note of self-assurance.

Mr. McDermott can act and talk tough when necessary, whether dealing with an internal union problem or at the bargaining table.

Last November he took on a hostile membership meeting at United Aircraft of Canada Ltd. in Montreal. The local had been under administration for failing to pay a dues increase and a special assessment imposed by the UAW convention in 1968.

Some local leaders were attempting to blackmail the administration by threatening to pull out of the UAW if they were forced to pay the special assessment. But instead of weakening, Mr. McDermott hit them with a hard speech in which he told them to pay up or get out of the UAW. The shock treatment worked and the membership voted to pay.

NEWSMAKER

Mr. McDermott was born in Portsmouth, England, of Irish parents. He served on a destroyer in the Royal Navy in the Second World War and after his discharge found employment at Massey-Harris in Toronto as an assembler and welder. He held a variety of posts in Local 439 and was appointed to the regional staff in March, 1956. By 1960 he had moved up to become sub-regional director with responsibility for the Toronto area and its environs. He also became chief negotiator for the agricultural implements section of the union and the UAW's troubleshooter for the Toronto area.

His commitment to a cause is total. He is a strong advocate of measures to eliminate pollution. He was a heavy smoker, but gave it up early this year when it occurred to him that cigaret smoke was a form of air pollution.

His outlook is far wider than the collective bargaining table. He looks on unions as community organizations and is attempting to take the UAW into new fields. He is interested in promoting a better life for Canadian Indians; he has an affinity with youth and wants to build a link between the union and the youth movement.

The influx of young persons into the UAW has sharply reduced the average age in the union and the trend has been accelerated during his term as Canadian director. The average age of delegates to the UAW convention is about 33 and in some of the new Canadian locals, such as that at the new Ford Motor Co. of Canada Ltd. Talbotville plant, the average age is 25 to 27, he says.

Mr. McDermott recognizes that this brings a new dimension to the union. The young workers have different interests from the previous generation and the unions must keep in tune.

He has hired younger persons as staff representatives, geared the union's internal programs to the future, opened a new dialogue with the staff and given them more freedom and leeway to operate than they ever had.

As an international executive board member, Mr. McDermott has [illegible] shy about speaking up at the executive meeting at Solidarity House, the union's headquarters in Detroit.

When Mr. Reuther proposed holding another seminar on pollution at a meeting recently, Mr. McDermott objected that the union's activity in this field appeared to be confined to holding seminars.

As a result of his agitation, the board decided to recommend to the convention that pollution be made an issue in collective bargaining.

"It's necessary to do this to protect our credibility," he says. "We have a social obligation, but it's also a matter of self-interest. If the auto industry doesn't do something it will face a public reaction that could ultimately affect the jobs of our members."

Mr. McDermott has emerged as a strong negotiator, who won the backing of the members when he stood firm during a long strike against Massey-Ferguson's implied threat that the firm might have to move to the United States if forced to grant wage parity. The strike eventually ended with a near-parity settlement.

He has some advanced views on bargaining. He is put off by the time wasted in going through what he calls the "Algerian market place" routine in negotiations—the practice of crowding every conceivable demand into a bargaining list, knowing that the items are not attainable.

Mr. McDermott had acted on these views by instructing the UAW staff to use its influence on negotiating committees to eliminate frivolous and capricious demands as quickly as possible so that the committees can deal with the core issues.

Lecture and transfers

Early in his regime there was a number of strikes that Mr. McDermott attributes to lack of control by the staff. He called in the staff, delivered a lecture and made a few transfers.

"It takes less time now to negotiate an agreement than before," he says. "We've eliminated a few frustrations."

His frank, blunt approach to the membership was illustrated during a long-dragging strike in an Ontario community. He came to the conclusion that the strike was prolonged because of a personal vendetta between the committee and the negotiators for management.

"We had a strike, not over issues, but because of personal animosities."

He called the committee into his office in Windsor, sorted out the issues with them and insisted that they concentrate on the basic ones.

Mr. McDermott is a staunch supporter of the New Democratic Party and is a member of the federal executive of the party. He believes that without a political arm labor would be impotent. He regards the Waffle group in the NDP as a potential intelligent left within the party, but says that it also has many infantile revolutionaries and pseudo-radicals. The Waffle faction is a dissident group that advocates a more leftist Socialist course.

One of Mr. McDermott's goals is to emancipate the worker in the plant from the archaic symbolism of the time clock. And he wants to free the worker from the tight and often oppressive discipline to be found in the plant.

Mr. McDermott looks to the elimination of what he calls some of the silly, irrelevant rules and regulations in the plants.

"If it's all right for an executive to have a martini for lunch, why isn't it o.k. for a worker to drink his lunch?"

Mr. McDermott says there has to be an understanding concerning management's requirements with respect to production. But there must also be recognition of workers as individuals.

"That will be the great departure in the Seventies from the traditions of the past."

Mr. McDermott's capacity has grown with the job. He thought he was working at full speed when he was Toronto area director. Now it seems to him that he was only going at half speed, so fast is the pace today.

A trip by plane from Windsor with business stops in Ottawa, Toronto and Montreal in the same day is not unusual. At one time Mr. McDermott was an ardent gardener, who also dabbled in water colors and played the occasional game of golf. Now, the job is all-consuming.

"I can't adapt to leisure any more."

During the long Christmas-New Year's holiday he was pacing up and down the house before it was over, to the annoyance of his wife and five children, until his wife told him: "For God's sake, go on to the office."

There are few weekends when he can be found at home. Typical of the round of activities can be followed from his calendar for a few days in April. Saturday morning, April 4, was spent in Detroit talking to the UAW officers. He wanted money for one of the union's members who had received a Nuffield scholarship in Britain. He also had other business to discuss.

In the afternoon he flew to Montreal to meet UAW executive board members attending a conference of truck and trailer locals, and then spoke to the conference. He flew back to Toronto the same night and met the union's counsel, Leonard MacLean and Timothy Armstrong, to discuss a Labor Relations Board problem.

Busy schedule

Sunday morning he was in Oshawa where he spoke to a banquet of the women's auxiliary and met local union leaders to clear up an internal political misunderstanding. There were also discussions about the state of the Supplementary Unemployment Benefit fund at General Motors of Canada Ltd. He returned to Toronto that night and conferred with NDP leaders and then went on to Windsor.

Monday morning he sat in on negotiations with the Office and Professional Employees International Union, which bargains for the UAW's office staff. In the afternoon he attended an executive board meeting in Detroit.

The next day he caught a 7 a.m. flight to Toronto for a staff meeting and was back in his office on Wednesday. Often, his secretary will fly his important correspondence to him when he is out of town so that he can keep his desk clean.

SILBY BARRETT - 1884-1959

SILBY BARRETT

One of the pioneers of the Canadian labour movement, Silby Barrett was born in Newfoundland. He never lost his Newfoundland speech, which gave a special flavour to the "sayings" which became proverbial among his frineds. His memory was prodigious and unfailingly accurate, his common sense and his integrity were alike unimpeachable. Every trade unionist and every employer knew that his word was his bond.

He went to Cape Breton in 1902 and became a member of the Coal Miners' Union in that year. He helped organize the miners in the United Mine Workers in 1909-10. Following a strike which lasted nine months, the union lost out but, in the fall of 1916, the miners were reorganized in the United Mine Workers and a contract with the company was obtained. Barrett became the first president of District 26, UMWA, and in 1919 he was elected a member of the UMWA Board.

In 1918 Barrett helped organize the National Steel and Tin Workers' Union in the steel plant in Sydney. A contract was made with the company, but, as time went on, the organization, because of the local leadership, more or less disbanded.

In 1936, Barrett was appointed by CIO President John L. Lewis to organize the steel workers in Canada. He carried on organization in Sydney and New Glasgow successfully, and the contract obtained from the steel company was the first for Steel on this continent. He continued working for Steel, and was appointed director for Canada until May, 1942, when he resigned. As such, and as a veteran leader of the Mine Workers, he played an important part in the formation of the Canadian Congress of Labour in 1940. He was elected to its first executive committee, and re-elected at each successive convention till 1951, when he was elected vice-president. He was re-elected vice-president each year till 1955. In 1945, he was appointed Canadian director of District 50, UMWA.

In 1945, Barrett was appointed by President John L. Lewis, as director in Canada for District 50, UMWA. The district had no members at the time in Canada but a large number of local unions were established. In 1951, he was appointed director for the United Construction Workers in Canada, which was also a part of the United Mine Workers. In 1955 he was promoted to the position of assistant to the president of District 50, UMWA.

Until the end of his life he kept up his lively interest in his own union, the United Mine Workers, in the trade union movement generally, and in labour political action.

He died in Toronto, Aug.9, 1959, at the age of 74.

SILBY BARRETT (1884 - 1959)

- Born in Newfoundland, September 27, 1884.
- Began fishing off the coast of Labrador at age of eight. Continued this for seven years.
- Went to Cape Breton in 1902, worked first in steel plant then in coal mine.
- United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) came to Nova Scotia in 1909. Barrett helped organize for them.
- 1916 Miners re-organized in UMWA - contract with company.
- Barrett made First President of District 26.
- 1919 Elected International Board member for the District.
- 1936 Appointed by John L. Lewis to bring Nova Scotia Steelworkers into Steelworkers Organizing Committee (SWOC). First steel contract in Canada signed in Nova Scotia.
- 1937 Appointed SWOC Director for Canada.
- 1937 Led campaign which resulted in the Nova Scotia Trade Union Act. First of its kind in Canada.
- 1939 Worked to prevent split in Trades and Labour Congress of Canada (TLC).
- 1940 One of the architects of the merger between the All-Canadian Congress of Labour and the Canadian CIO. forming the Canadian Congress of Labour (CCL.). Elected executive committee member held position until 1951.
- First Canadian Director of the United Steelworkers, held until 1942.
- 1945 Appointed Canadian Director of District 50, UMWA.
- 1947 Attempted to bring CCL. and TLC. together.
- 1951 Elected a Vice-President of CCL., held until 1955.
- "He used to say that when he got up to the 'Pearly Gates' and met St. Peter, there were lots of things he'd have to confess but one thing he would not have to confess: "I never cast a Liberal nor a Tory vote." Before there was a CCF., he fought for independent labour political action."
- Died August 9, 1959, in Toronto.

SOURCES: Canadian Labour Vol. 4, no. 9
September 1959, p. 49

Years of Hard Labour, OFL, 1974, p. 47

Toronto Public Library - General Information Department.

LEADERSHIP STYLE SUMMARY FORM

For each leader that has been studied, use the data available to compile a list of characteristics that seem to describe each man or woman. Place adjectives that best describe these characteristics in the column under the leader's name.

ARCHER	MacDONALD	MAHONEY	WILLIAMS	JODOIN	MOSHER	HARTMAN	WEISBACH	CARR	MILLARD	MORRIS	McDERMOTT	BARRETT

LABOUR STUDIES UNITS

prepared for the

ONTARIO FEDERATION OF LABOUR

by

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Unit 6 of 9 Units

USERS ARE FREE TO

DUPLICATE MATERIALS

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COMMERCIAL PURPOSES

RATIONALE: Varieties of Labour

The role playing exercises at the outset of this study should allow students to experience, and to more clearly conceptualize, the actions of competition and co-operation. Students will also be challenged to clarify their views on the basic nature of man and how this relates to the social actions of competition and co-operation. The unit then establishes a theoretical and philosophical base as it proceeds to a study of some of the cornerstone philosophers of our civilization. These theories have often been applied to politics, family life and economics, but seldom to the life and struggle of the common man. The divergent views of man expressed by these philosophers can be shown as the basis of many divisions which have plagued the Canadian Labour Movement.

To this point, students began with an examination of their views, moved to a philosophical base and are now ready to apply these theories to the labour movement. In this latter process, students will be required not only to analyze ideas but to trace their impact on the labour scene. Much of the remaining unit is chronological so that a very evident growth factor and development can be shown. Some events such as the formation of the C.C.L. and the C.L.C. are not discussed in any of the accompanying units.

The application of the theory to some basic labour philosophers and groups, and to the Canadian scene, in particular, should allow students to observe how varying views of man can result in conflicting goals and strategies. (For example, some favoured class collaboration while others advocated more radical methods.) The unit is complex and deep in its subject matter. This is particularly true of the examination of events, groups and leaders in Canadian labour. The teacher should select only those parts best suited to the skills and abilities of the class. It will be important that the teacher explain, guide and make suggestions as students grapple with theories and their practical application. The teacher can help students see the contrasting goals and strategies of various groups and how they stem from different views and philosophies. The teacher should conclude by having the students relate the study to the role playing and philosophies studied at the outset.

VARIETIES OF LABOUR

UNIT VI

CONTENT	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
Views of Man A. Competition vs. cooperation Students should be able to indicate what types of behaviour were helpful and what types hindered the group process. Students should be able to identify some of their personal views and feelings as they relate to a cooperative effort.	To experience a feeling of cooperation, allow students to organize themselves in groups and to participate in the Lutts and Mipps Group Problem Solving as outlined in Appendix VI-A(i) The debriefing will be important as the teacher should encourage students to express the feelings and reactions experienced during the exercise. An alternative exercise might be to give black and red construction paper, pencils, scissors, glue and tape to small groups. The group should then be instructed to make a checkerboard. The Reaction Form from Appendix VI-A(i) could be handed out followed by a debriefing section.	Lutts and Mipps Group Problem Solving, Appendix VI-A(i)	To experience cooperation and sharing of information in a task oriented group to solve a problem.
Students should be able to indicate what types of behaviour led to success in a competitive exercise. They should be able to draw some contrast with the type of behaviour that was successful in the cooperative effort.	To experience a feeling of competition, allow students to participate in Decision Dilemma as outlined in Appendix VI-B(i) Again the debriefing is very important and the Reaction Form from Appendix VI-A(i) could be used. Students can again express the feelings and reactions experienced.	Decision Dilemma Appendix VI-B(i)	To explore elements of competition to consider cost of winning. To allow students to explore their own social behaviour. To allow students to see advantages and disadvantages of each approach to social interaction.

VARIETIES OF LABOUR

CONTENT	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
Views of Man A. Competition vs. Cooperation Continued			
Students should be developing an increased awareness of their own social interaction.	The students can now be asked to compare the two experiences and express different feelings and reactions. Students can express which exercise they preferred and why. Now ask the students which approach they apply most frequently in their social interactions and why. Have students relate the discussion to activities that are relevant to them, e.g. which type of behaviour do you use at : a house party; a school dance; club activities; writing of exams; school sports. Students should be able to express some philosophy on their views of the nature of man and how he approaches his fellow man.		
Students should begin to see that one does not use competition all the time in social interaction nor is cooperation the only relationship they develop with others. Students should observe as a result that sometimes compromise and concensus are necessary.	Students should now be able to relate a relationship between one's view of man and the way one acts towards his fellow man. The class might list some of the different views that exist on the nature of man. The teacher can set up some hypothetical situations and the students can suggest how individuals adhering to the different views might react in each situation. Students might also suggest the advantages and disadvantages of each view in real life situations if one approach is used continuously.		To list some different views on the nature of man. To show how these views can result in different goals in the trade union movement. To show how these views can result in different strategies in the movement.

VARIETIES OF LABOUR

CONTENT	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
Views of Man A. Competition vs. cooperation Continued			
Different views of man can lead to different goals and strategies in unionism : - widespread social reform for mankind vs. "bread and butter" issues (hours, conditions, wages). -peaceful reform within the system vs. militancy. Students can see how different views can cause competition and disagreement within an organization.	If the concept of compromise or concensus has not already emerged ask students how the contrasting views of competition vs. cooperation can be resolved in social situations. Finally, have students suggest what effect the different views of man might have in the trade union movement with regard to a) goals b) strategies		
Views of Man B. As expressed by some Theorists			
Plato Aristotle Hobbes Locke Rousseau	This segment is optional but students may find it interesting that their views have deep historical precedents. Teachers choosing to include this section may have other documents they wish to use to replace or supplant these. It is suggested that for each document the student answer the following questions : 1) What is the author's basic view of man ? 2) How is this view reflected in the author's thesis ? 3) What results would the author's thesis have when	The Republic by Plato, Appendix VI-C(i). Politics by Aristotle Appendix VI-C(ii). Leviathon by Thomas Hobbes Appendix VI-C(iii). The Second Treatise on Civil Government (a Paraphrase) by John Locke Appendix VI-C(iv). The Social Contract by J.J. Rousseau Appendix VI-C(v).	To show some historical precedence for student views on nature of man To analyze documents.

VARIETIES OF LABOUR

CONTENT	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
Views of Man B. As expressed by some Theorists. Cont'd	applied to society ? 4) Do you agree with the author's view and the results that would occur from his proposal ? Finally, the class should discuss why it is valuable for the student to be aware of these views when studying labour history or, indeed any topic of history.		
Views of Man C. As Applied to Labour ROBERT OWEN Although a factory owner, Owen felt there were some evils in the industrial system. In his approach to industry, he reflects a definite view of man. He tried to establish a model factory that would display a concern for all men and so all could benefit from industry. He lessened hours, increased wages, built homes and started schools. He was unable to get other factory owners to follow suit. He later advocated that workers control factories and work them for their own benefit.	Show students a picture of Owen's factory at New Lanark and a picture of workers in another more commonly found factory of the time. Have students hypothesize about the differences of working in these two factories. Allow students to read Appendix VI-D(i) and answer the following questions : 1) What steps did Owen take to improve conditions of the worker? 2) Who else benefitted when the conditions of the workers were improved ? 3) What evils did Owen see in private enterprise ? What was his alternative ?	Two pictures taken from film strips or school library, e.g. History of English Speaking People by W. Churchill. New View of Society by Robert Owen Appendix VI-D(i). See all Industrialization in Society by McClelland & Stewart.	To hypothesize and to gather information from pictures. To be familiar with Owen's view of man and how he tried to apply it in his factories. To see an example of co-operation between employer and employee. To be able to define a cooperative.

VARIETIES OF LABOUR

CONTENT	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
Views of Man C. As Applied to Labour He became a trade union leader and established a cooperative where workers sold directly to one another.	4) How did Owen's view of man affect his approach to labour ? 5) Why do you think few other employers adopted this approach ? The class should clearly see that Owen emphasized cooperation and humanity. The teacher may wish to examine some of the cooperatives that sprang up in Britain, e.g. Rochdale pioneers.		
KARL MARX Marx did not adhere to the idealistic, humanitarian principles acted upon by Owen. Marx believed that through history there had been a class struggle between the exploiter and exploited. Marx advocated revolution by which the workers of the world would unite and hasten the overthrow of the owners and employers. Marx claimed this move to socialism was inevitable. He said that all resources, services and means of producing wealth should be in the hands of the state, that land should be publicly owned and that the state should provide free education.	Instruct students to read the views of Marx as outlined in Appendix VI-D(ii) and discuss the following questions: 1) How does Marx interpret human history ? 2) What is his view of man ? 3) How is his view reflected in his outlook on history ? The teacher can discuss other characteristics of Marxian society if they wish. However, the key question is: How do different views of Marx and Owen result in different responses to the problems of the working man ? Students can discuss the merits of each approach. Attention will probably be diverted back to the exercises on cooperation and competition at the beginning of this unit.	Communist Manifesto by Karl Marx. Appendix VI-D(ii)	To be able to explain Marxist socialism. To be able to relate Marxism to a particular view of man. To compare the approaches of Marx and Owens.

VARIETIES OF LABOUR

CONTENT	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
Views of Man C. As Applied to Labour	The teacher may want the class to examine some British labour groups advocating violence, e.g. Luddites		
THE FABIANS This group of middle class intellectuals in England accepted only part of Marx's doctrines. The Fabians were ready to work for the abolition of capitalism and of the profit system but they rejected the notion of the class war. While they believed it was inevitable that socialism would come to Great Britain, they also argued that it should come gradually and peacefully through democratic and parliamentary methods. The method used by the Fabians was to educate public opinion, to hold public meetings and discussions, and to work in local government. Students should be able to identify H. G. Wells, George Bernard Shaw, Sidney and Beatrice Webb.	Have students read Appendix VI-D(iii) and answer the following questions : 1) Compare the goals related to Labour of the Fabian Society with those of Owen and Marx. 2) Compare the strategy of the Fabians with that of Marx. 3) Which approach mentioned in (2) would be more successful in aiding the worker. 4) What would the Fabians mean when they spoke of "the inevitability of gradualism"? The class should be able to see the stress of change through constitutional lines, through persuasion, criticism and compromise. Note that the Fabians think in terms of evolution and not revolution. The teacher may want to examine Fabian activities in British history and such personalities as George Bernard Shaw or H. G. Wells or Sidney and Beatrice Webb. Students may list other approaches that could be used to bring about change to improve the lot of the workers. Students might hypothesize which strategies were used by Canadian labourers. They might start to think in terms of what influence varieties of labour in Britain and the U.S. might have had in Canada.	The Fabian Society, Appendix VI-D(iii)	To be able to explain Fabian socialism. To be able to compare the approach of the Fabians with Marx and Owen. To evaluate the advantages and disadvantages of each of the above approaches as a method of social and economic change.

CONTENT	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
Practical Application of Views and Theories to Canadian Labour Scene			
a) Class Collaboration Students will have seen philosophical and historical precedents for the varieties of labour that emerge in Canada. Teachers may wish to insert a section on Samuel Gompers and the American trade union movement or they can allow the effects of this to emerge in the last part of this unit. Students should observe that the use of violence as a method of creating change in the Canadian union movement is less frequent than in many other countries. More is said on this in the unit Labour and the Law	One variety of labour in Canada is exemplified by D.J. O'Donoghue Canada's first labour political representative elected to Ontario Provincial Legislature in 1874. Have students read Appendix VI-E(i) which is based on a speech given by O'Donoghue to Toronto Trades and Labour Council in 1886. Discuss the following questions: 1) What are some of O'Donoghue's aims ? 2) How successful has he been in achieving these ? 3) Why has he had limited success ? 4) Which of the three views expressed in Views of Man Part C (Owen, Marx, Fabians) is he closest to ? Why might there be some opposition in Canada to this "class collaboration"? Read the answer to this last question in Appendix VI-E(ii)	Wismer, L.E., Workers'Way to a Fair Share. Trades and Labour Congress, pp.62-65 Appendix VI-E(i)	To be familiar with the role of D.J.O'Donoghue in the Canadian Labour Movement. To relate O'Donoghue's approach to change to the Fabians. To be able to explain class collaboration.
	Of course, this approach to labour has grown since the 1880's and this is outlined in the unit entitled Labour and Politics A further study of O'Donoghue and other Canadian leaders can be found in Unit 5 on Leadership. They might be studied in relationship to the concept of competition and cooperation.	Lipton, C. The Trade Union Movement in Canada: 1827-1959 Toronto: N.C.Press, 1967, pp.56-57 Appendix VI-E(ii)	

CONTENT	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
Practical Application of Views and Theories to Canadian Labour Scene b) Knights of Labour			
The next few sections will make more explicit the theme of this unit - Conflict of Ideas. Students will see the difficulty of resolving this conflict in the practical arena. Observe the search in the Canadian Labour movement for cooperation and unity. The next sections will illustrate the conflict of craft vs. industrial unions and national vs. international unions.	Explain to students that this organization stressed cooperation, Christian principles and social reform. The Knights expanded into an organization that appeared to have the potential of becoming a truly worldwide labour body. Have students hypothesize what they think the objectives of the Knights might be.	Several references will be made in the next sections to Williams, Jack. Story of Unions in Canada. Don Mills: Dent, 1975.	To be familiar with the role of the Knights of Labour to the trade union movement.
Notice the emphasis on rhetoric and peaceful pursuits with little mention of economic action.	When this is completed hand out Appendix VI-F(i) and have students compare their hypotheses to those objectives of the Knights of Labour.	See also Lazarus, Morden. Years of Hard Labour. Don Mills: OFL, 1974.	
	Ask students: How are these objectives different from the usual objectives of a union ? In what way were these objectives commendable and far sighted ?	Objectives of Knights - Appendix VI-F(i) taken from Knights of Lab. Constitution. See Chapter 5 of Williams' Unions in Canada for more information.	
	Have students suggest what methods the Knights could use to achieve objectives and which alternatives would be most compatible with their goals. Let students read Appendix VI-F-(ii) and see their answer.	Appendix VI-F(ii) quote by O'Donoghue.	

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CONTENT	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
Practical Application of Views and Theories to Canadian Labour Scene			
b) Knights of Labour Cont'd Most unionists were concerned with their immediate and personal needs. The restructuring of society was more for the future.	Ask students what the strongest weapons of unions in these days might be through the following questions: What problems might this organization have to face ? Why is it possible that the Knights of Labour might lack general support ?		To evaluate the views and methods of the Knights.
Remind students of the differences between craft and industrial unions. The American Federation of Labour was showing its strength in Canada and many Knights joined A.F.of L. Clashes between Knights and craft unionists increased. The Knights were expelled from the Trades and Labour Congress (see next section). The Knights did help to organize the unskilled and did establish broad social objectives. However, they did not function as an economic force.	Let students read Appendix VI-F(iii) Students might discuss the following questions : What is the importance of an organization having practical goals ? What would other unions probably be concentrating on ? What degree of unity and cooperation appears to exist among labour groups in Canada ? Why would this situation exist ? What might be the importance of the Knights of Labour in the Canadian movement ?	Appendix VI -F(iii), a statement by Andy Andras quoted in Williams, p.50	To define craft unions, industrial unions. To know the importance of the Knights in Canada.

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CONTENT	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
Practical Application of Views and Theories to Canadian Labour Scene c) Trades and Labour Congress This section will not only expand on the conflicts mentioned in the previous section but will examine the problem of international unionism as Canadian organizations try to become established. A lack of unity and cooperation in the Canadian context will become even more apparent.			
In 1886 a central body for Canada was organized and called the Canadian Trades and Labour Congress. Membership was open to both craft and Knights of Labour. Name was changed several times - 1887 - Trades and Labour Congress of Dominion of Canada - 1888 - Dominion Trades and Labour Congress - 1892 - Trades and Labour Congress of Canada The T.L.C. became part of Canadian Labour Congress in 1956.		see Williams, The Story of Unions in Canada Chapter 7. See Lazarus, Years of Hard Labour, p.12 See Lipton, Charles. The Trade Union Movement of Canada, 1827-1959. Toronto: New Canada Publications, 1967.	

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CONTENT	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
c) Trades and Labour Congress Continued			
The T.L.C. emphasized legal activities.	Give students Appendix VI-G(i) and let them compare the purpose of the T.L.C. with those of the Knights of Labour.	Appendix VI-G(i) outlining purpose of the new Congress	To compare purpose of Knights of Labour and the T.L.C.
Much of Canadian labour movement progress was plagued by lack of unity.	Why is it likely that disagreement will develop between craft unions and Knights of Labour and industrial unions ? What is the importance of solidarity at this stage of the Canadian Labour movement ?		To analyze the reasons for conflict and competition in many stages of Canadian labour history.
A resolution in 1894 led to the amendment of the Congress constitution that gave sanctity to union jurisdictions. Established unions would not allow other organizations to invade their territory even if they were not to undertake organization at the moment. Meanwhile the influence of the A.F.L. increased in Canada with the growth and strength of the craft unions. The A.F.L. began to demand the expulsion of Knights of Labour from the T.L.C.	Have students read the amendment to the constitution charter as outlined in Appendix VI-G(ii). What problems could develop as a result of the amendment ? Will this increase or decrease the influence of the American Federation of Labour in Canada?	Appendix VI-G(ii) stating the amendment to the Congress Consitution.	To become aware of the role of the A.F.L. in Canadian labour movement.
The concerns of the Congress are outlined in their list of objectives known as the Platform of Principles. The list reveals legislative interests, the Chinese question, and concerns for factory safety.	Have students measure the success of the Congress and related organizations by determining which objectives have been achieved. The list of objectives are to be found in Appendix VI-G(iii)	Appendix VI-G(iii) Platform of principles of T.L.C.	To measure success of T.L.C. by determining the achievements of objectives.

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CONTENT	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
d) Political Action If teachers wish to pursue this variety of the Labour movement a fairly complete study of this period is offered in the unit #8 entitled Labour and Politics		Unit VIII Labour and Politics	
e) Socialism While there were several organizations working within the system, some socialist advocates were opposed to this "class collaboration".	It is time that students recalled that they are now looking at a practical application of philosophies and ideals that were derived from different views of man.		
While this unit is looking at some of the varieties of labour, students should remember that there were other groups and philosophies and further subdivisions. While socialist philosophy was having some impact it should not be exaggerated. Constantly, unions had to deal with problems of the here and now. It is clear that the union movement was in its preliminary stages and greater unity was needed to carry out economic goals and to achieve its ideas on social consciousness.	Have students compare the statements of Charles Lipton as outlined in Appendix VI-H(i) with those of Marx, Owen and Fabians. Which of the three philosophies (Marx, Owen, Fabians) do the socialists seem closer to ? How is this philosophy reflected in their aims and methods ? How do these aims and methods compare to those of the T.L.C. and those advocating political action ? What is the "view of man" displayed by each group ? Which group(s) would you say was more realistic ? What will have to happen in the Canadian Trade Union movement before it will become a powerful force in Canadian life ?	Appendix VI-H(i) quoted from C. Lipton, The Trade Union Movement of Canada, 1827-1959. Toronto: N.C. Press, 1967. pp.92-94	To relate practical application to philosophies of Marx, Owen and Fabians. To see the need of some cooperation and solidarity in the union movement in Canada.

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CONTENT	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
f) Further Conflict: The Berlin Split			
The period from 1900-1914 was a time when unionists spent as much time fighting with themselves as with external forces. It was also a time when the A.F.L. wielded much influence on the Canadian scene so that at times the T.L.C. seemed to be less of a national union and more of an international union. Of course, the struggle between craft and industrial unionism was ever present. However, this split was to result in the long road to the evolution of the Canadian Congress of Labour in 1940. Meanwhile the Knights of Labour formed the National Trades and Labour Congress.	Distribute Appendix VI-I(i) and have the students suggest what effect the Berlin split would have on the Canadian movement. Allow students to read one analysis as outlined in Appendix VI-I(ii)	Appendix VI-I(i) quote from Lipton, The Trade Union Movement of Canada. p. 132-133 Appendix VI-I(ii) Ibid, p.135-137	To know the reasons for and the results of the Berlin split.
g) Formation of the Canadian Congress of Labour			
The craft vs. industrial unions and national vs. international unions continued. The conflict between these continued to plague the Canadian union movement. This conflict, to a large degree, was based on different philosophies. Business unions tried to protect their craft and obtain improvements in wages and conditions.	Have students study Appendix VI-J(i) as a review of those organizations studied and to see the complexity and division of the Canadian Labour movement without having to study in detail all these organizations.	Appendix VI-J(i) chart on The History and Development of the Canadian Labour Movement found in Lazarus, p.70	To further relate how the different views on man led to different strategies and to conflict and competition

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CONTENT	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
g) Formation of the Canadian Congress of Labour (Cont'd) Others saw the labour movement as a striving for the betterment of all mankind and that membership had to be extended to hundreds of thousands of employees.			
In the U.S. the A.F.L. a craft union, turned on the C.I.O. unions and revoked some of their charters in 1937 and 1938 on grounds of dual unionism. Soon the A.F.L. was asking the T.L.C. to take similar action. Many demanded the T.L.C. to recognize the new groups in spite of A.F.L. policy. In 1939 the T.L.C. expelled the C.I.O. from its ranks.	Give Appendix VI-J(ii) to class as a motion at the 1939 convention. The class are to play the roles of delegates and discuss the expulsion resolution. Split class into pro and con. Allow time for further research and for preparation of debates.	Appendix VI-J(ii) statement made by R.J. Tallon, Secretary-Treas. of T.L.C. at the 1939 Convention.	To analyze the expulsion of C.I.O. unions from the T.L.C. through role playing.
	The teacher may act as chairman or may appoint a competent student. Parliamentary procedure could be followed during the debate. A vote should be registered on completion of debate.		To become more familiar with debating procedures.
	Distribute Appendix VI-J(iii) so students can see what did occur. Class might discuss the following questions: 1) How do we again see the A.F.L. influencing the labour movement in Canada ? 2) Predict what effect this will have on the labour movement.	Appendix VI-J(iii) Craft vs. Industrial Unions from Williams, pp. 156-159.	

VARIETIES OF LABOUR

CONTENT	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
j) Formation of the Canadian Congress of Labour (Cont'd)	The teacher might ask the class why they think the T.L.C. supported the resolution and then let them read the view of C. Lipton as outlined in Appendix VI-J(iv). Allow students to agree or disagree with this view.	Appendix VI-J(iv) A view on 1939 Resolution of T.L.C., from Lipton, p.263-264	
By 1940 the new industrial unions had been coordinated and a new central body, the Canadian Congress of Labour was formed. This body was able to act with much greater independence from its American counterpart, than the T.L.C. had ever been able to do.	Have students read Appendix VI-J(v) to determine the makeup of the C.C.L. as formed in 1940. Ask students: Why might the C.C.L. have more autonomy than the international unions in the T.L.C. ? What role would the war play in increasing the autonomy of the C.C.L. ?	Appendix VI-J(v) Composition of C.C.L. from Williams, p. 163-164	To explain the formation and goals of the C.C.L.
Leadership of the C.C.L.	While leadership is studied in detail in the unit on Leadership Unit #5, students should be able to identify and tell the importance of each of the following to the C.C.L.	Lazarus, Years of Hard Labour School resources	To identify qualities of leadership as they pertained to the C.C.L.
	Silby Barrett Charles Millard Pat Conroy A. R. Mosher Donald MacDonald George Burt	Refer to biographical material in Unit #5 on Leadership.	To identify and know the significance of Barrett, Millard, Conroy, Mosher MacDonald, Burt.
	Students might try to identify the qualities of leadership needed during this period and to analyze the importance of leadership to a fledgling organization.		

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CONTENT	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
g) Formation of Canadian Congress of Labour (Cont'd)			
C.C.L expands.	Determine the success or lack of it by the C.C.L. by studying the chart in Appendix VI-J-(vi) Have students try to explain the reasons for this success.	Appendix VI-J(vi)	
h) Formation of Canadian Labour Congress			
From 1950 on, the T.L.C. and C.C.L. talked of uniting. Finally, in April of 1956 the T.L.C. and the C.C.L. merged to form the Canadian Labour Congress.	Have students establish a Time-Line in their notes as a means of tracing the emergence of the C.L.C. during the 1950's. Appendix VI-K(i) may help.	Lazarus School library Appendix VI-K(i) from Williams, pp. 190-194	To use the "time-line" as a method of note making.
	Appendix VI-K(ii) outlines the objectives of the C.L.C.	Appendix VI-K(ii) "Principles of C.L.C."	
	Ask students to explain how these objectives were designed to create one completely autonomous labour centre. What effect should this have on the Canadian Labour movement ? Why did it take so long to achieve this degree of unity ?		To analyze how some unity was achieved in Canadian Labour.

VARIETIES OF LABOUR

CONTENT	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
h) Formation of Canadian Labour Congress	To provide a final element of unity to this study, ask students to discuss which of the philosophies mentioned at the beginning of the unit are the principles of the C.L.C. most representative.		
	Students might summarize the study by suggesting which view of man and which philosophy they most agree with.		
	A follow-up exercise might be found by examining the unit entitled "Unions Today" to see if the principles of the C.L.C. have been met.		To determine if the goals of C.L.C. are being achieved.
	A more simple exercise would be to allow students to research and see the results of "one completely autonomous labour centre". Students might want to observe whether competition or cooperation prevails within the C.L.C. today.		
	The teacher might ask the class to discuss the advantages and disadvantages of a) cooperation and b) competition within an organization that is trying to promote social and economic change.		To summarise the effects of different views of man and strategies on the labour movement.

31. LUTTS AND MIPPS: GROUP PROBLEM-SOLVING

Goals

I. To study the sharing of information in a task-oriented group

Group Size

From six to twelve participants. Several groups may be directed simultaneously in the same room.

Time Required

Approximately forty-five minutes.

Materials

I. Copies of the Lutts and Mipps Instructions Form for all participants.

II. A set of Lutts and Mipps Information Cards for each group (26 cards in a set).

III. Copies of the Lutts and Mipps Reactions Form for all participants.

IV. Paper and pencil for each participant.

Physical Setting

Members of each group are seated in a circle.

Process

I. Lutts and Mipps Instructions Forms are distributed.

II. After participants have had time to read the instruction sheet, the facilitator distributes a set of Lutts and Mipps Information Cards randomly among the members of each group. Participants begin their task.

III. After about twenty minutes, the facilitator interrupts and distributes the Reactions Forms, which are to be completed *individually*.

IV. The facilitator leads a discussion of the problem-solving activity, focusing on information-processing and the sharing of leadership in task situations. Group members are encouraged to share data from their reaction forms.

SOLUTION: 23/30 wors

LUTTS AND MIPPS INSTRUCTIONS FORM

Pretend that lutts and mipps represent a new way of measuring distance and that dars, wors, and mirs represent a new way of measuring time. A man drives from Town A. through Town B and Town C, to Town D.

The task of your group is to determine how many wors the entire trip took. You have twenty minutes for this task. Do *not* choose a formal leader.

You will be given cards containing information related to the task. You may share this information orally, but you must keep your cards in your hands throughout the task.

LUTTS AND MIPPS INFORMATION CARDS

To make a set of cards, type each of the following sentences on a 3" × 5" index card (a total of 26). A set should be distributed randomly among members of each group. Each group must have all twenty-six cards.

1. How far is it from A to B?
2. It is 4 lutts from A to B.
3. How far is it from B to C?
4. It is 8 lutts from B to C.
5. How far is it from C to D?
6. It is 10 lutts from C to D.
7. What is a lutt?
8. A lutt is 10 mipps.
9. What is a mipp?
10. A mipp is a way of measuring distance.
11. How many mipps are there in a mile?
12. There are 2 mipps in a mile.
13. What is a dar?
14. A dar is 10 wors.
15. What is a wor?
16. A wor is 5 mirs.
17. What is a mir?
18. A mir is a way of measuring time.
19. How many mirs are there in an hour?
20. There are two mirs in an hour.
21. How fast does the man drive from A to B?
22. The man drives from A to B at the rate of 24 lutts per wor.
23. How fast does the man drive from B to C?
24. The man drives from B to C at the rate of 30 lutts per wor.
25. How fast does the man drive from C to D?
26. The man drives from C to D at the rate of 30 lutts per wor.

1. Whose participation was most helpful in the accomplishment of the task?

2. What behavior was helpful?

3. Whose participation seemed to hinder the accomplishment of the task?

4. What behavior seemed to be a hindrance?

5. What feeling reactions did you experience during the problem-solving exercise?

6. What role(s) did you play in the group?

DECISION DILEMMA

OBJECTIVES: To explore elements of competition.
To consider the cost of winning.

1. Divide the class into three groups (Group A, B and C) and three teams within each group (A_1, A_2, A_3, B_1, etc.)

   Explain that the competition will occur between the three teams within each group, not between the groups.

2. Distribute several small sheets of scrap paper and a list of RULES to each team within each group.

3. Slowly read the following situations to the class:

   You all have been abandoned on a desert island which is designated as a bomb test site about to be blown up. Everyone's hopes for survival soar when a single raft is found on the beach. But hope falters somewhat when closer examination shows that the raft will hold only two-thirds of those who were abandoned. In fact, this exact number is needed to navigate the raft away from the island.

   You are a member of one team and your only objective is to survive and to be on the raft when it leaves. It soon becomes apparent that you and your team's only hope of survival rests on reaching agreement with one of the other two teams to arrange a meeting place to achieve your escape. Only two meeting places are possible, the FOREST or the CAVE. You must agree on one or the other.

   It doesn't matter which of the other two teams you finally decide to join; all that matters is your survival.

4. Explain the scoring system now before negotiations begin: When time is called after four minutes, each team will report on its meeting place - the FOREST or the CAVE. The choice should be written down and delivered to you, the teacher.

   1. If all three teams choose the same meeting place, none survives. Each team loses two points.

   2. If two teams choose a single meeting place, both survive. Each team receives five points. The third team is left behind and does not survive; it receives no points.

DECISION DILEMMA
Cont'd

5. Now proceed with Round 1.

6. After completing the first round the teacher can proceed with three more rounds, rotating the teams between groups in the following arrangements. Sometimes the competition is keener if the teams of each group are left intact for rounds 2 and 3. The teacher has the option of how groups might be rotated.

Round 1	A1, A2, A3,	B1, B2, B3	C1, C2, C3
Round 2	A1, B1, C1	A2, B2, C2	A3, B3, C3
Round 3	A1, B2, C3	A2, B3, C2	A3, B1, C1
Round 4	A1, B3, C3	A2, B1, C1	A3, B2, C2

7. Each team keeps accounts of its point scores for each of the four rounds. The winning team in each round is the one with the highest score in that round.

8. After the fourth round has been completed, reassemble the teams in their original groups of A, B, and C.

9. Final scoring of all four rounds can be calculated in either of two ways.

   1. All three teams in each group can combine their points. The group (A, B, or C) with the highest score is the winner.
   2. Within each group, the team with the highest total points can be declared the winner.

As a variation to this activity you could alter the rules so that instead of communicating on paper each team sends a negotiator to the other teams in the group to arrange the decision. Ask only one negotiator to meet with a team at one time.

Also, experimenting with the scoring procedure will encourage different results. For example, in one round more cooperation would be encouraged if this dimension were added to the scoring. If all three teams indicate they will be at the FOREST, each team receive two points. If all three teams indicate they will be at the CAVE, each team loses two points. If two meet at the CAVE and one at the FOREST, they all receive zero points. If two meet at the FOREST and one at the CAVE, the two at the FOREST receive 5 points and the one at the CAVE, zero points.

DECISION DILEMMA
Cont'd

RULES

1. You have just four minutes to plan your strategy, negotiate with the other two teams and make a decision about choosing FOREST or CAVE.

2. You may not speak to members of the other teams. All communication must be written and conveyed by messenger.

3. You may reply to a message to you, or you can choose to ignore it.

4. When negotiating, anything goes. You can write down one thing fully intending to do the opposite. You need not honour any commitment you make to another team.

5. Your only goal is to survive.

The Republic

- Plato

'Society originates, then,' said I, 'so far as I can see, because the individual is not self-sufficient, but has many needs which he can't supply himself. Or can you suggest any other origin for it?'

'No, I can't,' he said.

'And when we have got hold of enough people to satisfy our many varied needs, we have assembled quite a large number of partners and helpers together to live in one place; and we give the resultant settlement the name of a community or state?' [1]

'Yes, I agree.'

'And in the community all mutual exchanges are made with the benefit of the partners in view?'

'Certainly.'

'Come then,' I said, 'let us proceed with our imaginary sketch of the origin of the state. It springs, as we have seen, from our needs.'

'Yes.'

'And our first and greatest need is clearly the provision of food to keep us alive.'

'Clearly.'

'Our second need is shelter, and our third clothing of various kinds.'

'Yes.'

'Well then, how will our state supply these needs? It will need a farmer, a builder, and a weaver, and also, I think, a shoemaker and one or two others to provide for our bodily needs. So that the minimum state would consist of four or five men.'

'Evidently.'

'Then should each of these men contribute the product of his labour to a common stock? For instance, should the farmer provide enough food for all four of them, and devote enough time and labour to food production to provide for all their common needs? Or, alternatively, should he disregard the others, and devote a quarter of his time to producing a quarter the amount of food, and the other three quarters one to building himself a house, one to making clothes, and another to making shoes? Should he, in other words, avoid the trouble of sharing with others and devote himself to providing for his own needs only?'

To which Adeimantus replied, 'The first alternative is perhaps the simpler.'

'Nor need that surprise us,' I rejoined. 'For as you were speaking, it occurred to me that, in the first place, no two of us are born exactly alike. We have different aptitudes, which fit us for different jobs.'

'We have indeed.'

'So do we do better to stick to one trade or to try to practise several?'

'To stick to one,' he said.

'And there is a further point. It is fatal in any job to miss the right moment for action. The workman must be at the call of his job; his job will not wait till he has leisure to spare for it. Quantity and quality are therefore more easily produced when a man specializes appropriately on a single job for which he is naturally fitted.')

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[1] πόλις, the Greek 'city-state', translated here as 'state', 'community', or 'society'.

Politics - A Criticism of Communism - Aristotle

II, 5. Next let us consider what should be our arrangements about property; should the citizens of the perfect state have possessions in common or not? . . .

There is always a difficulty in men living together and having things in common, but especially in their having common property. . . . The present arrangement, if improved as it might be by good customs and laws, would be far better, and would have the advantages of both systems. Property should be in a certain sense common, but, as a general rule, private. For when everyone has his separate interest, men will not complain of one another, and they will make more progress, because everyone will be attending to his own business. Yet among good men, and as regards use, "friends," as the proverb says, "will have all things common." . . . For although every man has his own property, some things he will place at the disposal of his friends, while of others he shares the use of them. . . .

Again, how immeasurably greater is the pleasure, when a man feels a thing to be his own! For love of self is a feeling implanted by nature and not given in vain, although selfishness is rightly condemned. This, however is not mere love of self, but love of self in excess, like the miser's love of money; for all, or almost all, men love money, and other such objects in a measure. Furthermore, there is the greatest pleasure in doing a kindness or service to friends or guests or companions, which can only be done when a man has private property. These advantages are lost by the excessive unification of the state. . . . No one, when men have all things in common, will any longer set an example of liberality or do any liberal action; for liberality consists in the use a man makes of his own property.

Such [communistic] legislation may have a specious appearance of benevolence. Men readily listen to it, and are easily induced to believe that in some wonderful manner everybody will become everybody's friend, especially when someone is heard denouncing the evils now existing in states, suits about contracts, convictions for perjury, flatteries of rich men and the like, which are said to arise out of the possession of private property. These evils, however, are due to a very different cause—the wickedness of human nature. Indeed, we see that there is much more quarreling among those who have all things in common, though there are not many of them when compared with the vast numbers who have private property.

Again, we ought to reckon, not only the evils from which the citizens will be saved, but also the advantages which they will lose. The life which they are to lead appears to be quite impracticable. The error of Socrates must be attributed to the false notion of unity from which he starts. Unity there should be, both of the family and of the state, but in some respects only. For there is a point at which a state may attain such a degree of unity as to be no longer a state, or at which, without actually ceasing to exist, it will become an inferior state, like harmony passing into unison, or rhythm which has been reduced to a single foot. The state, as I was saying, is a plurality, which should be united and made into a community by education. . . . Let us remember that we should not disregard the experience of ages. In the multitude of years these things, if they were good, would certainly not have been unknown . . . .

APPENDIX VI-C(iii)

Leviathan

- Thomas Hobbes

a modern paraphrase

[What are the laws of nature? What determines man's actions? If nature and man are in opposition, how can a stable government be formed? The philosopher Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679) used his observations of the society of ants and bees to answer these political questions.]

Certain living creatures, such as bees and ants, live sociably with one another and yet have no other direction than their personal judgments and appetites. Some people may want to know, perhaps, why mankind cannot do the same. The answer is this:

Firstly, men are continually in competition with one another for honour and dignity, whereas bees and ants are not. Consequently there arises among men envy and hatred, and finally war.

Secondly, among bees and ants, the common good of all is the same as the private good of each bee or ant. But man, whose joy consists in comparing himself with other men, can enjoy nothing but that which brings personal status.

Thirdly, creatures like bees and ants, since they cannot reason, do not see any fault in the administration of their common business. On the other hand, among men, there are very many who think themselves wiser, and better able to govern the public, than others. Such men strive to reform government, one this way, one that way. By the collision of such reformers, civil war is created.

Fourthly, although such creatures can make known to each other their desires and other affections, yet they lack that skill at words by which some men can make good seem evil, and evil seem good. By so doing, men spread discontent among their fellows, and trouble the peace.

Lastly, the agreements among such creatures are natural. Agreements among men are by covenant only, which is artificial. Therefore it is no wonder that there is something else required to make agreements among men lasting. That something is a common power. The only way to create a common power that can defend men from the invasion of foreigners, and the injuries of one another, is to give all men's power and strength to one man, or to one assembly of men.

The man who has this power conferred on him is called sovereign, and has sovereign power. Everyone else is his subject.

Second Treatise on Civil Government

- John Locke
a modern paraphrase

[John Locke (1632-1704) disputed Hobbes's defence of absolute monarchy, and in so doing wrote his own defence of individual rights and limited government. An understanding of his views is basic to an understanding of Western liberal-democracy.]

Of the State of Nature

To understand political power correctly, we must consider the state that all men are naturally in – that is, a state in which they have perfect freedom to dispose of their possessions and persons as they think fit, within the bounds of the law of nature.

This state is also a condition of equality, so that no one has more power than any other. This is true of all men, unless God should set some one person above another, and give to him, by clear appointment, the right to rule.

But though this state is a state of liberty, yet it is not a state of license. Man does not have the liberty to destroy either himself, or any creature in his possession. The state of nature, which I spoke of, has a law of nature (that is, reason) to govern it, and this law obliges everyone, since all are equal and independent, to do no harm to any other person's life, health, liberty, or possessions.

Of the Ends of Political Society and Government

If man in the state of nature is as free as I have said, and if he is equal to the greatest and subject to no body – why will he part with his freedom? The obvious answer is that his enjoyment of his freedom is very uncertain, and constantly exposed to the invasion of others. Since every man is his equal, and the greater proportion of his fellow men are not fair and just, the enjoyment of the property man has is very insecure. This condition makes man willing to give up his freedom and to join in the society of others who are already united, or have a mind to unite, for the mutual preservation of their lives, liberties, and property.

Of the Dissolution of Government

The reason men enter into society is to preserve their property. Therefore, the purpose they have in choosing and authorizing a legislative assembly is the making of laws to guard the properties of all the members of the society. Whenever the legislator try to take away and destroy the property of the people, or to reduce them to slavery, these legislators put themselves into a state of war with the people. In this situation, the people are freed from any further duty to obey their legislators. They have, moreover, a right to resume their original liberty, and, by the establishment of a new assembly, to provide for their own safety and security. What I have said concerning the assembly holds true for the supreme executive power, which has a double trust, both to take part in the assembly and to carry out the law. If the executive acts against both of these trusts by making his own arbitrary will the law of society, he frees the people from the duty of obeying him.

The Social Contract

- J.J. Rousseau

Man is born free, yet everywhere he is in chains. One thinks himself the master of others, and still remains a greater slave than they. How did this change come about? I do not really know. What can make it legitimate? I think I can answer that question.

If I took into account only force, as well as the effects derived from it, I should say: "So long as a people is compelled to obey, and obeys, it does well; as soon as it can shake off the yoke, and does shake it off, it does still better, for regaining its liberty by the same right as took it away either it is justified in resuming it, or there was no justification for those who took it away." The social order is a sacred right which is the basis of all other rights. Nevertheless, this right does not come from one nature, and must be founded therefore on convention. . . .

I suppose men to have reached the point at which the obstacles in the way of their preservation in the state of nature show their power of resistance to be greater than the resources of each individual for his maintenance in that state. That condition of primitiveness can then subsist no longer. The human race would perish unless it changed its manner of existence.

But, since men cannot engender new forces, but only unite and direct those which already exist, they have no other means of preserving themselves than by the formation, in aggregation, of a sum of forces great enough to overcome the resistance. These they must bring into play by means of a single motive power, and cause to act in concert.

This sum of forces can arise only when several persons come together, but since the force and liberty of each man are the chief instruments of his self-preservation, how can he pledge them without harm to his own interests, and without neglecting the care which he owes to himself? This difficulty, in so far as it relates to my present subject, may be stated in these terms:

"The problem is to find a form of association that will defend and protect with the whole common force the person and property of each associate, and in which each, while uniting himself with all, may still obey himself alone, and still remain as free as before." This is the basic problem for which the *Social Contract* gives the solution.

The clauses of this contract are so determined by the nature of the act that the least modification would make them vain and without effect, so that, although they have perhaps never formally been set forth, they are everywhere the same and everywhere tacitly admitted and recognized, until, on the violation of the social compact, each regains his original rights and resumes his natural liberty, while he loses the conventional liberty in favor of those who renounced it.

When properly understood these clauses may be reduced to one: the total alienation of each associate, in common with all his rights, to the whole community. This is because in the first place, since each gives himself absolutely, the conditions are the same for all. This being so, no one has any interest in making them burdensome to others.

In addition, the alienation being without reserve, the union is as perfect as it can possibly be, and no associate has anything more to demand; for, if the individual retained certain rights, as there would be no common superior to decide between them and the public, each, being on one point his own judge, would ask to be so on all. The state of nature would thus continue, and the association would necessarily become inoperative and tyrannical.

Finally, each individual, in giving himself to all, gives himself to nobody. Since there is no associate over whom he does not acquire the same right as he yields others over himself, he gains an equivalent for everything he loses, and an increase of force for the preservation of what he has.

If we discard from the social compact what is not essential, we shall find that it reduces itself to the following terms:

"Each of us puts his person and all his power in common under the supreme direction of the general will and, in our corporate capacity, we receive each member as an indivisible part of the whole."

As a young man, Owen entered the cotton manufacturing industry and quickly succeeded in becoming a partner in a Manchester firm. From Manchester he moved to Scotland, where his community at New Lanark became famous and was visited by many people. Working conditions were healthy, hours of work were moderate, workers were well housed, their children attended the community school, drunkenness and crime were negligible.

Owen believed that in a favourable environment men would be happy and lead useful and satisfying lives. Not content with his success at New Lanark, he wrote pamphlets and letters, made speeches, and testified before commissions of inquiry in an attempt to have his ideas generally adopted.

In this letter to the London newspapers, he uses a question-and-answer device (a catechism) to summarize his pamphlet, A New View of Society.

Question. Are you the principal proprietor of the works and village of New Lanark, and have you the sole direction and superintendence of them?

Answer. Yes.

Q. How long have you had the management of that establishment?

A. Eighteen years in August next.

Q. Of what description is the population of New Lanark?

A. Of manufacturers of cotton thread chiefly; but also of iron and brass founders, iron and tin smiths, millwrights, turners in wood and metals, sawyers, carpenters, masons, tilers, painters, glaziers, tailors, shoemakers, butchers, bakers, shopkeepers, farmers, labourers, surgeons, ministers of religion, instructors of youth, male and female superintendents of various departments, clerks, and policemen; forming a mixed society of trades and workpeople.

Q. Had you any experience among the working classes before you undertook the management of the works at New Lanark?

A. Yes; I superintended large manufacturing establishments in Manchester and its neighbourhood for about eight years preceding, in which great numbers of men, women, and children were employed.

Q. What has been the chief object of your attention during the number of years that you have had so many persons under your care and superintendence?

A. To discover the means by which the condition of the poor and working classes could be ameliorated and with benefit to their employers.

Q. To what conclusions have you now come upon this subject?

A. That the situation of these classes may be easily greatly improved; and that their natural powers may be far more beneficially directed, for themselves and for society at large, without creating injury of any kind, to any class, or to any individual.

Q. Have you generally succeeded in improving the condition and moral habits of those who have been under your care?

A. Yes, and with even fewer exceptions than I anticipated, considering the obstacles I had to encounter, with the nature of the influence that I possessed to enable me to overcome them.

Q. What are those obstacles?

A. The ignorance and ill-training of the people, which had given them the habits of drunkenness, theft, falsehood, and want of cleanliness; with opposition to each other's interests; sectarian feelings; strong national prejudices, both political and religious, against all attempts on the part of a stranger to improve their condition; to which may be added the unhealthy nature of their employment.

Q. On what leading principles did you act, so as to remove those obstacles?

A. On the principle of prevention solely. Instead of wasting time and talent in considering an endless variety of individual effects, I patiently studied the causes producing those effects, exerting myself to remove them; and by thus acting, it appeared that the same time and talent, when employed under the system of prevention, could produce results very much greater than under the system of coercion[1] and punishment. For instance, in the case of habitual drunkenness, it appeared to me useless to apply to the individuals who had been taught to acquire the practices of intoxication to desist from it, while they remained surrounded by the circumstances that perpetually tempted them to continue the habit. The first step adopted in that case was to convince the parties, when sober, of the advantages they would derive from having the temptation removed; which, when attempted in a mild and proper spirit, was never difficult to accomplish. The next step was to remove the temptation; and then the evil itself, with all its endless injurious consequences, ceased altogether.

Q. How many complaints have been brought before you by the inhabitants of New Lanark, in your capacity of a magistrate for the country?

A. Not one, for many years past.

Q. Having turned your attention to the subject, to what causes do you attribute the distress existing among the poor and working classes?

A. To a misapplication of the existing powers of production in the country, both natural and artificial, when compared to the wants and demands for those productions. Much of our natural power, consisting of the physical and intellectual faculties of human beings, is now not only altogether unproductive, but a heavy burden to the country; under a system, too, which is rapidly demoralizing it; while a very large part of our artificial or mechanical agency is employed to produce that which is of little real value to society, and which, in its act of production, entails innumerable evils of the most afflicting kind, at the present time, upon the producers, as well as upon a very large part of society; and, through them, upon the whole of our population.

Q. Does your experience enable you to suggest a more advantageous application of these productive powers?
A. Communities of 500 to 1,500 persons, founded on the principle of united labour and expenditure, and having their basis in agriculture, might be arranged so as to give the following advantages to the labouring poor, and through them to all the other classes – for every real benefit to the latter must come from the former. All the labour of the individuals under this system would be naturally and advantageously directed; first to procure for themselves abundance of all that was necessary for their comfortable subsistence; next they would obtain the means to enable them to unlearn many, almost all indeed, of the bad habits which the present defective arrangements of society have forced upon them: then, to give only the best habits and dispositions to the rising generation, and thus withdraw those circumstances from society which separate man from man, and introduce others, whose entire tendency shall be to unite them in one general interest that shall be clearly understood by each. They will afterwards be enabled to cultivate the far more valuable, the intellectual part of their nature; that part which, when properly directed, will discover how much may yet be put into practice to promote human happiness.
Q. But will men in a community of mutual and combined interests be as industrious as when employed for their individual gain?
A. The supposition that they will not, I apprehend to be a common prejudice, and not at all founded on fact. Wherever the experiment has been tried, the labour of each has been exerted cheerfully. It is found that when men work together for a common interest, each performs his part more advantageously for himself and for society, than when employed for others at daily wages, or than when working by the piece. When employed by the day, they feel no interest in their occupation, beyond the receipt of their wages; when they work by the piece, they feel too much interest, and frequently overwork themselves, and occasion disease, premature old age and death. When employed with others in a community of interests, both these extremes are avoided; the labour becomes temperate, but effective, and may be easily regulated and superintended. Besides, the principles and practices are now quite obvious by which any inclinations, from the most indolent to the most industrious, may be given to the rising generation.

Manifesto of the Communist Party

- K. Marx, F. Engels

The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles.

Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary re-constitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes. . . .

The modern bourgeois society that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society has not done away with class antagonisms. It has but established new classes, new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle in place of the old ones.

Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses this distinctive feature; it has simplified the class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great classes directly facing each other: Bourgeoisie and Proletariat. . . .

The bourgeoisie, wherever it has got the upper hand, has put an end to all feudal, patriarchal, idyllic relations. It has pitilessly torn asunder the motley feudal ties that bound man to his "natural superiors," and has left remaining no other nexus between man and man than naked self-interest, than callous "cash payment." It has drowned the most heavenly ecstasies of religious fervor, of chivalrous enthusiasm, of philistine sentimentalism, in the icy water of egotistical calculation. It has resolved personal worth into exchange value, and in place of the numberless indefeasible chartered freedoms, has set up that single, unconscionable freedom – Free Trade. In one word, for exploitation, veiled by religious and political illusions, it has substituted naked, shameless, direct, brutal exploitation. . . .

But not only has the bourgeoisie forged the weapons that bring death to itself; it has also called into existence the men who are to wield those weapons – the modern working class – the proletarians.

In proportion as the bourgeoisie, i.e., capital, is developed, in the same proportion is the proletariat, the modern working-class, developed, a class of labourers who live only so long as they find work, and who find work only so long as their labour increases capital. These labourers, who must sell themselves piecemeal, are a commodity, like every other article of commerce, and are consequently exposed to all the vicissitudes of competition, to all the fluctuations of the market. . . .

But with the development of industry the proletariat not only increases in number, it becomes concentrated in greater masses, its strength grows, and it feels that strength more. The various interests and conditions of life within the ranks of the proletariat are more and more equalized, in proportion as machinery obliterates all distinctions of labour, and nearly everywhere reduces wages to the same low level. The growing competition among the bourgeois, and the resulting commercial crisis, make the wages of the workers ever more fluctuating. The unceasing improvement of machinery, ever more rapidly developing, makes their livelihood more and more precarious; the collisions between individual workmen and individual bourgeois take more and more the character of collisions between two classes. Thereupon the workers begin to form combinations (Trades' Unions) against the bourgeois; they club together in order to keep up wages; they found permanent associations in order to make provision beforehand for these occasional revolts. Here and there the contest breaks into riots. . . .

Proletarians and Communists

In what relation do the Communists stand to the proletarians as a whole?

The Communists do not form a separate party opposed to other working-class parties.

They have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole.

They do not set up any sectarian principles of their own, by which to shape and mould the proletarian movement.

The Communists are distinguished from other working-class parties by this only: 1. In the national struggles of the proletarians of the different countries, they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat independently of all nationality. 2. In the various stages of development which the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole. . . .

The immediate aim of the Communists is the same as that of all the other proletarian parties: formation of the proletariat into a class, overthrow of the bourgeois supremacy, conquest of political power by the proletariat. . . .

The distinguishing feature of Communism is not the abolition of property generally, but the abolition of bourgeois property. But modern bourgeois private property is the final and most complete expression of the system of producing and appropriating products, that is based on class antagonism, on the exploitation of the many by the few.

In this sense, the theory of the Communists may be summed up in the single sentence: Abolition of private property. . . .

The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the State, i.e., of the proletariat organized as the ruling class; and to increase the total of productive forces as rapidly as possible.

Of course, in the beginning, this cannot be effected except by means of despotic inroads on the rights of property, and on the conditions of bourgeois production; by means of measures, therefore, which appear economically insufficient and untenable, but which, in the course of the movement, outstrip themselves, necessitate further inroads upon the old social order, and are unavoidable as a means of entirely revolutionizing the mode of production.

These measures will of course be different in different countries.

Nevertheless in the most advanced countries the following will be pretty generally applicable:

1. Abolition of property in land and application of all rents of land to public purposes.
2. A heavy progressive or graduated income tax.
3. Abolition of all right of inheritance.
4. Confiscation of the property of all emigrants and rebels.
5. Centralization of credit in the hands of the State, by means of a national bank with State capital and exclusive monopoly.
6. Centralization of the means of communication and transport in the hands of the State.
7. Extension of factories and instruments of production owned by the State; the bringing into cultivation of waste lands, and the improvement of the soil generally in accordance with a common plan.
8. Equal liability of all to labour. Establishment of industrial armies, especially for agriculture.
9. Combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries; gradual abolition of the distinction of population between town and country, by a more equable distribution of population over the country.
10. Free education for all children in public schools. Abolition of children's factory labour in its present form. Combination of education with industrial production, etc., etc. . . .

In place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association, in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all. . . .

Report on Fabian Policy

The object of the Fabian Society is to persuade the English people to make their political constitution thoroughly democratic and so to socialize their industries as to make the livelihood of the people entirely independent of private Capitalism.

The Fabian Society endeavours to pursue its Socialist and Democratic objects with complete singleness of aim. For example:

It has no distinctive opinions on the Marriage Question, Religion, Art, abstract Economics, historic Evolution, Currency, or any other subject than its own special business of practical Democracy and Socialism.

It brings all the pressure and persuasion in its power to bear on existing forces, caring nothing by what name any party calls itself, or what principles, Socialist or other, it professes, but having regard solely to the tendency of its actions, supporting those which make for Socialism and Democracy, and opposing those which are reactionary.

It does not propose that the practical steps towards Social-Democracy should be carried out by itself, or by any other specially organised society or party.

It does not ask the English people to join the Fabian Society.

Fabian Electoral Tactics

The Fabian Society does not claim to be the people of England, or even the Socialist party, and therefore does not seek direct political representation by putting forward Fabian candidates at elections. But it loses no opportunity of influencing elections and inducing constituencies to select Socialists as their candidates. No person, however, can obtain the support of the Fabian Society, or escape its opposition, by merely repeating a few shibboleths[1] and calling himself a Socialist or Social-Democrat. As there is no Second Ballot in England, frivolous candidatures give great offence, and discredit the party in whose name they are undertaken, because any third candidate who is not well supported will not only be beaten himself, but may also involve in his defeat the better of the two candidates competing with him. Under such circumstances the Fabian Society throws its weight against the third candidate whether he calls himself a Socialist or not, in order to secure the victory to the better of the two candidates between whom the contest really lies. But when the third candidate is not only a serious representative of Socialism, but can organise his party well and is likely to poll sufficient votes to make even his defeat a respectable demonstration of the strength and growth of Socialism in the constituency, the Fabian Society supports him resolutely under all circumstances and against all other parties.

Fabian Toleration

The Fabian Society, far from holding aloof from other bodies, urges its members to lose no opportunity of joining them and permeating[2] them with Fabian ideas as far as possible. Almost all organizations and movements contain elements making for Socialism, no matter how remote the sympathies and intentions of their founders may be from those of the Socialists. On the other hand, unintentionally reactionary proposals are constantly being brought forward in Socialist bodies. Fabians are therefore encouraged to join all other organizations, Socialist or non-Socialist, in which Fabian work can be done.

Fabian Constitutionalism

The Fabian Society is perfectly constitutional in its attitude; and its methods are those usual in political life in England.

The Fabian Society accepts the conditions imposed on it by human nature and by the national character and political circumstances of the English people. It sympathises with the ordinary citizen's desire for gradual, peaceful changes as against revolutionary conflict with the army and police, and martyrdom. It recognises the fact that Social-Democracy is not the whole of the working-class program, and that every separate measure towards the socialization of industry will have to compete for precedence with numbers of other reforms. It therefore does not believe that the moment will ever come when the whole of Socialism will be staked on the issue of a single General Election or a single Bill in the House of Commons as between the proletariat on one side and the proprietariat[3] on the other. Each instalment of Social-Democracy will only be a measure among other measures, and will have to be kept to the front by an energetic socialist section. The Fabian Society therefore begs those Socialists who are looking forward to a sensational historical crisis, to join some other Society.

Fabian Tract No. 70, *Report on Fabian Policy*, 1896, pp. 3-4.

Speech by O'Donoghue to Toronto Trades and Labour Council (1886)

Mr. Chairman and Fellow Workingmen: When I was elected a little over a year ago, I considered myself the direct representative of the Ottawa Trades Council, which had nominated me, and the workingmen of this city. I took my seat in the Ontario Legislature on the fifth of February, 1874, and since entering the House I have never broken my pledge to that body.

I have never forgotten how I stood with the body that sent me there, nor what was due to that body.

Many matters have come before the House in the past year. Some of those matters I raised myself. I shall be more specific in a moment. But before I place before you the record of the House and my position as taken in regard to all of these matters, let me state in direct terms my own personal position.

The Ottawa Trades Council has done me the honour of placing my name in nomination for the coming general election. They know where I stand in relation to that body and the workingmen of the city. I hold that my private acts so long as I do not commit some deed to bring me within the law concern only myself. I stand ready to defend myself from my acts as a representative of the labor body.

Within two weeks of taking my seat I had an opportunity of voting against the privileged few. Mr. Mowat's Government sponsored a Bill to make bank stocks exempt from taxation. I voted against that Bill. I would again. The Trades Assembly of Toronto agrees with me. They have asked the City of Toronto to refuse to allow any property to become tax exempt. The members of the Trades Assembly are not unanimous on this and I am not sure that tax exemptions should be denied to church properties, but I am certain that bank stocks should not enjoy such special privilege.

When the Government's Bill to extend the franchise was before the House, I moved for an amendment which, if it had been accepted, would have given the right to vote to all male persons of the age of twenty-one years and upwards.

I believe that every man, including workingmen, in this country should have the right to vote. Perhaps I am a little ahead of the views of most workingmen in this matter, but I feel very strongly that a qualified manhood suffrage is not sufficient. And I would add that two other Members of the Legislature supported my amendment.

That is not all that I tried to do as your representative of Labor. On November the fourth, last year, I introduced a Bill, and the House gave first reading, entitled "An Act to amend an Act to establish liens in favor of mechanics, machinists, laborers, and others." That Act was discussed by a committee of the Trades Assembly in Toronto. They came and talked it over with me. I think the workingmen in the unions in Toronto were largely in favor of my suggestions as set forth in the Act.

Today trade is down. Workingmen are finding it difficult to obtain employment. Here in Ottawa we are suffering rather less than in other centres. The employment still available on the Parliament Buildings is a boon to the community. But elsewhere wages are declining and trade is on the downgrade. We seem to be still suffering from the panic in the United States of two years ago. Yet our Governments are still assisting

Let me quote a few figures. The provincial expenditure on immigration in 1873 was $159,178.55. In 1874 it was down to $134,640.66. This is a slight improvement, but much remains to be done. I have complained in the House against these expenditures. If you re-elect me, I shall go on trying to reduce this figure to nothing. I am not opposed to immigration. This country holds great promise for expanding trade and employment for many workingmen. But in these times of depressed trade conditions it is sheer folly to promote the immigration of poor workers' families into Canada when all they, the newcomers, can expect to do is to take the work away from those of us who are already here. I know I have the support of the workingmen in this.

You know of my efforts as the President of the Trades Council and as a member of the Parliamentary Committee of the Canadian Labor Union. You know how we met with the Dominion Government and other Members of Parliament hoping to obtain the repeal of the Criminal Law Amendment Act. In spite of all of our efforts that unfortunate law remains to hobble the activities of trade unions.

Perhaps in the future it may not be so difficult for your labor politicians. With the growth of the labor movement, and the education of the masses, other politicians may deem it expedient to listen to your views and to take hold of your problems. But today not another man in any House in this conutry upholds your views."

went by, the feeling grew that he was not carrying out his mandate, that he had to be pressed too much to do something, and was disposed to settle too low. For this, trade unionists criticized him. At the fifth CLU convention in 1877, Alfred Jury said: "The labouring classes have only one man in Parliament and we have only half of him!" Another delegate said: "D. J. O'Donaghue was no longer a representative of the Labour Party."[100]

His vacillations had a bad effect. Some asked if labour political action could succeed. One delegate at the CLU convention of 1877 said: "Until we can get a labouring man who will faithfully attend to the interests of his class, it is no good sending a man to Parliament!" However, more far-seeing labour leaders defended the principle. J. S. Williams said: "Even supposing a working man does not come up to the views of supporters, that is no reason why we should not have working classes candidates."[101]

Dissatisfaction with O'Donaghue reached a high point in the winter of 1878. The Toronto Trades Assembly and the CLU Parliamentary Committee decided to send a delegation to O'Donaghue and ask "for an explanation of his conduct in the legislature". An entry in the Assembly Minute Book for February 20, 1878 reads: "Moved and seconded that the Assembly feels dissatisfied with his conduct with regard to the Lien Act."[102]

Class Collaboration

in the career of D. J. O'Donaghue, there was a shoot of that historic trend in the labour movement which stands opposed to militancy—class collaboration. During the 1950s the leadership of the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada fostered the idea that O'Donaghue was the "father of the Canadian Labour movement". We have discovered no evidence that the pioneers considered O'Donaghue their father, and sometimes they wondered if he was their brother. The truth is that O'Donaghue was a bit of an opportunist. He contributed, but this should not be exaggerated. In his home town, Ottawa, when the first executive of the Ottawa Trades Council was elected in December 1872, his post was assistant secretary. His statements during those years do not have the substance of those made by John Hewitt or Andrew Scott. He became more prominent in 1874 when he was elected to the Ontario Legislature. As the years went by, the feeling grew that he was not carrying out his mandate, that he had to be pressed too much to do something, and was disposed to settle too low. For this, trade unionists criticized him. At the fifth CLU convention in 1877, Alfred Jury said: "The labouring classes have only one man in Parliament and we have only half of him!" Another delegate said: "D. J. O'Donaghue was no longer a representative of the Labour Party."[100]

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that the Assembly feels dissatisfied with his conduct with regard to the Lien Act."*[102]

O'Donaghue was not alone in his vacillations. In 1874, some members of the Toronto Typographical Society wanted the union to disaffiliate from the Trades Assembly, and they doubted the value of the CLU. The membership defeated them. In the Trades Assembly, a conservative group wanted to confine that body exclusively to wages and working conditions. Thus came a clash in 1875. Speculators moved in to take over Queen's Park and convert it into a site for building. Progressive-minded Toronto citizens rallied to save the Park, asked the Assembly for support, and secured it. When conservative elements in the Assembly objected, J. S. Williams replied that the Assembly's constitution permitted it to act on all matters affecting labour directly or indirectly. Again, in 1877, conservative trade unionists demanded dissolution of the Assembly. The Assembly rejected this.[103]

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This was the condition of the organized workers' movement in Canada in the 1870s. They were difficult years. As the decade neared its end, prospects seemed dark. But distinctive labour organization was developing. The movement was being built.

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* In later years, O'Donaghue was active in the Trades and Labour Council of Toronto and the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada. After the turn of the century William Lyon Mackenzie King, Canada's first Deputy Minister of Labour, secured his appointment as Canada's first fair wage officer. The data above refers to negative aspects in the work of O'Donaghue. Some of the positive aspects are covered in materials issued by the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada and the Canadian Labour Congress.

APPENDIX VI-F(i)

Objectives of Knights of Labour

. . To make industrial and moral worth, not wealth, the true standard of individual and national greatness. To secure for the workers full enjoyment of the wealth they create, sufficient leisure in which to develop their intellectual, moral and social faculties; all the benefits, recreation and pleasure of association; in a word to enable them to share in the gains and honours of advancing civilization.

Quote by O'Donoghue

APPENDIX VI-F(ii)

The tendency of the principle and methods of the Knights of Labour is in the direction of intellectual development, peaceful and lawful agitation, and an intelligent and united use of the ballot as a remedy for many of the grievances of which wage earners complain.

Quote by Andy Andras and recorded in Williams, p.50

APPENDIX VI-F(iii)

The Knights had started out as a workingman's organization, had been diluted by farm and middle-class elements; had attempted unsuccessfully to combine skilled and unskilled workers alike and had finally ended up as a happy hunting ground for believers in an assortment of social and political cure-alls.

Purpose of Trades and Labour Congress

APPENDIX VI-G(i)

. . . the uniting of all labour organizations in order to work for the passage of new laws or amendments to existing laws, in the interests of those who have to earn their living, as well as to insure at the same time the well-being of the working class.

3c

APPENDIX VI-G(ii)

A Resolution: passed in 1894 giving the Congress the authority to charter

. . . organizations in localities where they do not now exist, whether of local unions or Assemblies of the Knights of Labour; but in no case may they grant charters to any body of workers belonging to any trade or profession having a national or international union now in existence.[58]

APPENDIX VI-G(iii)

Platform of Principles of T.L.C.

1. Free compulsory education.
2. Legal working day of eight hours, and six days a week.
3. Government inspection of all industries.
4. Abolition of the contract system on all public works.
5. A minimum living wage, based on local conditions.
6. Public ownership of all franchises, such as railways, telegraphs, waterworks, lighting, etc.
7. Tax reform, lessening taxation on industry and increasing it on land values.
8. Abolition of the Senate.
9. Exclusion of the Chinese.
10. Placing of the union label on all manufactured goods.
11. Abolition of child labour by children under fourteen and of female labour in all branches of industry such as mines, workshops, factories, etc.
12. Abolition of property qualifications for all public offices.
13. Compulsory arbitration of labour disputes.
14. Proportional representation and the cumulative vote.
15. Prohibition of prison labour in competition with 'free labour'.

Unionism and Socialism

How could the trade union movement be built? What was its best course? This constant concern of the socialists expressed itself in a variety of ways:

First. The socialists were active in the day-to-day building of the movement and conduct of its struggles.

Second. They advanced proposals aimed at making the movement more effective.

Third. The socialists said the unions should advance to political action. The rise of the trusts and their increasing power in government proved that the purely economic struggle no longer sufficed. When Labour confined its battles to the economic base, it tended to be outmanoeuvered by capital which operated not only from its own powerful economic base, but also from the reserve political base of government and the state. The solution was that the workers should marshal their forces on a Canada-wide scale and constitute themselves as an independent force in Canada-wide politics. If this was done, the day would be speeded when, as a Canadian socialist put it in 1891, the "politics of the wealth-makers . . . stands foremost in the parliament of nations".

Fourth. The socialists tended to oppose class collaboration.

Fifth. The socialists' concern for the union expressed itself in the way they got to grips with the problem of *wages*, the wages system. This point is absolutely decisive. We will elaborate on it.

In 1898 a Canadian trade unionist said:

"Let's keep up the fight until our wages rise to the level of our earnings and not a single parasite is left to rob us of the fruits of our labour."[11]*

Here is a case of a Canadian getting to grips with the *wages question* —the meeting point of trade unionism and socialism. He is picking up a thread reaching as far back as Robert Owen's Grand National Consolidated Trades Union, 1833. Owen's point had been later taken up and developed by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. And here was the gist of the wages problem as they posed it. Should the workers confine themselves to seeking higher wages and shorter hours? In other words, should they merely seek a bigger slice of the pie? Or should they go for the whole pie, because they were the ones who baked the pie, and made the materials that went into the pie? source of conflict

Now, even if workers believed the whole pie was rightfully theirs and acted on that belief, that was not good enough. For the pie belonged to the capitalist. He aimed to sell it on the market and get the best price for it. And he was going to make sure that at the end of the cycle of production and marketing, after the costs of materials, wages, machinery and buildings had been met, there was still a fair slice of the pie for him—*profit.* This was capitalist free enterprise. And all the forces of practice, accumulated habit, ownership, economic and political power, the various dominant social institutions and ideas were there to ensure that capitalist free enterprise operated unimpeded and unchallenged—at least, not frontally challenged, not basically and consistently challenged.

However, the workers had another alternative. On the market was not just the pie they had baked—commodities in general, but a commodity of a special type: their power to work, labour power. Therefore, the best course was to do what the capitalists did: Go out on the market and get the best possible price and condition for their commodity—labour power. Go out and get higher wages, shorter hours, a more tolerable workload, a better life for themselves and their families.

The way to do this was—combination. Organize! *But*, when a union won the best price for labour power—the highest wages, shortest hours, best conditions—it did something else as well: It generated a new and distinct force—working class solidarity. This meant that within the womb of the free enterprise system of production for profit, the elements of a higher society were forming—one based on production for use, on the union of the producers.

Thus arose the conflict of Capital and Labour.

Finally, let all this be granted, and two conclusions followed.

First. The workers should realistically recognize their status as commodities on the market. They should go out and get the best price they could for their commodity, their power to work. They should aim for the best conditions in the here and now.

Second. The workers should press forward to abolish a system which confined the improvement of their conditions to the limit set by capitalist production for profit rather than to the boundless possibilities of large-scale production itself.

This was how Marx and Engels approached the *wages problem*, and this was their solution.

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* Extract from an article appearing in the Toronto Allied Printing Trades Council Souvenir Program of 1898.

The Berlin Split

Then came the Berlin (Kitchener) convention of the Trades and Labour Congress, held September 1902. Here the evil deed was done, the movement split. Present were delegates from Canadian unions such as the Knights of Labour assemblies at Montreal, Toronto and Ottawa; also locals directly chartered by the TLC, Trades councils, and national (non-U.S. affiliated) unions such as the Canadian Federation of Boot and Shoe workers. Present also were delegates from locals of international unions, such as the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners. The latter were in the majority. There was discord from the start. The Convention refused to seat delegates from the Montreal Federated Trades Council, lifted that council's charter, and seated instead delegates from the Gompers-approved council. This embittered the "nationals". Then came debate on the key issue—to adopt or not adopt an amendment to the constitution that "no national union be recognized where an international union exists". Against the advice of leading Congress figures like P. M. Draper and D. J. O'Donaghue, the delegates adopted this amendment by a majority of 89 to 35. International union power was stamped further into the Congress by the election to its presidency of John Flett, a paid officer of an international union.

Adoption of this amendment meant automatically the exclusion of the Knights of Labour. In turn this meant a counter-revolution in the Congress, a reversal of the basis on which it had been founded, as a united movement of the Knights of Labour and international unions. And so, in this almost casual way, the delegates to this historic convention were fooled and intimidated into selling their Canadian heritage for a mess of U.S. pottage. But for this they had some compensation. One was a promise by the AFL that henceforth it would pay the TLC $500 per annum.[2]

Consequence of the Berlin Split

Coal Miners, Carpenters, TLC:

What did the Berlin split mean for Canadians? Here is how coal miners were affected. At that time, their principal union was the Provincial Workmen's Association in Nova Scotia, then among the larger unions in the country. The next logical step was its entry into the Trades and Labour Congress, but this could not be done because of a clash of jurisdiction with the United Mine Workers of America, an international union. Yet at the turn of the century, this latter union had no membership at all in Canada, while the PWA was one of Canada's senior unions—established in 1879, it pre-dated even the TLC. In 1904, when this matter was being considered, the Nova Scotia executive reported piteously: "Since the PWA is a provincial association, it is impossible for them to affiliate with the Congress."

Consider now the fate overtaking the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters—a union dating back in Canada to the 1860s. In order to facilitate integration of their American locals into the trade union movement of this continent, the British headquarters of the ASC came to an agreement with the AFL, under which this latter body extended recognition to ASC locals. In 1911, the AFL abruptly terminated this agreement, and in 1912, the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, AFL, asked the Trades and Labour Congress to take similar action—to terminate recognition of the ASC. This request the 1912 convention of the Congress rejected, but subsequently the TLC executive committee cancelled the convention's decision, and returned the per capita payments to the ASC. in other words, it terminated that body's affiliation to the Congress—an action which Congress Secretary-treasurer P. M. Draper justified as follows in a letter to the ASC written in 1913: "The international trade union movement . . . as understood in Canada . . . recognizes as its supreme head the AFL and this for all trade and jurisdictional matters." William Young, an ASC leader in Canada, sent Draper an indignant reply that "the disguise has been ripped from the Congress. The Congress was "truckling to institutions officered by men whose allegiance is to another country". He added:

> "It is to be sincerely hoped the time will soon come when we shall see the Canada Trades Congress take a firm stand for its independence while keeping friendly relations with the workers in other countries."

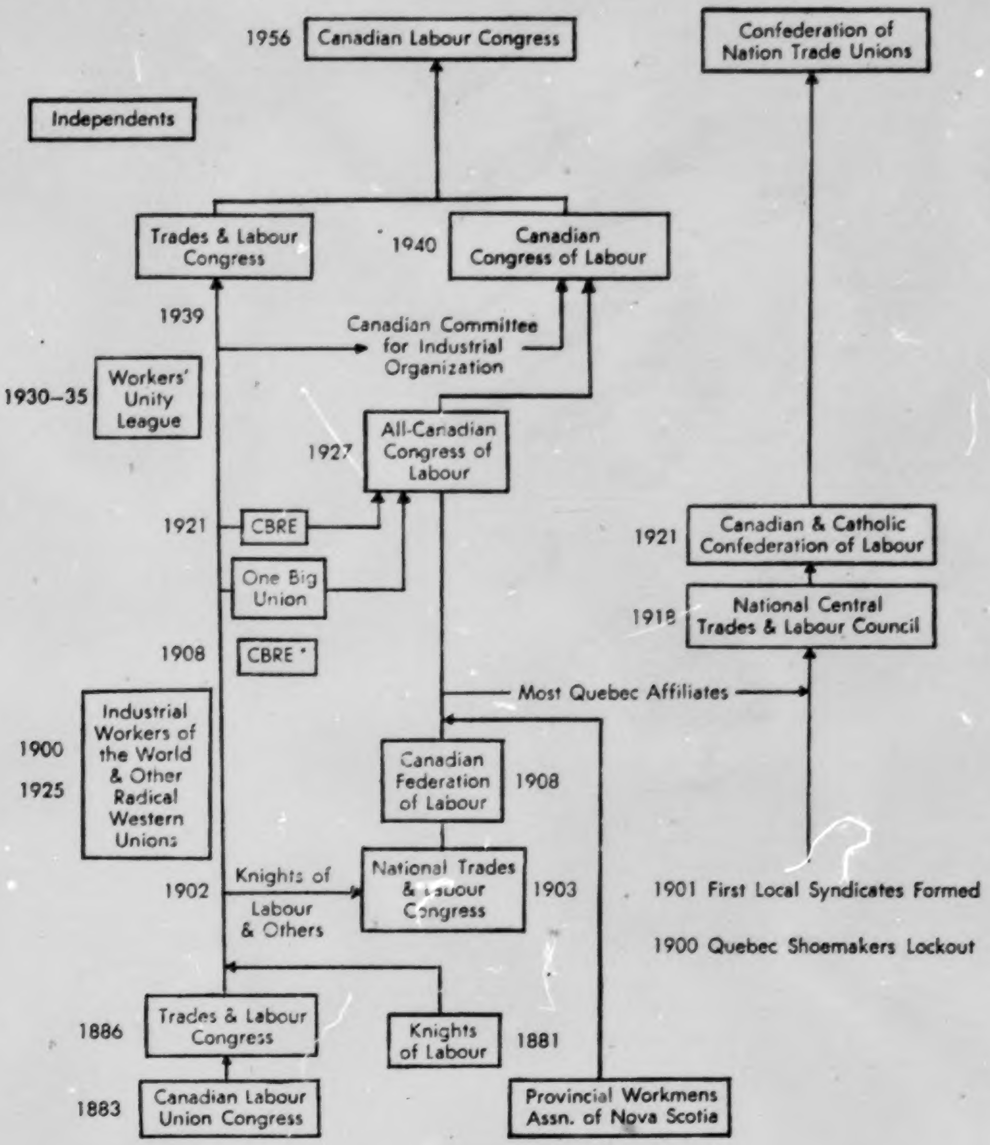
Then there was the effect on militant unions in Western Canada, like the Western Federation of Miners and the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees. Up to now they had been seated on the Trades and Labour Councils at Victoria, Vancouver and other cities. Now they had to withdraw: a new schism, a new tension between the standard movement and militant-led unions—likewise to persist through the years.

Most serious of all was the impact on the TLC itself. First there was the loss of membership. The loss of 30 or 40 locals with a few thousand members may not seem too serious, but Congress membership was then scanty, scarce 13,000 and its revenue meagre—in 1902 only $2,342. An immediate consequence of the split was the establishment of a new trade union centre in 1903, the National Trades and Labour Congress, based on the 27 Knights of Labour Assemblies expelled from the Congress. Thus was engendered a persisting duality, a multiplicity of trade union centres in Canada, which has persisted down to the present (1967).

A further grave consequence was a qualitative change in the character of the Congress. Though the matter was never clearly defined in the proceedings of the Canadian Labour Union and TLC in the 19th century, the general intention was clear: the all-around development of the Congress as an active and sovereign centre. This was ripped asunder by the 1902 decision. More and more the Congress stultified itself and tended to become an instrument of the international unions. This was reflected in the constitution of the Congress, in particular the clauses governing affiliation of unions. As the years passed by, one restrictive clause after another was jammed into the constitution. Their general effect was to close Congress doors to all *national* as distinct from international unions. The constitution became a strait jacket, a network of prohibitions. True, the Congress could charter local unions—but "in no case where international or national unions existed". Again, a national union could not be chartered "where there is in existence an international union of their craft." Two further clauses were an insult to Canadian trade union sovereignty. One said that an organization expelled or rejected by the American Federation of Labour would be automatically excluded from membership in the Trades and Labour Congress. Another said that a local union which was part of a national body which had broken with the international union in its jurisdiction or was challenging the jurisdiction of an international union recognized by the Congress would not be permitted to have delegates "at any central body chartered by this Congress."

In sum, increasingly the condition of membership in the Congress was becoming membership in an international union. The Congress, founded as an organization of *both* national and international unions, was tending to shrink to an organization of the latter only. In 1913 the decline was almost complete. Credentials submitted to the Congress convention that year show little or nothing in the way of directly-chartered locals or national unions.

THE HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE CANADIAN LABOUR MOVEMENT


1956
Canadian Labour Congress
Confederation of Nation Trade Unions
Independents
Trades & Labour Congress
1940
Canadian Congress of Labour
1939
Canadian Committee for Industrial Organization
1930–35
Workers' Unity League
1927
All-Canadian Congress of Labour
1921
CBRE
One Big Union
1921
Canadian & Catholic Confederation of Labour
1918
National Central Trades & Labour Council
1908
CBRE*
Most Quebec Affiliates
1900
1925
Industrial Workers of the World & Other Radical Western Unions
Canadian Federation of Labour
1908
1902
Knights of Labour & Others
National Trades & Labour Congress
1903
1901 First Local Syndicates Formed
1900 Quebec Shoemakers Lockout
1886
Trades & Labour Congress
Knights of Labour
1881
1883
Canadian Labour Union Congress
Provincial Workmens Assn. of Nova Scotia

1873-1877 Canadian Labour Union
1871 Local Trade Assemblies Begin to Emerge
1867 Knights of St. Crispin
1825-1860 Numerous Weak & Isolated Locals
1800-1825 Scattered Friendly Societies & Labour Circles

*Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees

Motion from 1939 Convention of T.L.C.

They [the CIO] set up a definite movement, dual and in opposition to the AFL. We had already been notified by some of our affiliated international unions that they refused to remit tax on their Canadian membership if affiliation of CIO unions was continued; and others had instructed their executive officers to take similar action. . . .

The question for you as delegates to decide is whether you are going to be inside this Congress, or on the outside watching other organizations than your own constituting its membership. You might as well know right now where you fit in.[124]

Craft *vs* Industrial Unions

The conflict between craft and industrial unionism, which harked back to the days of the Knights of Labour, the Industrial Workers of the World, and the One Big Union, was never-ending. Beyond the strictly practical aspects, it involved basic philosophic differences. At one extreme were the business unionists, who saw their responsibility as protection of the craft and the obtaining of periodic improvements in wages and conditions. At the other extreme were those who regarded the labour movement as a social force striving for the betterment of all mankind. It was essential to the second purpose that union organization should be extended to the hundreds of thousands of employees in the mass-production industries, most of whom were not craftsmen in the accepted sense.

While it was in the United States that the new drive for industrial unionism first surfaced, the sentiments of those behind it were shared by many Canadians. As has been seen, repeated efforts to have the Trades and Labour Congress move in that direction had failed, but the desire remained.

Union organization in United States factories had been actively encouraged by President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Under his administration the National Labor Relations Act, more commonly known as the Wagner Act, required employers to bargain in good faith and to refrain from discriminating against employees because of union activity.

Impatience of the workers with the American Federation of Labor was mounting. In 1935 John L. Lewis, president of the United Mine Workers, openly attacked the AFL leadership for its failure to respond to the demands for organizational expansion, but the policy remained unchanged. The promoters of industrial unionism pressed on, and soon new unions began appearing in such industries as auto, steel, and rubber. Within the AFL some unions which were already rather more industrial than craft joined the campaign.

By November 1935 the Committee for Industrial Organization — later the Congress of Industrial Organizations — had been formed, and the CIO was in business. Its purpose was 'to encourage and promote organization of workers in the mass-production and unorganized industries', and it was intended to be affiliated to the AFL.

The first big test came in Akron, Ohio, when the Goodyear Corporation refused to recognize the new Rubber Workers' Union. A strike lasted five weeks before the company gave in.

Management resistance to this new wave of unionism was strong. The Steel Workers' Organizing Committee, forerunner of the United Steelworkers, organized employees of Republic Steel at South Chicago and obtained a National Labor Relations Board order for recognition, but the company refused to have anything to do with the union.

A strike followed, and as a demonstration of the union's strength, a parade was arranged for Memorial Day. A force of 150 police showed up and broke up the demonstration, using firearms. Ten of the strikers were killed, seven of them shot in the back, apparently while they were trying to escape. More than a hundred were injured. A Senate inquiry found that the strikers had been quite within their rights in holding the parade and the attack by the police was unprovoked. The Memorial Day Massacre has a permanent place in the history of North American union organization.

Such opposition failed to dampen the ardour of those who saw the dawn of a new day. The letters 'CIO' took on a magic aura and offered new hopes to those whose wages were low and working conditions poor; and the wave of enthusiasm which was sweeping the United States soon spread into Canada.

But the attitude of the craft unions toward the new organizations toughened, and in 1936 the American Federation of

Labor suspended several unions on charges of dual unionism — the promotion of organizations in jurisdictional conflict with AFL affiliates. State federations of labour and local labour councils were ordered to refuse recognition to delegates from these organizations. Then in 1938, charters of the offending unions were revoked.

This created an extremely difficult situation for the Trades and Labour Congress in Canada, where there were strong demands for recognition of the new groups, regardless of the AFL policy. The TLC's president, P. M. Draper, tried to provide a middle course by giving an interpretation of the constitution which, he said, accommodated both craft and industrial unions. He maintained that it was the intention of the constitution to allow union members to decide the type of organization they wanted and that either was acceptable to the Congress.

It proved not quite as simple as that, and by the time the TLC's 1937 convention rolled around, the reality of the AFL's orders had to be faced. The TLC was not anxious to unseat delegates from the unions which were in trouble with the AFL, but neither had it any desire to arouse the anger of the AFL by allowing them to remain in the Congress, a position which it was feared might lead to the withdrawal of international unions.

The TLC executive was instructed to meet with AFL officers in an attempt to clarify the situation. Desire among Canadian unionists for a healing of the differences was strong, and there were even suggestions that the TLC might act as a mediator. But events had gone far beyond that point, and when the TLC officers went to Washington they were given a message that was crystal clear.

They returned home to report that they had been made fully aware of the consequences if they failed to expel the unions which were in bad grace with the AFL. It would 'lead to almost complete disorganization of the Congress as it has been established since 1902'.

The executive was polled, and seven organizations were suspended, the final action to rest with the next convention. The unions affected were: United Mine Workers, Amalgamated Clothing Workers, International Union of Fur and Leather Workers, International Union of Quarry Workers, United Automobile Workers, Steel Workers' Organizing Committee, and Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers. Altogether they had about 22,000 members.

The 1939 convention upheld the executive's action and ordered the unions expelled, but only after a lengthy debate. The desire for unity was much stronger in Canada than in the United States, but the AFL's ultimatum carried the day for the craft group.

Draper was not at the convention; he was ill and intended retiring. R. J. Tallon, the secretary-treasurer, spoke for the executive and was frank in explaining the position the Congress was in:

> They [the CIO] set up a definite movement, dual and in opposition to the AFL. We had already been notified by some of our affiliated international unions that they refused to remit tax on their Canadian membership if affiliation of CIO unions was continued; and others had instructed their executive officers to take similar action. . . .
>
> The question for you as delegates to decide is whether you are going to be inside this Congress, or on the outside watching other organizations than your own constituting its membership. You might as well know right now where you fit in.[124]

Tallon rejected suggestions that the AFL had applied pressure on the TLC; rather, he said, the message had come from individual international unions. The distinction was a fine one. There was a roll-call vote on the expulsion resolution, and it was adopted, 231-98. The split between craft and industrial unions had separated the Canadian labour movement into two parts.

A View on 1939 Resolution of T.L.C.

(This 1939 decision was the more tragic because Canada was now at war. New obligations and opportunities confronted the labour movement. These it could have more successfully met, had it been united and sovereign. In sum, once again the interests of the trade union movement of Canada were being sacrified to the interests of the international unions.*

Was the 1939 decision a free one? On first glance—*Yes!* The delegates could have voted otherwise. Quite a number did. However had the majority voted against the executive, against the ouster of the CIO unions, then they would have been committing themselves to the building of a united, sovereign Congress—with or without the participation of key AFL international unions. They would have been defying the AFL—and their own executive council, which was siding with the AFL. For this they were not ready. They were oppressed by the burden of the international unions' threats to withdraw from the Trades and Labour Congress, to break it up and perhaps set up a new centre. And behind this threat was the reality of the power of the international unions, reaching into almost every union local in the country, and into the various union structures—from local trades councils to the executive council of the Congress itself. Despite all this, conceivably the AFL could have been challenged successfully in 1939. Certainly the minority who voted against the Executive Council must have inclined to this view. But this compels a closer look at the question: Was it a free decision? Was the TLC ouster of the CIO unions in 1939 a free, Canadian decision? The answer generally would be—*No!*)

Composition of Canadian Congress of Labour

Co-ordination of the new industrial unions in Canada was through a CIO committee which by 1939 claimed to represent 55,000 workers in sixteen different unions. The following year representatives of the CIO unions in Canada and the All-Canadian Congress of Labour met in Toronto to found a new central body, the Canadian Congress of Labour.

It is not only politics that makes strange bedfellows. The ACCL had been a sharp critic of international unions; but Mosher, who was elected president of the new Congress, was apparently satisfied that the CIO unions in Canada would enjoy a much higher degree of autonomy than had the international unions in the Trades and Labour Congress. Throughout its history the CCL's relationship with its American counterpart, the CIO, would differ from that existing between the TLC and the AFL. At no time did the CIO try to dominate Canadian affairs, and the individual CIO unions in Canada operated with much greater independence than those affiliated with the AFL. The new Congress had a keener interest in political matters than the TLC and was more active in promoting union organization.

The unions which joined in forming the Canadian Congress of Labour in 1940 included: Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Employees; United Mine Workers; Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Steel Workers' Organizing Committee; United Rubber Workers; United Auto Workers; United Electrical Workers; United Packinghouse Workers; International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers; American Newspaper Guild; National Union of Operating Engineers; Canadian Association of Railwaymen; and Canadian Electrical Union.

The divisions had become more sharply defined. With the arrival of the CIO and the creation of the Canadian Congress of Labour, there was a new vehicle for those whose ambitions went beyond the restrictions of craft unionism. In the years ahead they were to use this to exert considerable influence on the course of organized labour in Canada.

APPENDIX VI-J(vi)

Membership of C.C.L.

Year	Locals	Membership
1940	448	100,000 (est.)
1941	489	125,000 (reported)
1942	564	200,089
1943	710	245,812
1944	894	272,146
1945	955	244,750
1946	1,087	314,025

Emergence of C.L.C.

At the very founding of the CCL the officers were instructed to seek 'a complete consolidation of Canadian labour' and thus a healing of the division which had made the formation of the CCL necessary. This desire persisted, despite the lack of interest of the TLC. Delegates to CCL conventions consistently passed resolutions directed to bringing the two groups together. They were encouraged in 1944 when a TLC convention told the officers to give serious study to the possibility of establishing one trade union centre, but added the rider, 'with proper safeguards for all unions with regard to their jurisdictional rights'. This was a milestone, but it pointed up the difficult hurdle of union jurisdictions.

Wartime travel restrictions caused cancellation of the national labour conventions in 1945, but the next year talk was revived, with CCL people discussing the immediate urgency of action. Bengough remained cool to the whole idea; others in his Congress were favourably inclined but hesitant to press for specific action.

The two organizations were extremely different in character. The Trades and Labour Congress, long-established, regarded itself as the official spokesman for organized labour in Canada. It conducted its affairs with a carefully maintained dignity and nurtured its connections with government. To some extent it had a stand-pat attitude. The Canadian Congress of Labour was young and bombastic, speaking for the downtrodden and chafing at the bit to spread the gospel of unionism and take the unorganized into its fold. The CCL's views on social and economic matters were strong and frequently expressed through slashing attacks on any government which failed to follow what was thought to be the proper course.

Those controlling the TLC's affairs thought they had little to gain and much to lose by allowing themselves to be associated with the younger group. Certainly the CCL had much to gain and little to lose.

But the unity sentiment was building even in the TLC, and in some areas of mutual interest there was the development of a gradual, but extremely cautious, form of co-operation. In 1948 the two congresses joined with some railway unions in protesting Prince Edward Island's labour legislation. Both congresses joined with the Canadian and Catholic Confederation in publicly objecting to Quebec legislation. In 1950 there was a joint TLC-CCL statement of support for the United Nations stand on the Korean situation. Later the two congresses jointly filed objection to the imposition of compulsory arbitration in a railway dispute.

In retrospect such activity seems only common sense, but at the time it was highly significant and marked real progress. Some of those seeking unity thought the most practical path was through the cultivation of co-operative action in areas where there was little, if any, difference of opinion. The problems facing the two congresses, and their objectives, were almost identical. They shared concern and had very similar policies with regard to housing, health insurance, labour legislation, unemployment insurance, immigration, taxation, and pensions.

Pursuing this line, the CCL at its 1950 convention proposed a Joint National Consultative and Co-operative Council to facilitate and promote common policies. Such a committee, composed of senior officers and including also the CCCL, was formed. High living costs were much to the fore, and there was agreement on a program seeking rent control and the reimposition of price controls. But a year later this hopeful beginning collapsed when the TLC executive accused the CCL of trying to use its association with the older congress to gain prestige.

This was only a temporary setback. Efforts to close the gap continued, and even Bengough admitted that merger was inevitable. It was becoming largely a matter of time. Union leaders in both congresses were worried by the slowing down of new organization, and it was realized that something had to be done to reduce the jurisdictional fights which were so damaging to the movement. Pressure was building up among members, who were more concerned with their day-to-day problems than with the technicalities of an alliance. Plain logic was demanding that the groups get together; thus, in 1953, a Unity Committee was formed. It was composed of four top officers from each congress and charged with exploring the possibility of organic union.

Jurisdictional problems received first attention, and the committee recommended a pact against raiding in the hope of curbing union efforts to steal members from each other. In this and other respects, developments in Canada closely paralleled those in the United States. Actually, because of the influence of international unions, eventual merger would not have been possible had there not been a similar move in the United States.

The American Federation of Labor had looked with some disdain on the Congress of Industrial Organizations. William Green, the AFL president, suggested there was one way to achieve unity in the labour movement and that was for the CIO to return to 'the House of Labour' on terms laid down by the AFL.

But, as in Canada, union leadership in the United States was alarmed at the failure of membership drives. It was estimated that between 1951 and 1953 a total of $11,400,000 was spent on organization, with barely any increase in the total number of members. Largely all that was accomplished was a shuffling of members from one union to another through jurisdictional raids. By 1953 the situation had become so serious that there was agreement on the establishment of a joint committee. The committee's solution was a no-raid pact.

When the Unity Committee in Canada adopted a similar approach in 1954, it said that this 'removed a serious barrier to ultimate unity'. The building trades unions in the TLC, always jealous of their jurisdictions, were hesitant; so was the Steelworkers' Union in the CCL, because of a particular situation at Kitimat, B.C. But both congresses approved the pact in principle, and it was left to individual unions to subscribe to the terms.

The signators undertook not to interfere with the collective bargaining relationship of other unions. H. Carl Goldenberg, a Montreal lawyer with considerable industrial relations experience, was appointed as permanent arbitrator to deal with any disputes which might arise. The principles of the original document were carried over into the Canadian Labour Congress and, while by no means eliminating jurisdictional problems, proved useful in meeting some difficult situations.

Adoption of the no-raid pact opened the way for further progress toward the unity goal, and by 1955 the Unity Committee was able to issue a statement announcing that agreement had been reached 'on all the basic principles of the merger'.

Once again events south of the border had been helpful. Green, the AFL president, and Philip Murray, president of the CIO, had both died within a short period, removing the possible difficulty of accommodating two well-entrenched officers. The leadership situation in Canada had been eased by the resignation of Bengough and the impending resignation of Mosher, who was seventy-three. Bengough had been succeeded by Claude Jodoin, a member of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union who had been prominent in Quebec labour circles and who was a popular choice for president of the new Congress.* Donald MacDonald, secretary-treasurer of the CCL, was a natural choice to continue in that position.

It was in Canada that the first delegate group considered actual merger. This was at the convention of the Trades and Labour Congress, and if there was to be serious opposition, that was where it was expected. The AFL convention was scheduled to follow immediately. The debate at the TLC meeting was opened by Frank Hall, the railway union leader who had been primarily responsible for the expulsion of Mosher's railway union from the TLC many years before. Recalling the battles of the past and the money and energy that had gone into them, Hall told the delegates: 'Someone else has been benefiting from that. The time has come to call a halt.' Some of the delegates had their reservations, but the merger resolution passed without a dissenting vote.

The proposal to create a new labour body which would have a million members aroused widespread public interest. Cartoonists had a field day with the theme of a labour marriage. In company board rooms there was more serious discussion. A spokesman for the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, in a somewhat hysterical outburst, termed the merger 'a threat to our democratic liberties' and went on to gloomily predict 'out goes [sic] our freedom and our industrial liberties'. Fears were expressed that an organization representing 80 per cent of the unionized employees would prove to be a colossus that would seize control of the country's economy.

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* Jodoin had been a victim of the Depression. His previously wealthy family had lost all, and after a stint on government road work, Jodoin found employment with the ILGWU. He liked to recall that his first responsibility was sweeping the floor of the union hall.

Jodoin attempted to set these fears at rest when, in his address at the opening of the founding convention, he said:

> Our purpose is not to control. Our purpose, as it has always been, is to obtain the greatest measure of social and economic security for ourselves and for all Canadians, as far as humanly possible.[138]

Despite the ~~spirit of~~ optimism prevalent in both congresses, there were those who forecast a short life for the new organization. In particular there were predictions it would founder on political differences; next to the protection of union jurisdictions this was the most sensitive area. Many CCFers in the CCL had always used the labour conventions as a platform to expound the CCF philosophy with great vigour. But when they met in 1955, with the merger around the corner, they exercised extreme moderation and performed with the skill of high-wire artists. The convention, with little fuss or rhetoric, simply reaffirmed its support for the CCF. Jodoin, who was a guest speaker, took the position that the political policies of the new congress were a matter for the future. The CCL convention endorsed the merger proposal.

The actual merger, creating the Canadian Labour Congress, took place on 23-7 April 1956 at a convention held in the Coliseum on the Canadian National Exhibition grounds, Toronto. It was attended by 1,620 delegates and attracted more attention than any labour gathering before or since.

Principles of C.L.C.

APPENDIX VI-K(ii)

> This new Congress shall embrace as equals all affiliated and chartered unions and organizations which are presently in either the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada or the Canadian Congress of Labour who wish to join and will accept the policies and principles that will govern its affairs and activities. . . .
>
> This new Congress shall be dedicated to the principle of promoting and advancing the best interests of its membership in the economic, social and legislative fields. . . . The objective . . . is the eventual unification of all sections of bona fide organized labour in Canada.
>
> The principles of both industrial and craft concepts of organization are recognized as equally necessary, and the new Congress will endeavour to organize all Canadian workers into the appropriate type of union.[139]

LABOUR STUDIES UNITS

prepared by the

ONTARIO FEDERATION OF LABOUR

by

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Unit 7 of 9 Units

USERS ARE FREE TO
DUPLICATE MATERIALS
EXCEPT FOR
COMMERCIAL PURPOSES

opeiu:343

LABOUR AND THE LAW

RATIONALE:

The public's perception of industrial relations is characterized by a mistrust of both participants - labour and management. That view in the case of labour is compounded by the widely held belief that trade unions, in their efforts to increase wages and protect members, operate without considering the outcome. In fact, there is a popular view that strikes are the norm of labour relations and that illegal actions are permissible.

This unit, Labour and the Law, attempts to dispel the myths of industrial relations and supplant them with the realities by exposing students to the actual processes of labour-management conflict resolutions. Initially the unit will establish that the vast bulk of industrial issues and disputes are settled without recourse to strike action, lockouts or violence. Subsequently it will show in detail that the relative absence of strikes in labour relations is not an accidental product, but is, in fact, brought about by a highly structured process of collective bargaining under the Ontario Labour Relations Act. By going through the collective bargaining and arbitration processes, the student should develop a more realistic comprehension of industrial relations and recognize strikes and lockouts as temporary breakdowns of the process.

With respect to skills the unit will also give the student an opportunity to understand the operation of rules of evidence, the necessity of careful evidence gathering and effective presentation of arguments and data.

CONTENT	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
I. Labour and the Law A. The image 1) Strikes 2) Lockouts 3) Violence a) Unions intimidate members to force them to strike b) Companies use violence and strikebreakers to keep unions out of plants.	A study of misconceptions found in labour-management as a preliminary to the study of the collective bargaining process. The unit could begin with a class discussion of student images of labour and the law, developing the themes and ideas presented in I A.		Meaning of terms: a) lockout b) strike c) strikebreaking d) wildcat strikes
B. The reality 1) Bargaining as the basic method of settling industrial disputes to avoid the chaos outlined in I A 1,2, and 3. 2) Roots of the reality: a) Belief in law b) Refusal to utilize violence as a method of solving problems c) Traditional opposition to extremism d) Belief that a person can find alternate employment if conditions are unacceptable in a plant. e) Belief that discussion and compromise are better than confrontation.	To correct the misconceptions the class can undertake a study of strikes and lockouts from the accompanying figures. The instructor should attempt to establish that 95 percent of all industrial disputes are settled by collective agreement without violence. Students will examine statistics to determine that strikes and lockouts are the exceptions to the rule in Canadian labour history. Subsequently the students can speculate and attempt to establish the reasons why collective bargaining has become the norm for settling issues.	Appendix VII -A	

CONTENT	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
I. Labour and the Law (Cont.) C. Should strikes be permitted ? D. What are the advantages and disadvantages of unions ?	As a conclusion to this section of the unit the class could debate formally or in small groups the question in I C and D. Discussion will range widely from no strikes (let the employees find another job) to a belief in the unlimited right to strike. However, the instructor should attempt to raise issues such as the right to strike in the public service, or essential industries.	See Peter Watson, *The Canadian Worker*, Nelson, Canadian Studies Series.	
II. Organization and the Law A. Organizing a Union 1. Contact a) unions are constantly looking for opportunities to expand. b) employees in a given plant contact a union believing that there is sufficient interest. in unionization to warrant an effort to organize the plant 2. Conditions creating employee interest a) unsatisfactory working conditions	The instructor should bring in a local labour leader to explain the processes - legal and organizational of forming a union. Reference should be made to the specific statutes involved in forming a local and the steps required in its formation. Discussion with the labour leader could also identify problems faced in organization	Government of Ontario Labour Relations Act. Appendix VII-B Articles 1-12 and 56-72 have been excerpted which give the basic legal and organizational steps in a formation of union. See Local Labour Council for resource person to help in this unit.	

CONTENT	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
II. Organization & the Law Cont'd			
A 2. b) desire for improved salaries c) efforts of plant personnel who have had previous experience with unions and a belief in their ideas, methods and effects.			
3. Problems in organization. a) opposition of individuals opposed to unions. b) satisfactory conditions which may cause employees to object to unionization. c) company opposition - note that there are laws regulating the right to organize a union and they must be adhered to. d) failure of local people to organize effectively. e) failure to follow rules of the Ontario Labour Relations Act to obey the law.	Students might be asked to research their community to find examples where these problems arise. In addition a trade union representative might be invited into the class initially to explain the certification process.		
B. Negotiating a contract: From this segment, the instructor should attempt to draw out the major characteristics of negotiations:	Advice and Help of an experienced negotiating person should be available throughout this segment. Simulation and role play; the simulation will be based on an effort to establish	Appendix VII-C All materials to be handed to a particular side have been so labeled. All other materials may be given to both sides.	

CONTENT	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
II. Organization & the Law Cont'd.			
B. 1) Issues a) wages b) holidays c) seniority d) union security e) holidays f) others, e.g. duration of the contract. 2) Qualities necessary on the part of negotiators - a) emotions b) research capacities 3) Factors influencing negotiations a) Local conditions: cost of living, rates in other plants b) specific company factors: - company profitability - cost of various money items to a company and their impact on profits - views, moods and philosophies, e.g. management may be willing to have a union in the plant or vice versa employees may similarly be militant or moderate. c) national and/or international factors.	an initial contract in a plant which has recently been unionized. This approach will allow this segment to develop naturally out of II A. In addition it will avoid the complexity of subsequent agreements and concentrate on major issues common to all contracts. The instructor may vary the organizational structure of negotiations to suit particular classes, however one of the two following methods may be suitable and of help. Method 1 a) Divide the class into two groups (assume a class of approx. 30 students) - one to represent management, the other to represent a union. b) Each side may be divided into 3-4 subgroups representing the members of the negotiating team on each side. c) As each cycle of the simulation occurs a sub-group of the negotiating team will become the table team with other members acting in a support capacity. Method 2 a) Divide the class (assume 30 students per class) into	Appendix VII-D	

CONTENT	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
II. Organization & the Law Continued			
B.	Method 2 (cont'd) five groups of six students. Each group will be subdivided into two groups of three with each member of one group representing a member of the union negotiating team and each member of the other group representing management. b) Each major group of six students will negotiate a contract which will allow for total involvement of the class. c) The instructor should attempt to ascertain which set of negotiations have been most effective. At the end of cycle four the contract arrived at by this group will be presented to all members of each side for ratification. The advantage to this approach would be that each student will be totally involved throughout the simulation and able to apply the experiences and knowledge gained in his/her group to an analysis of the contract presented to the group as a whole		
4) Debriefing and follow-up to the simulation: a) identify major characteristics and features of collective bargaining b) strength and weaknesses of collective bargaining. c) alternatives to collective bargaining. d) impact of collective bargaining on the community and others not directly involved.	Small group discussion and pool results with the class as a whole. Subsequently general results can be debated. Suggested exercices prior to discussion: a) students could write newspaper accounts of the negotiations and the final result. These should reflect positive and negative views of labour and management. The teacher should then have students		How public opinion is formed The necessity of having full and

CONTENT	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
II. Organization & the Law Continued			
B.	analyse the articles to determine what the public sees and how public opinion is formed. b) students could then write letters to the editor reflecting their perception c) Research a local collective bargaining settlement which did not have a strike. Interviews with labour and management leaders to determine what were the issues and what factors encouraged a settlement could provide an ideal basis for generalization		accurate information in making judgments.
C. The Grievance Arbitration 1) What is a grievance. a) Individual grievance: argument by an individual that management has violated a term of a collective agreement, e.g. unfair demotion, improper lay-off, failure to pay for a statutory holiday, protest that a supervisor has unfairly treated an employee. b) Group grievance: similar to an individual except that it is lodged collectively, e.g. failure to pay a group for a statutory holiday.	This section could best be developed by utilizing the services of a trade union leader to explain the grievance - its origins, processing and ultimate development to arbitration. Such a person could explain it by reference to the attached grievances, as case studies, commenting on them as to type, quality, strengths, weaknesses. This process could be followed through Sections C 1 and C 2.	Appendix VII-E	

CONTENT	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVE
II. Organization & the Law Continued			
C. 1 c) Policy grievance: complaint by a union that a company action would negatively affect all employees, e.g. interpretation of seniority terms in a contract. d) Union grievance: a charge that a company has failed to perform or honour a term of a contract which will have an adverse effect on a union, e.g. failure to deduct dues as contractually agreed. e) Management grievance: company complaint that a union has violated contract terms, e.g. a union instigated wildcat strike.			
2. How a grievance develops: a) Statement of a grievance to shop steward: note that two parties are immediately involved - the union and the company. A point may be made that a third party may be introduced later. b) Points to be proved in a grievance - that the action complained of happened in the way that the grievor describes - that the alleged action is in volation of the collective agreement.	Present groups of students with sample cases of grievances. Discussion as to their legitimacy and why they should be developed. Subsequently students should be presented with the solutions and decision by arbitrators. (Note each case went to arbitration, but students should be told that their discussions are occuring prior to the formal final stage of grievance arbitration.	Appendix VII-F Film: The Grievance - a Case of Insubordination. Appendix VII-G Appendix VII-H Appendix VII-I Appendix VII-J Appendix VII-K Appendix VII-L Appendix VII-M Appendix VII-N	

CONTENT	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
II. Organization & the Law Continued			
C. 2 c) What a steward must do in presenting a grievance: stress the need for thorough research and investigation. d) Presentation to the company: - informal presentation in which statement against is made and the company reacts. - if unsatisfied with the reply the union proceeds to third party involvement.	Have the students go through the Rumour Clinic exercise. Stress the need for accuracy of facts and the difficulty of achieving this due to such problems as the fallibility of memory.	Appendix VII-0 Rumour Clinic	Role of the shop steward
3. Arbitration: The Final Stage of a Grievance. a) Definition of an arbitration: Submission of an issue or a dispute arising out of the terms of contract to third party determination. Failing agreement on the part of the three arbitrators, the chairman's decision will be binding. Note that the objective is conflict resolution, not confrontation.	The instructor should stress that the arbitration hearing is a formal presentation in which the rules of evidence apply and the pertinent clauses of the Ontario Labour Relations Act are operative. Each participant is represented by counsel (note these need not be lawyers - the only prerequisite is experience in grievance work).	Film: A Case of Insubordination - available from Canadian Labour Congress, 15 Gervais Dr., Don Mills, Ont. Refer again to Appendix VII-F arbitration clauses from the Ontario Labour Relations Act.	Understanding the rules of evidence.
b) Arbitration Board Members: Union Nominee Company Nominee Chairman - a member agreeable to union and management.	It would be advisable, unless the instructor has sufficient experience in this area, that a trade union representative outline the stages and process of an arbitration hearing. Stress that an arbitration hearing is similar to a judicial hearing.		

CONTENT	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
II. Organization & the Law Continued			
C. 3 c) Arbitration Procedure i) Preparation: - research of the grievor's work record. Are there any patterns : Ascertain his/her attitudes and work performance. - check the facts - are there weaknesses in your case ? If so, what are they ? Is there evidence to counter ? - what are your strong points ?	The instructor and resource person should specifically note that management will prepare in the same way - research and investigation. It should be made obvious that success will depend to a great degree on the thoroughness of preparation.		Need for research e.g. checking data, establishing of an argument, identification of issues.
ii) Procedure in an arbitration hearing: Opening: -submission of a list of witnesses -statement of why the issue is arbitrable or, if you represent the company, why not. This phase would be included as an opening statement	Note: each step of the hearing is applicable to both parties.		Basic problem solving e.g. note the similarity to court procedure or to a research essay in its structure.
Body: - examination of witnesses - cross-examination of witnesses - re-examination of witnesses	Note: the union nominee, representing the grievor (the person making the charge) will go first. It is possible in some situations the company will present evidence first - if the grievance was lodged by the company and argued as a case of contract violation.		

CONTENT	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
II. Organization & the Law Continued			
C. 3 c) ii) Conclusion: - final statement of argument - summary of evidence Report: - submitted by the chairman - a dissenting report may be given if necessary.			
d) Practical exercises in arbitration hearings.	The class may be divided into groups to study the cases supplied as per appendices under the resource column. Each group may be asked to study, analyse and report on one or more of the sample arbitrations. After all views have been presented and the evidence to sustain or reject the grievance, the instructor should present the actual decision of the arbitration board. This will possibly excite further discussion and certainly illustrate the complexity of issues.	Appendix VII-P Appendix VII-Q Appendix VII-R Appendix VII-S Appendix VII-T	Application of concepts and data.
	Finally the instructor, using class groups, could have the students go through a mock arbitration hearing. For this purpose a summary of a complex arbitration involving human rights has been included. The instructor and resource person should emphasize that even for experienced well-meaning arbitrators, issues become complex and demand human insights as well as technical legal viewpoints.	Appendix VII-U	

CONTENT	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
III. Summary of Labour and the Law	Resource person should remind students that issues are generally well founded embroiling law, personalities and principles. In addition it should be underlined that the emphasis in grievance procedure is problem solving in a fair and reasonable manner. This does not require unanimity, but it does require that each side be left with the belief in an impartial arbitrator - otherwise the system will break down.		

WAGES AND WORKING CONDITIONS

Number of strikes and lockouts, employers and workers involved and time loss, Canada, 1901 to 1960

Year	Strikes and lockouts in existence during year, all industries						
				Time loss			
	Number of strikes and lockouts	Number of employers	Number of workers involved	In man working days	Average days per nonagricultural paid worker	Average days per worker involved	Per cent of estimated working time
1960	274	—	49,408	738,700	—	—	.06
1959	218	—	100,127	2,286,900	—	—	.19
1958	262	—	112,307	2,872,340	—	—	.24
1957	249	—	91,409	1,634,880	—	—	.14
1956	229	437	88,680	1,246,000	.29	14.05	.11
1955	159	380	60,090	1,875,400	.47	31.21	.18
1954	174	873	62,250	1,475,200	.39	23.70	.15
1953	174	384	55,988	1,324,720	.34	23.66	.13
1952	222	518	120,818	2,879,960	.77	23.84	.29
1951	259	646	102,870	901,740	.25	8.77	.08
1950	161	347	192,153	1,389,040	.40	7.23	.13
1949	137	54[illegible]	51,437	1,063,670	.32	20.68	.11
1948	154	67[illegible]	42,820	885,790	.27	20.68	.09
1947	236	1,171	104,120	2,397,340	.77	23.02	.26
1946	228	1,409	139,474	4,516,390	1.49	32.38	.50
1945	197	418	96,068	1,457,420	.49	15.17	.17
1944	199	400	75,290	490,139	.16	6.51	.06
1943	402	651	218,404	1,041,198	.35	4.77	.12
1942	354	492	113,916	450,202	.16	3.95	.05
1941	231	658	87,091	433,914	.17	4.98	.06
1940	168	894	60,619	266,318	.12	4.39	.04
1939	122	243	41,038	224,588	.11	5.47	.04
1938	147	614	20,395	148,678	.08	7.29	.02
1937	278	630	71,905	886,393	.44	12.33	.15
1936	156	709	34,812	276,997	.15	7.96	.05
1935	120	719	33,269	288,703	.16	8.68	.05
1934	191	1,100	45,800	574,519	.33	12.54	.11
1933	125	617	26,558	317,547	.20	11.96	.07
1932	116	497	23,390	255,000	.15	10.90	.05
1931	88	266	10,738	204,238	.10	19.02	.04
1930	67	338	13,768	91,797	.04	6.67	.01
1929	90	263	12,946	152,080	.07	11.75	.02
1928	98	548	17,581	224,212	.11	12.75	.04
1927	74	480	22,299	152,570	.08	6.84	.03
1926	77	512	23,834	266,601	.14	11.19	.05
1925	87	497	28,949	1,193,281	.69	41.22	.23
1924	70	435	34,310	1,295,054	.76	37.75	.26
1923	86	450	34,261	671,750	.39	19.61	.13
1922	104	732	43,775	1,528,661	.95	34.92	.32
1921	168	1,208	28,257	1,048,914	.66	37.12	.22
1920	322	1,374	60,327	799,524	.42	13.25	.14
1919	336	1,967	148,915	3,400,942	1.79	22.84	.60
1918	230	782	79,743	647,942	—	—	—
1917	160	758	50,255	1,123,515	—	—	—
1916	120	332	26,538	236,814	—	—	—
1915	63	120	11,395	95,042	—	—	—
1914	63	261	9,717	490,850	—	—	—
1913	152	1,077	40,519	1,036,254	—	—	—
1912	181	1,321	42,860	1,135,786	—	—	—
1911	100	533	29,285	1,821,084	—	—	—
1910	101	1,233	22,203	731,324	—	—	—
1909	90	372	18,114	880,663	—	—	—
1908	76	179	26,071	703,571	—	—	—
1907	188	950	34,060	520,142	—	—	—
1906	150	965	23,382	378,276	—	—	—
1905	96	332	12,513	246,138	—	—	—
1904	103	591	11,420	192,890	—	—	—
1903	175	1,124	38,408	858,959	—	—	—
1902	124	512	12,709	203,301	—	—	—
1901	99	285	24,089	737,808	—	—	—

Source: Historical Statistics of Canada

THE LABOUR RELATIONS ACT

Clauses related to Trade Union Membership and Formation of Collective Bargaining Units.

WHEREAS it is in the public interest of the Province of Ontario to further harmonious relations between employers and employees by encouraging the practice and procedure of collective bargaining between employers and trade unions as the freely designated representatives of employees.

Therefore, Her Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Ontario, enacts as follows:

1.—(1) In this Act,

(*a*) "accredited employers organization" means an organization of employers that is accredited under this Act as the bargaining agent for a unit of employers;

(*b*) "bargaining unit" means a unit of employees appropriate for collective bargaining, whether it is an employer unit or a plant unit or a subdivision of either of them;

(*c*) "Board" means the Ontario Labour Relations Board;

(*d*) "certified council of trade unions" means a council of trade unions that is certified under this Act as the bargaining agent for a bargaining unit of employees of an employer;

(*e*) "collective agreement" means an agreement in writing between an employer or an employers' organization, on the one hand, and a trade union that, or a council of trade unions that, represents employees of the employer or employees of members of the employers' organization, on the other hand, containing provisions respecting terms or conditions of employment or the rights, privileges or duties of the employer, the employers' organization, the trade union or the employees;

(*f*) "construction industry" means the businesses that are engaged in constructing, altering, decorating, repairing or demolishing buildings, structures, roads, sewers, water or gas mains, pipe lines, tunnels, bridges, canals or other works at the site thereof;

(*g*) "council of trade unions" includes an allied council, a trades council, a joint board and any other association of trade unions;

THE LABOUR RELATIONS ACT

Trade Union Membership and Collective Bargaining Units Continued

(h) "employers' organization" means an organization of employers formed for purposes that include the regulation of relations between employers and employees and includes an accredited employers' organization;

(i) "lock-out" includes the closing of a place of employment, a suspension of work or a refusal by an employer to continue to employ a number of his employees, with a view to compel or induce his employees, or to aid another employer to compel or induce his employees, to refrain from exercising any rights or privileges under this Act or to agree to provisions or changes in provisions respecting terms or conditions of employment or the rights, privileges or duties of the employer, an employers' organization, the trade union, or the employees.

(j) "member", when used with reference to a trade union, includes a person who,

  (i) has applied for membership in the trade union, and

  (ii) has paid to the trade union on his own behalf an amount of at least $1 in respect of initiation fees or monthly dues of the trade union,

and "membership" has a corresponding meaning;

(k) "Minister" means the Minister of Labour;

(l) "professional engineer" means an employee who is a member of the engineering profession entitled to practise in Ontario and employed in a professional capacity;

(m) "strike" includes a cessation of work, a refusal to work or to continue to work by employees in combination or in concert or in accordance with a common understanding, or a slow-down or other concerted activity on the part of employees designed to restrict or limit output;

(n) "trade union" means an organization of employees formed for purposes that include the regulation of relations between employees and employers and includes a provincial, national or international trade union and a certified council of trade unions.

(2) For the purposes of this Act, no person shall be deemed to have ceased to be an employee by reason only of his ceasing to work for his employer as the result of a lock-out or strike or by reason only of his being dismissed by his employer contrary to this Act or to a collective agreement.

FREEDOMS

3. Every person is free to join a trade union of his own choice and to participate in its lawful activities.

4. Every person is free to join an employers' organization of his own choice and to participate in its lawful activities.

5.—(1) Where no trade union has been certified as bargaining agent of the employees of an employer in a unit that a trade union claims to be appropriate for collective bargaining and the employees in the unit are not bound by a collective agreement, a trade union may, subject to section 53, apply at any time to the Board for certification as bargaining agent of the employees in the unit.

(2) Where a trade union has been certified as bargaining agent of the employees of an employer in a bargaining unit and has not entered into a collective agreement with the employer and no declaration has been made by the Board that the trade union no longer represents the employees in the bargaining unit, another trade union may, subject to section 53, apply to the Board for certification as bargaining agent of any of the employees in the bargaining unit determined in the certificate only after the expiration of one year from the date of the certificate.

(3) Where an employer and a trade union agree that the employer recognizes the trade union as the exclusive bargaining agent of the employees in a defined bargaining unit and the agreement is in writing signed by the parties and the parties have not entered into a collective agreement and the Board has not made a declaration under section 52, another trade union may, subject to section 53, apply to the Board for certification a

(4) Where a collective agreement is for a term of not more than three years, a trade union may, subject to section 53, apply to the Board for certification as bargaining agent of any of the employees in the bargaining unit defined in the agreement only after the commencement of the last two months of its operation.

(5) Where a collective agreement is for a term of more than three years, a trade union may, subject to section 53, apply to the Board for certification as bargaining agent of any of the employees in the bargaining unit defined in the agreement only after the commencement of the thirty-fifth month of its operation and before the commencement of the thirty-seventh month of its operation and during the two-month period immediately preceding the end of each year that the agreement continues to operate thereafter or after the commencement of the last two months of its operation, as the case may be.

(6) Where a collective agreement referred to in subsection 4 or 5 provides that it will continue to operate for a further term or successive terms if either party fails to give to the other notice of termination or of its desire to bargain with a view to the renewal, with or without modifications, of the agreement or to the making of a new agreement, a trade union may, subject to section 53, apply to the Board for certification as bargaining agent of any of the employees in the bargaining unit defined in the agreement during the further term or successive terms only during the last two months of each year that it so continues to operate, or af

the commencement of the last two months of its operation, as the case may be.

6.—(1) Upon an application for certification, the Board shall determine the unit of employees that is appropriate for collective bargaining, but in every case the unit shall consist of more than one employee and the Board may, before determining the unit, conduct a vote of any of the employees of the employer for the purpose of ascertaining the wishes of the employees as to the appropriateness of the unit.

(2) Any group of employees who exercise technical skills or who are members of a craft by reason of which they are distinguishable from the other employees and commonly bargain separately and apart from other employees through a trade union that according to established trade union practice pertains to such skills or craft shall be deemed by the Board to be a unit appropriate for collective bargaining if the application is made by a trade union pertaining to such skills or craft, and the Board may include in such unit persons who according to established trade union practice are commonly associated in their work and bargaining with such group, but the Board shall not be required to apply this subsection where the group of employees is included in a bargaining unit represented by another bargaining agent at the time the application is made, or where the group of employees is exercising a combination of technical skills or is required to perform the skills in whole or in part of more than one craft as part of a work crew or team, the other members of which are also required to perform in similar fashion.

7.—(1) Upon an application for certification, the Board shall ascertain the number of employees in the bargaining unit at the time the application was made and the number of employees in the unit who were members of the trade union at such time as is determined under clause j of subsection 2 of section 92.

(2) If the Board is satisfied that not less than 45 per cent and not more than 55 per cent of the employees in the bargaining unit are members of the trade union, the Board shall, and if the Board is satisfied that more than 55 per cent of such employees are members of the trade union, the Board may direct that a representation vote be taken.

(3) If on the taking of a representation vote more than 50 per cent of the ballots cast are cast in favour of the trade union, and in other cases if the Board is satisfied that more than 55 per cent of the employees in the bargaining unit are members of the trade union, the Board shall certify the trade union as the bargaining agent of the employees in the bargaining unit.

(4) REPEALED: 1975, c. 76, s. 4 (3).

NOTE: The amendments to subsections 2 and 3 and the repeal of subsection 4 of section 7 above do not apply in respect of applications for certification made before July 18th, 1975. See 1975, c. 76, s. 4.

7a. Where an employer or employers' organization contravenes this Act so that the true wishes of the employees of the employer or of a member of the employers' organization are not likely to be ascertained, and in the opinion of the Board, a trade union has membership support adequate for the purposes of collective bargaining in a bargaining unit found by the Board pursuant to section 6 to be appropriate for collective bargaining, the Board may, on the application of the trade union, certify the trade union as the bargaining agent of the employees in the bargaining unit.

10. Where employees of an employer reside on the property of the employer, or on property to which the employer has the right to control access, the employer shall, upon a direction from the Board, allow the representative of a trade union access to the property on which the employees reside for the purpose of attempting to persuade the employees to join a trade union.

11. The Board shall not include in a bargaining unit with other employees a person employed as a guard to protect the property of an employer, and no trade union shall be certified as bargaining agent for a bargaining unit of such guards and no employer or employers' organization shall be required to bargain with a trade union on behalf of any person who is a guard if, in either case, the trade union admits to membership or is chartered by, or is affiliated, directly or indirectly, with an organization that admits to membership persons other than guards.

12. The Board shall not certify a trade union if any employer or any employers' organization has participated in its formation or administration or has contributed financial or other support to it or if it discriminates against any person because of his race, creed, colour, nationality, ancestry or place of origin.

UNFAIR PRACTICES

56. No employer or employers' organization and no person acting on behalf of an employer or an employers' organization shall participate in or interfere with the formation, selection or administration of a trade union or the representation of employees by a trade union or contribute financial or other support to a trade union, but nothing in this section shall be deemed to deprive an employer of his freedom to express his views so long as he does not use coercion, intimidation, threats, promises or undue influence.

57. No trade union and no person acting on behalf of a trade union shall participate in or interfere with the formation or administration of an employers' organization or contribute financial or other support to an employers' organization.

58. No employer, employers' organization or person acting on behalf of an employer or an employers' organization,

(*a*) shall refuse to employ or to continue to employ a person, or discriminate against a person in regard to employment or any term or condition of employment because the person was or is a member of a trade union or was or is exercising any other rights under this Act;

(*b*) shall impose any condition in a contract of employment or propose the imposition of any condition in a contract of employment that seeks to restrain an employee or a person seeking employment from becoming a member of a trade union or exercising any other rights under this Act; or

(*c*) shall seek by threat of dismissal, or by any other kind of threat, or by the imposition of a pecuniary or other penalty, or by any other means to compel an employee to become or refrain from becoming or to continue to be or to cease to be a member or officer or representative of a trade union or to cease to exercise any other rights under this Act.

59. (1) No employer, employers' organization or person acting on behalf of an employer or an employers' organization shall, so long as a trade union continues to be entitled to represent the employees in a bargaining unit, bargain with or enter into a collective agreement with any person or another trade union or a council of trade unions on behalf of or purporting, designed or intended to be binding upon the employees in the bargaining unit or any of them.

(2) No trade union, council of trade unions or person acting on behalf of a trade union or council of trade unions shall, so long as another trade union continues to be entitled to represent the employees in a bargaining unit, bargain with or enter into a collective agreement with an employer or an employers' organization on behalf of or purporting, designed or intended to be binding upon the employees in the bargaining unit or any of them.

60. A trade union or council of trade unions, so long as it continues to be entitled to represent employees in a bargaining unit, shall not act in a manner that is arbitrary, discriminatory or in bad faith in the representation of any of the employees in the unit, whether or not members of the trade union or of any constituent union of the council of trade unions, as the case may be.

61. No person, trade union or employers' organization shall seek by intimidation or coercion to compel any person to become or refrain from becoming or to continue to be or to cease to be a member of a trade union or of an employers' organization or to refrain from exercising any other rights under this Act or from performing any obligations under this Act. R.S.O. 1970, c. 232, s. 61.

62. Nothing in this Act authorizes any person to attempt at the place at which an employee works to persuade him during his working hours to become or refrain from becoming or continuing to be a member of a trade union.

63.—(1) Where a collective agreement is in operation, no employee bound by the agreement shall strike and no employer bound by the agreement shall lock out such an employee.

(2) Where no collective agreement is in operation, no employee shall strike and no employer shall lock out an employee until the Minister has appointed a conciliation officer or a mediator under this Act and,

- (*a*) seven days have elapsed after the Minister has released to the parties the report of a conciliation board or mediator; or
- (*b*) fourteen days have elapsed after the Minister has released to the parties a notice that he does not consider it advisable to appoint a conciliation board,

as the case may be.

(3) No employee shall threaten an unlawful strike and no employer shall threaten an unlawful lock-out of an employee.

(4) A strike vote or a vote to ratify a proposed collective agreement taken by a trade union shall be by ballots cast in such a manner that a person expressing his choice cannot be identified with the choice expressed.

(5) Any vote mentioned in subsection 4 shall be conducted in such a manner that those entitled to vote have ample opportunity to cast their ballots.

64. (1) Where an employee engaging in a lawful strike makes an unconditional application in writing to his employer within six months from the commencement of the lawful strike to return to work, the employer shall, subject [illegible] subsection 2, reinstate the employee in his former employment, on such terms as the employer and employee may agree upon, and the employer in offering terms of employment shall not discriminate against the employee by reason of his exercising or having exercised any rights under this Act.

(2) An employer is not required to reinstate an employee who has made an application to return to work in accordance with subsection 1,

- (*a*) where the employer no longer has persons engaged in performing work of the same or similar nature to work which the employee performed prior to his cessation of work, or
- (*b*) where there has been a suspension or discontinuance for cause of an employer's operations, or any part thereof, but, if the employer resumes such operations the employer shall first reinstate those employees who have made an application under subsection 1.

65. No trade union or council of trade unions shall call or authorize or threaten to call or authorize an unlawful strike and no officer, official or agent of a trade union or council of trade unions shall counsel, procure, support or encourage an unlawful strike or threaten an unlawful strike.

66. No employer or employers' organization shall call or authorize or threaten to call or authorize an unlawful lock-out and no officer, official or agent of an employer or employers' organization shall counsel, procure, support or encourage an unlawful lock-out or threaten an unlawful lock-out.

67.—(1) No person shall do any act if he knows or ought to know that, as a probable and reasonable consequence of the act, another person or persons will engage in an unlawful strike or an unlawful lock-out.

(2) Subsection 1 does not apply to any act done in connection with a lawful strike or lawful lock-out.

68. Nothing in this Act prohibits any suspension or discontinuance for cause of an employer's operations or the quitting of employment for cause if the suspension, discontinuance or quitting does not constitute a lock-out or strike.

69. No trade union shall suspend, expel or penalize in any way a member because he has refused to engage in or to continue to engage in a strike that is unlawful under this Act.

70.—(1) Where notice has been given under section 13 or section 45 and no collective agreement is in operation, no employer shall, except with the consent of the trade union, alter the rates of wages or any other term or condition of employment or any right, privilege or duty, of the employer, the trade union or the employees, and no trade union shall, except with the consent of the employer, alter any term or condition of employment or any right, privilege or duty of the employer, the trade union or the employees,

(*a*) until the Minister has appointed a conciliation officer or a mediator under this Act and,

(i) seven days have elapsed after the Minister has released to the parties the report of a conciliation board or mediator, or

(ii) fourteen days have elapsed after the Minister has released to the parties a notice that he does not consider it advisable to appoint a conciliation board,

as the case may be; or

(*b*) until the right of the trade union to represent the employees has been terminated,

whichever occurs first.

(2) Where a trade union has applied for certification and notice thereof from the Board has been received by the employer, the employer shall not, except with the consent of the trade union, alter the rates of wages or any other term or condition of employment or any right, privilege or duty, of the employer or the employees until,

(*a*) the trade union has given notice under section 13, in which case subsection 1 applies; or

(*b*) the application for certification by the trade union is dismissed or terminated by the Board, or withdrawn by the trade union.

(3) Where notice has been given under section 45 and no collective agreement is in operation, any difference between the parties as to whether or not subsection 1 of this section was complied with may be referred to arbitration by either of the parties as if the collective agreement was still in operation and section 37 applies *mutatis mutandis* thereto.

71.—(1) No employer, employers' organization or person acting on behalf of an employer or employers' organization shall,

(*a*) refuse to employ or continue to employ a person;

(*b*) threaten dismissal or otherwise threaten a person;

(*c*) discriminate against a person in regard to employment or a term or condition of employment; or

(*d*) intimidate or coerce or impose a pecuniary or other penalty on a person,

because of a belief that he may testify in a proceeding under this Act or because he has made or is about to make a disclosure that may be required of him in a proceeding under this Act or because he has made an application or filed a complaint under this Act or because he has participated or is about to participate in a proceeding under this Act.

(2) No trade union, council of trade unions or person acting on behalf of a trade union or council of trade unions shall,

(*a*) discriminate against a person in regard to employment or a term or condition of employment; or

(*b*) intimidate or coerce or impose a pecuniary or other penalty on a person,

because of a belief that he may testify in a proceeding under this Act or because he has made or is about to make a disclosure that may be required of him in a proceeding under this Act or because he has made an application or filed a complaint under this Act or because he has participated or is about to participate in a proceeding under this Act.

72. No person shall wilfully destroy, mutilate, obliterate, alter, deface or remove or cause to be destroyed, mutilated, obliterated, altered, defaced or removed any notice that the Board has required to be posted during the period that the notice is required to be posted.

UNION

VS.

MANAGEMENT

A

Collective Bargaining

Simulation

TIME SCHEDULE FOR NEGOTIATIONS SIMULATION

A.	Preparation:	Explanation of objectives and methods of the simulation. The instructor should allow several hours of class time for students to study the simulation data. This will result in a reduction of lost time as the game progresses as students will not have to refer to the data for particulars.
B.	Cycle I :	Team discussion: 40 minutes. Negotiations: time necessary to state positions and discuss. Allow roughly one hour.
C.	Cycle II:	Team discussion to reassess positions: 30 minutes. Negotiations: 40 minutes to be divided equally by both sides.
D.	Cycle III:	Team discussion to reassess positions: 30 minutes Negotiations: 40 minutes to be divided equally by both sides.
E.	Cycle IV:	Final team discussions to reassess positions and prepare final statements: 40 minutes Negotiations: 40 minutes for discussion.
F.	Ratification:	Participants will meet to accept or reject the contract.
G.	Debriefing:	Discussion of who won ? Why ? What errors were made ? What are major characteristics of negotiations ? What are the strengths and weaknesses of this method ?

(For all Participants)

SCENARIO

Shock Electric Incorporated is a small company of 152 employees in Bridgetown, a southern Ontario Community of 10,000 people with a mixed agricultural/light industrial economy.

There are a number of factories, small in size, working at or close to capacity. The labour situation in Bridgetown is non-fluid for a number of reasons. First, Bridgetown does not attract new industry with the result that the number of jobs available is limited. Secondly, unemployment in the community runs at 3.5%, leaving Bridgetown without a significant pool of unemployed labour on which businesses can draw. Consequently neither the union nor the company desire a strike and are prepared to compromise on issues.

Shock Electric has operated in Bridgetown for the past fifteen years. Wages have not been high, but Bridgetown is not an expensive community to live in, relative to more urban areas. While a number of employees have been with the firm from the beginning, attracted by a small plant and community, the majority are local people who, wishing to stay in Bridgetown, have been hired as jobs became vacant in the plant. In addition, company/employee relations have been generally good - disputes have been settled by management and the company has felt it necessary to fire employees on only a few occasions.

In spite of the static labour force at Shock Electric a number of factors have resulted in the formation of a union, Local 100. The Canadian economy has been on the upswing with the resultant increases in the cost of living, but employees have felt that their wages were not keeping pace and are now looking to the union, negotiating its first contract, to obtain a 50¢ per hour increase. Secondly, employees are looking for increased holidays, since all employees receive 2 weeks vacation after 1 year of service without consideration for length of service. Also the demands include a union shop, plant wide seniority and a reduction in the hours of work to 37 1/2 hours per week.

BARGAINING TEAMS

Union:	Management:
President, Local 100	President of the Company
Chief Steward, Local 100	Company Lawyer
Staff Representative from the Union's central office	Company Treasurer

(For Union Personnel only)

UNION POSITIONS AND ALTERNATIVES

The Union bargaining team has presented the demands listed below to the Local and has received 80% vote of approval to negotiate on the basis of these demands and their alternatives. Your team may elect to have one person as a spokesman on all matters or you may elect to share responsibilities.

President and Chief Steward: As the Local Union officers on the team you are committed to strong bargaining. You called for the formation of a union on the basis of the positions presented in the Scenario. Both of you are respected by the membership for your views, but failure to achieve a satisfactory contract could result in a reduction of your prestige. On the other hand you are aware of the labour situation in Bridgetown and the limitations it imposes on your bargaining position. Consequently you will do all in your power to avoid a strike.

Union representative: As a central office representative in the initial negotiations you would very much like to see a settlement strongly favouring the union. However you are aware that a strike at this point could endanger the Local's existence. The structure of the Bridgetown labour market also forces you to recognize the need for compromise. You will be bargaining firmly, but will do all in your power to avoid a strike.

Union Positions

On all issues the first position represents the union's maximum demand, while the last position represents the minimum demand. Consequently acceptance of all maximum positions would represent total success for the union, just as agreement on all minimum demands would represent success for the company.

1) Union Rights and Security:

a) Union Shop: all company employees must become members of the union after 30 days.

b) Agency Shop: all employees must pay dues to the union but are not required to join it.

c) Checkoff: the company will deduct dues from all union members' pay cheques and hand over the sum to the union.

d) Open Shop: employees are not required to join the union, nor will the company collect union dues.

Union Positions and Alternatives Continued

2) Wages:

a) 50¢ raise per hour

b) 40¢ raise per hour

c) 30¢ raise per hour

d) 20¢ raise per hour

e) 10¢ raise per hour

3) Holidays:

Currently the company operates according to the Ontario Law by giving 2 weeks holidays after 1 year of service.

a) 3 weeks after 5 years' service and 4 weeks after 10 years.
12 paid holidays - 2 to be scheduled at membership request.

b) 3 weeks after 5 years' service.
11 paid holidays - 2 to be scheduled at membership request.

c) 3 weeks after 6 years' service.
10 paid holidays.

d) 3 weeks after 7 years' service
8 paid holidays.

4) Seniority Clauses:

a) Combination seniority: if an employee's job is eliminated he/she may replace the junior man in his department, the junior man in his job classification or the junior man plant-wide, if he can do the job. This system will protect the salary of a senior man on a layoff.

b) Plant wide seniority: an employee laid off may replace the junior man plant wide, if he can do the job.

c) Departmental seniority: seniority shall be determined by his length of service in his department. In effect a departmental layoff will result in the layoff of the junior man in the department.

d) Occupation wide seniority: seniority is determined by his length of service in that occupation. In effect the junior man in that occupation will be released. This will maintain wage rates at a high level.

Union Positions and Alternatives Continued

4) Seniority Clauses (Continued)

e) No seniority clause; the company shall determine who is laid off or promoted based on its assessment of employee abilities.

5) Hours of Work:

a) 37 1/2 hours per week with 1/2 hour per day paid lunch.

b) 40 hours per week with 1/2 per day paid lunch.

c) 40 hours per week with 20 minutes per day paid lunch.

d) 40 hours per week with 1/2 hour per day unpaid lunch.

(For Company Personnel only)

General Management Situation

Shock Electric has a history of generally good relationships with its employees. Discipline has not been a serious problem in the plant and when possible, the company has promoted from its own ranks. However, the company recognizes the necessity of dealing with a certified union and it is prepared to do so fairly and firmly.

You are aware of the union's demands and realize that you must prepare an effective counter-offer for the first negotiation session. Based on clear evidence your team should establish for yourselves what you would consider to be a reasonable final settlement, bearing in mind that you wish to avoid a strike. Naturally you are most concerned over money issues. You would be prepared to give ground on non-monetary items, if this would result in a reduction in monetary items. However, your negotiating team will insist on clear proof before accepting a union demand.

Your team may elect to have one person as the spokesman on all matters or you may elect to have each member of the team take responsibility for a particular issue.

Management Positions

The further management moves the union away from its maximum demands, the greater its success in the contract negotiations.

1) Wages.

The company is aware of the union's 50¢ per hour pay increase demand. All three company representatives are united in their opposition to this demand - the company lawyer and treasurer in particular as they have costed out the various increases and are concerned about their impact on the shareholders who wish to see a strong profit position in an improving economy. You would readily agree to a 20¢ per hour increase. However the economic upswing indicates a substantial increase in sales (approximately 20%) for the coming year - consequently you are prepared for 30¢ per hour increase and, should the union restrain its demands in other areas, you might go as high as 40¢ per hour.

2) Security.

The company president has strong feelings on this subject. You are prepared to accept and negotiate with the union, but you believe that the union must be responsible for its own existence. Membership in the union as a pre-condition of employment in your plant you cannot accept easily.

Management Positions (Continued)

3) Seniority

Again the president has firm views on the issue. In general you believe that seniority rules interfere with sound and effective company operation. Therefore you would like to do without any seniority clauses at all. However, you recognize the need for concession and will readily agree to departmental seniority. Successful negotiation on monetary items would allow you to accept plant wide seniority.

4) Holidays.

The company's cost conscious lawyer and treasurer are quick to identify holidays as a money issue. Any increase in holidays will eat into company profits. While you will not agree to the total union package, you are prepared for compromises - but that compromise will be greatly influenced by the per hour increase.

5) Hours of Work.

You see this as a major cost item and view it as area in which concession can be easily made for a trade off in another area such as wages.

(For all Participants)

SHOCK ELECTRIC

Profit Statement

Total Sales	$3,200,000
Expenses	2,400,000
Gross Profit	800,000
Less: Investment for New Machinery	400,000
Profit before Taxes	400,000
Less Income Taxes	200,000
NET PROFIT	$ 200,000

NOTE: It is estimated that company sales will increased by 20% this coming year due to an upturn in the economic cycle.

(For All Participants)

SHOCK ELECTRIC

Employee Profile by Length of Service

Years of Service	No. of Employees	Years of Service	No. of Employees
Less than 1 year	7	8 years	11
1 year	10	9 years	10
2 years	8	10 years	9
3 years	10	11 years	10
4 years	8	12 years	9
5 years	20	13 years	2
6 years	20	14 years	3
7 years	12	15 years	3

(For All Participants)

SHOCK ELECTRIC

Wage Profile

Job Classification	Number on Job	Rate per Hour	Total Cost Per Annum
Assembler	75	$3.50	$ 420,000.
Inspector	12	4.00	76,800.
General Labour	30	3.00	162,000.
Maintenance	15	2.80	67,200
Clerical	20	3.10	99,200
TOTAL	152		$ 838,200

Cost of Various Wage Increases

Amount of Increase	Annual Increased Cost	Total Annual Wage Cost
		$ 838,200
50¢ /hour	$121,600.	959,800
40¢ /hour	97,280.	935,480.
30¢ /hour	72,960.	911,160.
20¢ /hour	48,640.	836,840.
10¢ /hour	24,320.	862,520.

(For all Participants)

Total Cost of Holiday Packages (Estimations)

	Annual Cost	Increase over Current Cost
1.	$ 21,200	$ 12,000
2.	19,500	10,100
3.	17,000	8,500
4.	15,000	7,000

Consumer Price Index For This Year and Previous Year

Date	Last year	This year
January	108.0	111.3
February	108.3	111.8
March	108.3	112.3
April	108.6	112.8
May	108.9	112.8
June	109.5	113.4
July	109.5	113.8
August	109.7	114.2
September	110.4	
October	110.4	
November	110.8	
December	111.0	

(For All Participants)

Current Wage and Holiday Comparison in Electrical Industry

Company	Assemblers per hour	Inspectors per hour	Fitters per hour	Maintenance per hour	Clerical per hour	Years of Service needed for holidays (by weeks)				Time left in Contract
						No. of pd hol	2	3	4	
	$	$	$	$	$					
Shock Electric	3.50	4.00	3.00	2.80	3.10	5	1	-	-	Negotiating
Acme Electronics	3.93	4.53	3.35	3.27	3.54	7	1	15	20	9 months
Fittings Unlimited	3.61	4.33	3.40	3.17	3.12	8	1	10	20	4 months
Still Tone Fixtures	3.97	4.46	3.32	3.30	3.51	6	1	10	15	10 months
Sound Waves Inc.	3.90	4.37	3.44	3.15	3.40	8	1	15	-	8 months
Current Electronics Inc	3.85	4.44	3.46	3.22	3.35	7	1	10	15	8 months
Crafts Ltd	3.55	4.05	3.10	2.86	3.10	5	1	-	-	Negotiating
Lamprey Electric	3.70	4.22	3.26	3.07	3.30	7	1	15	20	6 months

(For All Participants)

APPENDIX VII-C(x)

Community Comparison of Wages and Holidays

(Companies with more than 100 employees)

Company	Wages/Hour			Years of Service for paid Holiday			Paid hols.	Time left in Contract
	Maximum	Minimum	Average	2 weeks	3 weeks	4 weeks		
Shock Electric	$4.00	$2.80	$3.40	1	-	-	5	Negotiating
Brown Sugar Co.	4.42	3.18	3.80	1	10	20	6	10 months
Slippery Soap	4.10	2.90	3.50	1	15	-	6	No contract
Jones & Jones	4.38	3.22	3.80	1	10	-	7	9 months
Haines Bedding	4.30	3.15	3.68	1	10	20	5	7 months
Modern Furn.	3.90	2.65	3.38	1	10	20	7	No contract
Rank Castings	4.27	3.13	3.70	1	15	20	6	6 months

Negotiating the Labour Agreement

PRESENTATION OF YOUR DEMANDS

1. WHO

Chairman of the Bargaining Committee - The Bargaining Committee should designate a chairman who would be the union's principal negotiator and responsible for directing the negotiations. He should be: well acquainted with the "Areas for Bargaining", applicable law, regulations and policies; a leader who is respected, local union leadership and membership; firm but yet capable of exercising sound judgment; patient and a good listener; skilled in communicating the union's demands and arguments in support of them.

2. ARGUMENTS

Offensive:- The Bargaining Committee should prepare the most effective possible arguments in support of each of the union's demands. Each member of the Committee should understand a demand's "offensive" arguments.

Defensive:- The Bargaining Committee should analyse possible management arguments to the union's agreement demands. Counter arguments to bolster the union's demands should be prepared in advance of negotiations. Each member of the Committee should understand demand "defensive" arguments.

The "offensive" and "defensive" arguments in support of the union's agreement demands should be prepared in advance of collective bargaining negotiations on the basis of established factual information.

3. LANGUAGE

The Bargaining Committee should be capable of drafting agreement language which clearly states the principle set forth in each of the union's agreement demands.

4. PROCEDURE

Pre-meeting :- The Bargaining Committee should meet prior to a negotiating session to review the status of negotiations and to discuss the agreement demands to be presented at the session.

Post-meeting:- The Bargaining Committee should meet upon termination of a negotiating session to discuss and evaluate said session in terms of attainment of the union's agreement demands.

Negotiating the Labour Agreement
Presentation of your Demands
Continued

5. BARGAINING

The Chairmen of the Bargaining Committees act as co-chairmen with equal rights in the negotiating session.

The Bargaining Committee at its first negotiating session(s) should negotiate the "ground rules" which will govern all subsequent collective bargaining.

The Bargaining Committee in presenting its agreement demands initially, should only outline them and not go into detail.

The Bargaining Committee should seek agreement as to the order in which its agreement demands will de discussed.

The Bargaining Committee in discussing agreement demands should emphasize in a clear and concise manner its prepared "offensive" and "defensive" arguments. They provide the basis of justification for the demands.

The Bargaining Committee in case of a demand impasse should act contructively; postpone further discussion of the demand to a later time or ask for a 'caucus' to re-assess the union's position as regards the demand.

The Bargaining Committee should constantly assess its bargaining position as regards achievement of its demands. It should formulate carefully any action to be taken in regard to changing or dropping any agreement demand. Each member of the Committee should understand fully the reasons for any change made in the union's agreement demands, the nature of the revised demands and the arguments in support of such revised demands.

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CHECK LIST
FOR GATHERING NEEDED INFORMATION
ON A GRIEVANCE OR ARBITRATION

1. Name, check number, classification and hiring date of complainant.
2. Previous oral reprimands by foreman and dates such reprimands received.
3. Previous written reprimands if any, and dates received.
4. Were previous reprimands both oral and written protested ? If so, what were the results of such protests ?
5. Previous disciplinary layoffs and discharge.
6. Were previous disciplinary layoffs and discharges protested ? If so, what were the results of such protests ?
7. An account of the incident or a description of the conditions resulting in the grievance.
8. Management's reasons for its action; management's present position on the matter.
9. Past practice of the foreman involved in reprimanding, laying off or discharging employees for similar incidents. If other employees were guilty of similar actions without being reprimanded, laid off or discharged, cite such employees' names and circumstances.
10. Has the situation been previously reported to management ? If so, what action, if any, has management taken ?
11. Have employees been hurt or affected by management's action ? If so, outline how they were hurt or affected.
12. List the various classifications of work on which the complainant has worked and the approximate time spent on each classification.
13. Description of the operation in question.
14. Outline changes in operation, method and date changes were made.
15. Give the date last Time Study was taken.
16. Is the present Study improper ? If so, the reason why.
17. Does the work in question belong in another classification ? If so, why ?
18. If the job does not belong to the existing classification, has the job changed enough to warrant negotiations on it for more money ?
19. Name the job being requested and outline the requirements of the job and the reasons it is being requested.
20. Outline other employees involved, their hiring date and the jobs on which they formerly worked.
21. Cite, if possible, previous disciplinary records of the other employees involved.

Check List for Gathering Information
Continued

22. Name the jobs held before being hired by the company and the approximate time spent on each job.
23. Outline the employee's and the union's reason for believing that the employee is not being treated fairly.
24. List the employees whom the employee normally shares overtime and work during part-time operations.
25. List the hours worked by the employees listed in 24 along with the employee.

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THE LABOUR RELATIONS ACT

ARBITRATION CLAUSES

37.—(1) Every collective agreement shall provide for the final and binding settlement by arbitration, without stoppage of work, of all differences between the parties arising from the interpretation, application, administration or alleged violation of the agreement, including any question as to whether a matter is arbitrable.

(2) If a collective agreement does not contain such a provision as is mentioned in subsection 1, it shall be deemed to contain the following provision:

> Where a difference arises between the parties relating to the interpretation, application or administration of this agreement, including any question as to whether a matter is arbitrable, or where an allegation is made that this agreement has been violated, either of the parties may, after exhausting any grievance procedure established by this agreement, notify the other party in writing of its desire to submit the difference or allegation to arbitration and the notice shall contain the name of the first party's appointee to an arbitration board. The recipient of the notice shall within five days inform the other party of the name of its appointee to the arbitration board. The two appointees so selected shall, within five days of the appointment of the second of them, appoint a third person who shall be the chairman. If the recipient of the notice fails to appoint an arbitrator, or if the two appointees fail to agree upon a chairman within the time limited, the appointment shall be made by the Minister of Labour for Ontario upon the request of either party. The arbitration board shall hear and determine the difference or allegation and shall issue a decision and the decision is final and binding upon the parties and upon any employee or employer affected by it. The decision of a majority is the decision of the arbitration board, but if there is no majority the decision of the chairman governs.

(3) If, in the opinion of the Board, any part of the arbitration provision, including the method of appointment of the arbitrator or arbitration board, is inadequate, or if the provision set out in subsection 2 is alleged by either party to be unsuitable, the Board may, on the request of either party, modify the provision so long as it conforms with subsection 1, but, until so modified, the arbitration provision in the collective agreement or in subsection 2, as the case may be, applies.

Appointment of arbitrator by Minister

(4) Notwithstanding subsection 3, if there is failure to appoint an arbitrator or to constitute a board of arbitration under a collective agreement, the Minister, upon the request of either party, may appoint the arbitrator or make such appointments as are necessary to constitute the board of arbitration, as the case may be, and any person so appointed by the Minister shall be deemed to have been appointed in accordance with the collective agreement.

Payment of arbitrators

(5) Where the Minister has appointed an arbitrator or the chairman of a board of arbitration under subsection 4, each of the parties shall pay one-half the remuneration and expenses of the person appointed, and, where the Minister has appointed a member of a board of arbitration under subsection 4 on failure of one of the parties to make the appointment, that party shall pay the remuneration and expenses of the person appointed.

Where decision of arbitrator unduly delayed

(6) Where a difference has been submitted to arbitration under this section and a party to the arbitration complains to the Minister that the arbitrator or the arbitration board, as the case may be, has failed to render a decision within a reasonable time, the Minister may, after consulting the parties and the arbitrator or the arbitration board, issue whatever order he considers necessary in the circumstances to ensure that a decision will be rendered in the matter without further undue delay.

Powers of arbitrators, chairmen of arbitration boards, and arbitration boards

(7) An arbitrator or the chairman of an arbitration board, as the case may be, has power,

(*a*) to summon and enforce the attendance of witnesses and to compel them to give oral or written evidence on oath in the same manner as a court of record in civil cases; and

(*b*) to administer oaths,

and an arbitrator or an arbitration board, as the case may be, has power,

(*c*) to accept such oral or written evidence as the arbitrator or the arbitration board, as the case may be, in its discretion considers proper, whether admissible in a court of law or not;

(*d*) to enter any premises where work is being done or has been done by the employees or in which the employer carries on business or where anything is taking place or has taken place concerning any of the differences submitted to him or it, and inspect and view any work, material, machinery, appliance or article therein, and interrogate any person respecting any such thing or any of such differences;

(*e*) to authorize any person to do anything that the arbitrator or arbitration board may do under clause *d* and to report to the arbitrator or the arbitration board thereon.

Substitution of penalty

(8) Where an arbitrator or arbitration board determines that an employee has been discharged or otherwise disciplined by an employer for cause and the collective agreement does not contain a specific penalty for the infraction that is the subject-matter of the arbitration, the arbitrator or arbitration board may substitute such other penalty for the discharge or discipline as to the arbitrator or arbitration board seems just and reasonable in all the circumstances.

Effect of arbitrator's decision

(9) The decision of an arbitrator or of an arbitration board is binding,

(*a*) upon the parties; and

(*b*) in the case of a collective agreement between a trade union and an employers' organization, upon the employers covered by the agreement who are affected by the decision; and

(*c*) in the case of a collective agreement between a council of trade unions and an employer or an employers' organization, upon the members or affiliates of the council and the employer or the employers covered by the agreement, as the case may be, who are affected by the decision; and

(*d*) upon the employees covered by the agreement who are affected by the decision,

and such parties, employers, trade unions and employees shall do or abstain from doing anything required of them by the decision.

Enforcement of arbitration decision

(10) Where a party, employer, trade union or employee has failed to comply with any of the terms of the decision of an arbitrator or arbitration board, any party, employer, trade union or employee affected by the decision may, after the expiration of fourteen days from the date of the release of the decision or the date provided in the decision for compliance, whichever is later, file in the office of the Registrar of the Supreme Court a copy of the decision, exclusive of the reasons therefor, in the prescribed form, whereupon the decision shall be entered in the same way as a judgment or order of that court and is enforceable as such.

R.S.O. 1970, c. 25 does not apply

(11) *The Arbitrations Act* does not apply to arbitrations under collective agreements. R.S.O. 1970, c. 232, s. 37 (6-11).

Permissive provisions

38.—(1) Notwithstanding anything in this Act, but subject to subsection 4, the parties to a collective agreement may include in it provisions,

(*a*) for requiring, as a condition of employment, membership in the trade union that is a party to or is bound by the agreement or granting a preference of employment to members of the trade union, or requiring the payment of dues or contributions to the trade union;

(*b*) for permitting an employee who represents the trade union that is a party to or is bound by the agreement to attend to the business of the trade union during working hours without deduction of the time so occupied in the computation of the time worked for the employer and without deduction of wages in respect of the time so occupied;

(*c*) for permitting the trade union that is a party to or is bound by the agreement to use the employer's premises for the purposes of the trade union without payment therefor.

Where non-member employee cannot be required to be discharged

(2) No trade union that is a party to a collective agreement containing a provision mentioned in clause *a* of subsection 1 shall require the employer to discharge an employee because,

(*a*) he has been expelled or suspended from membership in the trade union; or

(*b*) membership in the trade union has been denied to or withheld from the employee,

for the reason that the employee,

(*c*) was or is a member of another trade union;

(*d*) has engaged in activity against the trade union or on behalf of another trade union;

(*e*) has engaged in reasonable dissent within the trade union;

(*f*) has been discriminated against by the trade union in the application of its membership rules; or

(*g*) has refused to pay initiation fees, dues or other assessments to the trade union which are unreasonable.

Where subs. 2 does not apply

(3) Subsection 2 does not apply to an employee who has engaged in unlawful activity against the trade union mentioned in clause *a* of subsection 1 or an officer, official or agent thereof or whose activity against the trade union or on behalf of another trade union has been instigated or procured by his employer or

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(*g*) has refused to pay initiation fees, dues or other assessments to the trade union which are unreasonable.

Where subs. 2 does not apply

(3) Subsection 2 does not apply to an employee who has engaged in unlawful activity against the trade union mentioned in clause *a* of subsection 1 or an officer, official or agent thereof or whose activity against the trade union or on behalf of another trade union has been instigated or procured by his employer or any person acting on his employer's behalf or whose employer or a person acting on his employer's behalf has participated in such activity or contributed financial or other support to the employee in respect of such activity.

Union security provision in first agreement

(4) A trade union and the employer of the employees concerned shall not enter into a collective agreement that includes provisions requiring, as a condition of employment, membership in the trade union that is a party to or is bound by the agreement unless the trade union has established at the time it entered into the agreement that not less than 65 per cent of the employees in the bargaining unit were members of the trade union, but this subsection does not apply,

(*a*) where the trade union has been certified as the bargaining agent of the employees of the employer in the bargaining unit; or

(*b*) where the trade union has been a party to or bound by a collective agreement with the employer for at least one year; or

(*c*) where the employer becomes a member of an employers' organization that has entered into a collective agreement with the trade union or council of trade unions containing such a provision and agrees with the trade union or council of trade unions to be bound by such agreement; or

(*d*) where the employer and his employees in the bargaining unit are engaged in the construction, alteration, decoration, repair or demolition of a building, structure, road, sewer, water or gas main, pipe line, tunnel, bridge, canal, or other work at the site thereof.

Continuation of permissive provisions

(5) Notwithstanding anything in this Act, where the parties to a collective agreement have included in it any of the provisions permitted by subsection 1, any of such provisions may be continued in effect during the period when the parties are bargaining with a view to the renewal, with or without modifications, of such agreement or to the making of a new agreement.

Idem

(6) Notwithstanding anything in this Act where the parties to a collective agreement have included in it any of the provisions permitted by subsection 1 and the employer who was a party to or was bound by the agreement sells his business within the meaning of section 55, any of such provisions as were included in the collective agreement may be continued in effect during the period when the person to whom the business was sold and the trade union that is the bargaining agent for his employees in the appropriate bargaining unit by reason of the sale bargain with a view to the making of a new agreement. R.S.O. 1970, c. 232, s. 38.

Religious objections

39.—(1) Where the Board is satisfied that an employee because of his religious conviction or belief,

(*a*) objects to joining a trade union, or

(*b*) objects to the paying of dues or other assessments to a trade union

the Board may order that the provisions of a collective agreement of the type mentioned in clause *a* of subsection 1 of section 38 do not apply to such employee and that the employee is not required to join the trade union, to be or continue to be a member of the trade union, or to pay any dues, fees or assessments to the trade union, provided that amounts equal to any initiation fees, dues or other assessments are paid by the employee to or are remitted by the employer to a charitable organization mutually agreed upon by the employee and the trade union, but if the employee and the trade union fail to so agree then to such charitable organization registered as a charitable organization in Canada under Part I of the *Income Tax Act* (Canada) as may be designated by the Board.

R.S.C. 1952, c. 148

Application of subs. 1

(2) Subsection 1 applies,

(*a*) subject to clause *b*, to employees in the employ of an employer at the time a collective agreement containing a provision of the kind mentioned in subsection 1 is first entered into with that employer and only during the life of such collective agreement; and

(*b*) where a collective agreement in force before the 15th day of February, 1971 contains the provision mentioned in subsection 1, to employees in the employ of the employer on the 15th day of February 1971 and only during the life of such collective agreement,

and does not apply to employees whose employment commences after the entering into of the collective agreement when clause *a* applies, or on or after the 15th day of February 1971, when clause *b* applies. R.S.O. 1970, c. 232, s. 39.

GRIEVANCE CASE STUDIES

RALPH SULLIVAN vs. COMPANY 'A'

WHAT HAPPENED: Ralph Sullivan's personal file was chock-full of violations. He was a good worker but constantly getting into hot water. Frequently, his indiscretions were the use of none-too-gentlemanly language toward Supervisors. One morning his boss spied Sullivan speaking rather heatedly to the Shop Steward. The Supervisor tiptoed closer to listen. When they noticed the Management Man, they ceased their conversation. "What are you two doing away from your jobs?" the Supervisor asked.

"I heard that you were going to warn me for slow production. I'm checking on what my rights are." Sullivan answered, belligerently.

"You have no right leaving your work to discuss a grievance," the Supervisor said.

"Oh, yes I have", the employee replied. "I know the rules as well as you do." An argument ensued. Soon there were four Supervisors and a half-dozen employees standing around, all contributing their two cents. Sullivan was heard to say to his Supervisor something like, "any time you want, we can settle this in the parking lot."

Sullivan's Supervisor, the General Foreman and the Industrial Relations Director, talked it over and decided to let Ralph go. At arbitration, the Company maintained that the last incident was the straw that broke the camel's back. It produced Ralph's personal file and showed that he had violated Company rules 16 times - ranging from lateness to abusive language to supervision. "Add all these up and you have a worker that we could well do without," was the Company's summation.

Sullivan defended himself:

1. I lost my head, but the Supervisor abused me in front of other people, and I just could not let his insults go without answering.
2. On two or three other occasions I talked rough to Supervisors. I wasn't fired then, so why should I be fired now, for the same thing?
3. Sure, the personal files show 16 violations; but there isn't a single word which says that my job is in danger. It is one thing to put a warning slip in and it's another to put a man on notice that he is skating on thin ice.

GRIEVANCE CASE STUDIES
continued

WAS THE COMPANY: RIGHT ☐ WRONG ☐

WHAT ARBITRATOR CHARLES B. SPAULDING RULED:

"In spite of the fact that Sullivan's record is not good, the Arbitrator is forced to the conclusion that it cannot be used as a basis for the present discharge, because the employee was not properly warned that it would be so used. In attempting to improve Sullivan's behavior, the Company often admonished him, but it did not warn him that failure to improve might result in discharge. The Arbitrator must hold that a warning to be used as a basis for discharge, must be written or established in such a manner that no real doubt can exist."

"Sullivan's invitation to physical violence may well have been partially caused by the fact that the foreman also became somewhat aggressive. Sullivan shall be reinstated, but without back pay. If it so desires, the Company may also deposit a copy of this Award in his personal records and may regard it as a warning that any significant breach of rules, within the reasonable future, may result in his being discharged. If the Company decided to regard this Award as such a warning, it shall clearly so inform Sullivan, in writing, within 10 working days of his reinstatement and shall present him, at the same time, with a copy of this Award."

GRIEVANCE CASE STUDIES

HAS A COMPANY A RIGHT TO MOVE SOME OF ITS MACHINES TO ANOTHER PLANT ?

WHAT HAPPENED:

Management had two plants - 200 miles apart. One plant was rather old. The other was new, having better layout and better methods. The Plant Manager decided to shift four machines from the old facility to the new. As a result, four workers lost their jobs. The Union put in a protest:

1. You shifted those machines because your new plant has a less aggressive Union.

2. Our contract with you contains a manning table of jobs. That means that for the duration of the Agreement you cannot eliminate these positions - at least not without negotiations.

3. Removing these machines is just like sub-contracting out the work. We have an Agreement that you will not sub-contract without talking it over.

MANAGEMENT'S REPLY WAS:

1. We made the move for economic reasons. We showed the Union that we're losing money at the old plant and are making money at the new one.

2. Besides, we've a right to manufacture anywhere we like. That's our prerogative.

3. The Union should look up the meaning of sub-contracting. We are not giving work to another employer. We own the other plant and are merely shifting some of our operations.

WAS THE COMPANY: RIGHT ☐ WRONG ☐

WHAT ARBITRATOR JOHN F. SEMBOWER RULED:

"The deep apprehension and anguish of employees at seeing the machines on which they may work being taken from their plant and community, is a distressing thing. History tells of many pathetic instances when employees have done all within their power to deter the departure from their community of the equipment which, in this machine age, is symbolic of their means of livelihood. Some such situations have heartrending aspects and it must be observed also, that often they are of the gravest concern to

GRIEVANCE CASE STUDIES
Continued

WHAT ARBITRATOR JOHN F. SEMBOWER RULED (Cont'd)

those who operate production facilities, the employers as well. But, if they ignore economic realities, such business cannot long exist. The bona fide economics are, therefore, the crux of the matter. There is nothing to indicate that the Company was actuated by any motive to subvert the Union in any way. The grievance cannot be sustained."

GRIEVANCE CASE STUDIES

CAN YOU DEMOTE AN EMPLOYEE FOR BEING INEFFICIENT EVEN THOUGH HE HAS BEEN ON THE SAME JOB FOR FIVE YEARS ?

WHAT HAPPENED:

John Bett was an inspector for five years. After two years, his work began to slip and customers complained that quality of the product was dropping. John's foreman talked to him about the slipups. What faulty parts continued to go through, he was given a written warning. After that when several batches of work were returned by a customer, the company demoted John to his previous classification. John grieved, claiming that:

1. If I am being disciplined for faulty inspection, then demotion is too severe.
2. Nobody is perfect - we all make mistakes.
3. I've been around for five years, and that's no way to treat a senior man.

The company countered that it must protect the quality of its product and John was taken off the job for that reason. The fact that he had five years seniority did not give him immunity from demotion, if his performance turns bad.

WAS THE COMPANY : RIGHT ☐ WRONG ☐

WHAT ARBITRATOR CLAIR V. DUFF RULED

"In managing the business and directing the workforce, management has the right and the duty to ensure the highest quality standards so that its product can be sold in a competitive market with the resultant benefits to employer and employees, each of whom has a stake in the success of the enterprise. How this quality-control is to be attained, is also the responsibility of management.

The arbitrator is convinced that this was not a demotion for disciplinary purposes, but was an action taken to improve product qualtiy. The grievance is denied."

-oOo-

GRIEVANCE CASE STUDIES

LAY-OFF OUT OF LINE WITH SENIORITY:

Minnie Barnes, who had 7 years seniority, came to her Steward that day telling him that she was laid off, but believed that it was out of line with her seniority. Bill Bailey, for an example, was still on the job and she knew that he did not have more seniority than she did. She remembered it because, at the time Bailey lost his hand on an on-the-job accident, three years ago, he told her that he was just with the Company for three years.

The contract not only states that seniority will govern on lay-offs, but also provides that, in a non-interchangeable occupation, seniority prevails in remaining on the job.

ADDITIONAL COMMENTS:

The Foreman insists that Bill Bailey be retained because of his handicapped condition. Because of these special circumstances, departure from the contract, the Company says, is justified.

DISPOSITION:

The Arbitration Award went to the Union. Minnie Barnes was reinstated. The Arbitrator pointed out that the Union was right on three counts:

1. If Bill Bailey with lesser seniority was not laid off, it would make the Union vulnerable to legal action by members because of the violation of their rights.

2. The Company ignored the Union's suggestion that Bill Bailey be put in a job outside of the bargaining unit, since they were sympathetic to his handicap problem.

3. The Company violated the contract on lay-off procedure.

GRIEVANCE CASE STUDIES

UNJUSTIFIABLE DISMISSAL:

Bruno Salvitore was arrested while on duty. He was fired by the Company when Police said he was charged with shooting and wounding a man, although Bruno was not yet indicted on the day he was fired. Newspaper accounts and the Police said that he admitted it.

Bruno was always a good worker, but excitable and sometimes got into arguments with others on the job, with his anger getting the best of him to the extent of threatening some. But, he was never known to strike anyone on the job.

The Union contract stated that an employee can be discharged only for "just and sufficient cause".

The first day Bruno was in jail, his wife brought him the letter from the Company telling him he was discharged. Bruno sent word to his Shop Steward that he wanted to see him.

The Shop Steward came to see Bruno the next day. By then the Shop Steward had received the Company's written statement as required by the contract, which said the reason for Salvitore's termination was that "his disposition to violence made him an undesirable employee to have around and that he had been involved in previous incidents.

ADDITIONAL COMMENTS:

Foreman insists that Bruno Salvitore is a violent man, dangerous and undesirable, who had a number of near fights with workers. Once he threatened a fellow employee with a club.

Note to the Foreman: You are unable to come up with any dates on when all this happened:

You have never issued a reprimand on his behavior.

DISPOSITION:

Case was taken to arbitration and won. Arbitrator's decision was that since no reprimands were issued and since newspaper and police accounts were hearsay at the time of Salvitore's dismissal, there wasn't enough evidence that he was a potentially dangerous man, despite the shooting charge.

GRIEVANCE CASE STUDIES

BUMPING RIGHTS REFUSED

Adolph Richter was bumped from his job and, in turn, tried to bump the less senior man down the line.

The Company refused to approve the move, saying that the reason was Richter's absentee record which was exceedingly high.

The contract states only that a bidder must be reasonably qualified to do the job and lists no other qualifications.

Additional comments: Foreman insists that the job Richter wanted required constant attention and that Richter's absentee record disqualified him and that the rest of the department could not function without him. There is a trial provision after which the worker's conduct may be judged.

Disposition: Arbitration Award to Union was based on:

1. Contract was silent on whether absenteeism may be considered in determining an applicant's qualification and only states that the bidder must be reasonably qualified to do the work.
2. The company is protected by a trial provision after which the worker's conduct may be judged.

GRIEVANCE CASE STUDIES

DISLOYALTY - DISMISSAL WITHOUT CAUSE

Andy Baker bought a new television set, but not one made by his Company. When the men on the job kidded him about buying a TV set a competitor made, he made some cracks about the quality of the TV sets made by his Company. It got back to the Foreman. The plant had a program of promoting sales of its products among the employees and friends of the employees. When the Foreman told him that Baker owed the Company the courtesy of discussing such a purchase beforehand, Andy retorted in anger, "I've got the privilege of buying what I want to buy".

The Company fired Andy for making disparaging remarks about its product and for disloyalty.

Additional comments: Foreman insists that if worker doesn't believe in the product he shouldn't work there, besides, it is disloyal to run down the Company's product.

Disposition: Arbitrator's Award reinstating worker with back pay was based on:

1 An employee is not required to spend money where he earns it.

2. Purchases of competing articles is not just cause for discharge.

3. No proof of disloyalty since fellow employees' kidding provoked the worker.

GRIEVANCE CASE STUDIES

FAILURE TO RECALL

Arvid Jensen was laid-off and was awaiting a letter from the Company recalling him to work. A registered letter was sent to him notifying him to come to work on a certain date, but it was placed in a community mail box at the trailer court where he lived and picked up by someone else. Five days later Arvid got the letter.

Meanwhile the Company cancelled his seniority and hired another man to fill his place. As soon as he got the letter he did report, but the Company refused to hire him.

The Company had not met with the Union Steward as required by the Contract to discuss the worker's seniority rights when he failed to return.

Additional comments: Foreman insists the Company's obligations were fulfilled and they could not help it if the letter was delivered too late. The Contract requires the Company to meet with the Union Steward to discuss the worker's seniority rights when he fails to return.

Disposition: Worker reinstated, but only with partial seniority credit and partial back pay; but Arbitrator said that, had the Company followed the Contract in meeting with the Steward, they would have learned why the worker did not return; but then, it wasn't the Company's fault either, that the mail was not delivered until five days later.

RUMOR CLINIC

Goal

To illustrate the distortions in communicating information as it is transmitted from the original source through several individuals to a final destination.

Group Size

Six participants plus an unlimited number of process observers.

Time Required

Thirty minutes.

Materials Utilized

I. The Rumor Clinic Message.

II. Rumor Clinic Observation Forms.

III. Blackboard and chalk or newsprint and felt-tip marker.

IV. Tape recorder (optional).

Physical Setting

I. Meeting room. All observers are seated facing platform or area where the rumor clinic is staged.

II. Room where participants can be isolated.

Process

I. The facilitator selects six members from the group to be the participants.

II. Five of the six participants are asked to go into the isolation room. One will remain with the facilitator.

III. The facilitator starts the tape recorder if he plans to replay the rumor clinic after the process is completed for clues to distortion.

IV. The facilitator reads the message to the first participant.

V. The facilitator asks the second participant to return to the room.

VI. The first participant repeats what he heard from the facilitator to the second participant. *It is important to keep in mind that each participant is to transmit the message in his own way, without help from other participants or observers.*

VII. The third participant is asked to return, and the second participant repeats what he heard from the first participant.

VIII. The process is repeated until all but the sixth participant has had the message transmitted to him.

IX. When the sixth participant returns to the room, he becomes the policeman. The fifth participant repeats the message to the policeman, and he in turn writes the message on the blackboard or on newsprint so that the entire group can read it.

X. The facilitator then writes the original message, and it is compared with the policeman's message.

APPENDIX

XI. The facilitator leads a short discussion with the entire group on the implications of the rumor clinic experience, utilizing the tape recorder if the rumor clinic has been taped. Observers may be asked to report, followed by reactions of participants.

Message:

Accident Report

"I cannot wait to report to the police what I saw in this accident. It is imperative that I get to the hospital as soon as possible.

"The semi truck, heading south, was turning right at the intersection when the sports car, heading north, attempted to turn left. When they saw that they were turning into the same lane, they both honked their horns but proceeded to turn without slowing down. In fact, the sports car seemed to be accelerating just before the crash."

Participant	Additions	Deletions	Distortions
1			
2			
3			
4			
5			
6 (Policeman)			

Company: The Steel Company of Canada, Ltd., (Hilton Works)

Union: United Steelworkers of America, Local 1005

Arbitration Board Chairman: J. A. Hanrahan

Date: October 23, 1965

Pursuant to the provisions of a collective agreement between the said parties a Board of Arbitration was established with Mr. J. A. Hanrahan, Chairman, Mr. B. Gargrave, nominee of the Union and Mr. D. Pyle, nominee of the Company.

The Board met with the parties in Hamilton, Ont., on October 19, 1965, when evidence and arguments were heard.

There appeared for the Union: J. Dodson, Counsel; F. Badgley, Chairman, Grievance Committee; A. Sharp, International Representative.

There appeared for the Company: J. B. Thomson, Superintendent, Industrial Relations; B. J. Pilgrim, Supervisor, Labour Relations.

On April 29, 1965, D. W. Patchett filed this grievance:

> "I grieve that I was unjustly suspended from work on Monday and Tuesday, April 26, 27 on 12-8 shifts. I request that I be reimbursed for monies lost. I further grieve the Company order requiring me to wear a 'face mask' at all times in the fabricating shop. I request this situation be rectified."

Management's reply at the second step of the grievance procedure reads:

> Mr. Patchett was fully aware of the safety rule in the fabricating shop covering the wearing of a beard. Therefore, his refusal to comply with that rule on the days in question constituted proper grounds for refusing to allow him to work. In my opinion, the action taken by the Company in this instance was correct and I therefore refuse this grievance."

From the grievor the Board had a comprehensive description of his duties as an iron worker in the fabricating shop in the Hilton Works of this Company, where he had been employed for a period of approximately two years before the incident that gave rise to this grievance.

His work requires him first to mark steel plates approximately 16 x 7 feet. They then have to be cut with a cutting torch. During this operation he is required to wear standard safety equipment, plus burning goggles. In addition, he operates three different types of cutting machines for larger cuts. The witness estimated that approximately 60 or 70 percent of his daily shift was occupied in cutting and about 95 percent of that period would be spent operating a cutting machine.

After this material is cut to requirement, it must be formed either over square bands or rolled into tubes. In that operation he is required to use standard safety equipment, plus burning goggles.

The next step in the operation is to assemble the parts so prepared. Then they are welded by an employee in that classification.

There is also a finishing operation which consists of grinding. Standard safety equipment is used for this, plus grinding goggles.

When the grievor is required to cut holes in heavy plate, it is necessary to lance a hole through before starting to cut. For this an oxygen lance is used. Standard safety equipment is used, plus an asbestos coat, with leather gaiters and a helmet similar to a welder's helmet.

There was no dispute that throughout these various operations sparks do fly. The grievor told that he had suffered slight burns on the face and hands while employed in his work.

The grievor said he had been similarly employed by a firm in England before coming to Canada. That while doing the same type of work there, he had worn a beard, as had others similarly employed. Upon coming to Canada he was advised his beard might place him in a social strata considered "odd". He described it as being considered as belonging to the great "unwashed". For this reason he decided to shave, but retained the beard until his mother who had preceded him to Canada had seen it. He claimed that when he shaved, he had no idea of applying for work with this Company. He was clean shaven when he did.

For a period of seven months after commencing work in the fabricating shop he was clean shaven. In April, 1964, he grew a beard. About four months later he was approached by Mr. Heath, the general foreman, who discussed with him the advisability of dispensing with the beard in the interest of safety. The grievor said he would consider the suggestion. He decided, however, to continue with the beard. Seven months later he was again approached by Mr. Heath, with the same suggestion and the same result.

On April 21, 1965, another employee in the same department suffered severe burns to his chest, neck and chin, resulting in his absence from work for approximately two months. Following the accident the general foreman accompanied him to the hospital. While he watched the attempt to remove his shirt from the burned area of his chest, he commenced thinking, he said, of the grievor. Then and there he decided to take some decisive action concerning his beard.

Before doing so, Mr. Heath testified, he talked with a physician who gave him his opinion that a beard coated with oil or containing dust would be capable of being set on fire. Under cross-examination, he stated the physician had not conducted any test to ascertain if this were so, or to what extent oil or dust would have to present.

On April 22nd the grievor was informed by the general foreman, Mr. Heath, as to the extent of the burns suffered by the other employee and was asked to shave off his beard. However, on the following day he appeared at work still wearing it. He was then told that if he appeared on the following Monday not having shaved off the beard he would not be permitted to work. When he failed to heed this warning and appeared for work wearing the beard, he was not permitted to work. He was again told on that day to shave off the beard.

The grievor consulted with a union official, who contacted the personnel department. The union official testified he was advised that if the grievor would consent to wearing a beard protector while doing work requiring that type of safeguard, he might return to work. The grievor was advised to do so, pending processing of a grievance.

On April 27th the grievor appeared for work, presenting a beard protector he had devised. He claimed he had tried to buy one where plant safety appliances are sold, but could find none. The guard was a piece of thin leather, shaped to cover the grievor's chin and part of the upper sides of his face, with strings attached that went over his beard, where they were tied to hold the guard in place.

When the grievor was advised by Mr. Heath that he would be required to wear the guard at all time during his eight-hour shift, this being contrary to the instructions he had received from his union adviser, he refused and left.

After consultation with union officials, however, he decided to return to work and comply with the requirement that he keep the protector in place throughout each shift.

The grievor described this requirement made him the butt of embarrassing jokes by his fellow-workers, but of greater importance, it constituted a discomfort to him that was a constant source of irritation. The rubbing of the leather on his face, particularly in the area where he had shaved, caused pimples to form.

The grievor was firmly of the opinion that his beard represented no greater danger than the unadorned skin of his face. He told that on occasion a spark had landed on his beard, but had only singed it, protecting the skin, until he had displaced it. On the contrary, sparks landing on the skin of his face when he was not wearing a beard, often fastened sufficiently to create a burned area.

The grievor told that in England a fellow-worker had been saved a serious burn when a live-hot piece of metal had fallen on his head. His hair had prevented a serious scalp burn.

The grievor further claimed that the wearing of this guard represented a greater hazard, because if a live spark landed inside it, there would be great difficulty getting rid of it before it caused a more serious burn than would otherwise result.

Mr. Dodson then produced as a witness Mr. Frederick Robbins, the Regional Manager of the Industrial Safety Branch of the Provincial Department of Labour. Before taking his present position with the Department, Mr. Robbins had for over twenty-five years worked in various phases of steel production, including fabricating departments. He stated he was very familiar with the operation of such departments.

This witness testified that on being asked to give evidence at this hearing he had made a survey of companies who supply safety devices for industrial operations but in none could he find a beard protector.

Mr. Robbins testified that in his capacity as an official of this branch of the Labour Department he would not have ordered the grievor to wear a beard guard nor to shave his beard. The need is just not recognized. He claimed he had seen beards worn by men doing similar work. He gave as his opinion that the wearing of a beard guard could represent an additional hazard by trapping any hot material that flew into it. This he believed particularly true while an employee was engaged in lancing or scarfing.

Mr. Robbins gave as his opinion that a beard unprotected represented no more danger to this employee than his unprotected face. He did not consider hair as something that would ignite readily.

Under cross-examination, Mr. Robbins admitted he had not been in the fabricating department of this plant. He also stated he considered it one of the principal responsibilities of a foreman to safeguard those working under him.

For the Company the general foreman, the official responsible for the issuing of the order, testified as previously outined as to his efforts to persuade the grievor to part with his beard. He also told of the incident of the burning of the other employee and that this was a determining factor in his decision to issue the order.

Under cross-examination by Mr. Dodson this witness admitted he had never heard of anyone suffering burns as a result of a beard igniting while working under conditions such as prevail in this department. He further admitted he had made no investigation into the susceptibility of hair to ignition other than asking for the physician's opinion.

Questioned by Mr. Gargrave as to whether a beard might represent a protection as much as a danger, such as suggested by the grievor, the witness replied "I don't know. I couldn't tell you."

Mr. Gargrave then asked: "It was merely your opinion that a beard would be inflammable" and he answered, "Right."

Still questioned by Mr. Gargrave, the witness admitted it was possible, as testified by the grievor, that while wearing a beard, a flying spark had only singed the hair; that otherwise, on his unprotected face, a more serious burn could have resulted.

Again asked if he had conducted any experiment as to the burning qualities of hair, the witness admitted he had not.

Mr. Dodson urged there had been no proper evidence placed before the Board to support the opinion formed by the foreman that a beard represented an actual hazard to this employee. He suggested that the unsupported conclusion reached by the foreman, was unreasonable; that this, therefore, was contrary to Section 13.01 of the agreement to the effect that ". . . the company shall continue to make all reasonable provisions for the safety and health of its employees."

Mr. Dodson said the Union did not dispute the Company's right to create and enforce rules designed to protect employees, but this was not an unlimited right so far as the type of rule was concerned. It had to be one that would appeal as being reasonable in the circumstances. The judgment of one individual creating such a rule, since there was no evidence that this was a general rule, might well represent in its result an uncalled-for discrimination against the individual employee.

Mr. Dodson suggested that before this order was issued there should have been an exhaustive investigation made in order to create a proper basis for what might otherwise represent an undesirable invasion of the individual's rights.

Counsel for the grievor suggested that the operation in which the grievor was employed was long established; that if any danger existed from the wearing of a beard, companies marketing safety devices would have created this type of protection as they had goggles and helmets. None had been marketed, for the reason the danger was not recognized except by this particular general foreman.

In support of this reasoning, Mr. Dodson referred the Board to decisions by Arbitrators in the United States. These involved Steel Companies in that country and the United Steelworkers. In each case the safety provision in the collective agreement was similar to that in this agreement. It was there held that while there could be no question that a company was entitled to create rules designed for the safety and health of employees, these were subject to review as to reasonableness.

For the Company Mr. Thomson urged the action taken by Mr. Heath had but one purpose—the safety of the employee concerned. He believed the time to take what he considered necessary precaution was before an accident resulted. Mr. Thomson urged the Board to consider the order issued by the foreman as reasonable in the circumstances.

The Beard, as it appeared before the Board was neatly trimmed. The sides were shaved so they appeared as sideburns carried down in the shape of the letter "J" curling up to the lower lip. The point of the beard did not project an inch from the point of the grievor's chin. It had the appearance of a stunted goatee.

Aesthetically the appearance of this adornment apparently did not distress the foreman. He maintained his determination to "Ban the Beard" was purely in the interest of preventing it from igniting into flames from a wayward spark.

There can be little doubt about the sincerity of the foreman's opinion that the beard represented a safety hazard. His conviction in that regard was positive; unfortunately, his reasons in justification were nebulous.

Mr Heath's general zeal in the pursuit of safety was established and is praiseworthy, particularly when directed to the implementation of generally accepted safety practices. In this instance, however, he was not content to follow the norm of well-established safety practices. He became an innovator. Here he was opening new ground. There was no general company rule to support him in his opinion that an embellishment of this kind represented more danger to an employee than his unprotected skin, in an area where sparks had to be anticipated by all working there. The foreman could point to no other company manufacturing or processing steel where such a rule had been instituted. He knew of no manufacturer of safety devices who had recognized a beard as something requiring special protection.

The basic weakness of the foreman's position was crystalized by his answer to Mr Gargrave that he did not know whether a beard actually represented a form of protection for its wearer compared with the vulnerability of unprotected skin. This he should have known before issuing an order that involved loss of employment to an individual. He should have made sufficient inquiry from competent sources to obtain evidence in support of his untested opinion to be able to support it if challenged. This we are satisfied he did not do. Actually, his determination to take the decisive action was formed before he enquired from the physician. It was while he saw the suffering of the other employee resulting from burns he had received he decided to deal with the question of the grievor's beard. Better had he consulted one whose work is to prevent accidents, rather than one whose principal concern is treating the results.

The fact that the foreman enquired from the physician, who admittedly had made no test to justify his opinion, was but a small step in the direction the particular circumstances demanded be taken by the foreman.

There was an easy method readily available to Mr Heath to verify his fears or do away with them. The provincial government is interested in safety in industrial operations. So much so that a special statute has been enacted, entitled the Industrial Safety Act. A large section in the Provincial Labour Department devotes itself to inspection and to developing methods by which a high degree of safety can be maintained in industry. Considerable authority is given inspectors appointed under this Act to deal decisively with any area of danger. Section II (1) provides:

> Where an inspector considers that any place, matter or thing, or any part or parts thereof, in an industrial establishment is a source of danger to the safety of persons employed therein or having access thereto, he ... (b) may direct that any place, matter or thing shall not be used until his directions are complied with.

Had the foreman asked for an investigation or inquiry into the combustibility of a beard, undoubtedly he would have received the same opinion given the Board by the Chief Inspector, namely that this unprotected beard did not represent a hazard in this type of operation.

Our conclusion is that the opinion of the foreman that this employee should not work in this department while wearing a beard has not been sufficiently supported by convincing evidence to permit us to find there was just cause for the action taken.

As indicated, in reaching this opinion, we have been influenced by the evidence of one we consider well qualified by experience and training; namely Mr. Robbins.

Our finding, therefore, is that the original order was unwarranted. This carries with it the conclusion that the interruption of the grievor's employment, that he was then qualified and willing to perform, was without just cause. The order forbidding him to work in this department unless he dispenses with his beard, or unless he wears a beard protector, is set aside. The grievor is to be compensated for the two days loss of income he sustained.

Dated at Windsor, Ont., this 23rd day of October, 1965.

(Signed): J. A. Hanrahan, Chairman

(Signed): H. Gargrave, Union nominee.

DISSENTING OPINION OF COMPANY NOMINEE

I am unable to concur in the award of the Chairman and for several reasons:

(1) No reference has been made in the Chairman's award to the fact that beard guards are worn in a second department in this plant where conditions are somewhat similar. Inasmuch as beard guards have been accepted by this union and by other employees in this plant, I can only submit that beard guards have been accepted as a safety factor. The Chairman makes a point of no supply houses carrying beard guards but, with all due respect, I believe it is more significant to note the presence of other beard guards in this operation. It must be obvious too that with the very limited number of employees today who wear beards it is no wonder that commercial houses do not carry commercial guards.

(2) I do not believe that the Industrial Safety Branch of the Department of Labour has ever sought to regard itself as the arbiter in matters relating to the ultimate in safety devices. I am sure that Mr. Robbins would agree that his function would be to determine minimum standards of safety, and that he would be the last to seek to stifle any effort to reduce the incidence of accidents. I believe, moreover, that his evidence was largely negative, and that at no time did he regard the beard guard as constituting a hazard (except if worn loosely, and of course other safety equipment can represent a hazard if worn loosely)

(3) Mr. Heath did secure medical advice as to the dangers of fire to a beard contaminated with dust, dirt and oil. I found nothing nebulous in his approach. I am therefore more than a little surprised to note that medical opinion in this regard is so lightly cast aside when in fact no evidence was adduced to the contrary. Obviously a spark hitting the face directly could cause a burn where it would but singe a beard, but more likely a spark which could glance off the face could become imbedded in a beard.

(4) The award of the Chairman raises some interesting questions. Where an employer is satisfied that an employee should wear a protective device and a Board of Arbitration rules that it cannot enforce the rule, who then should have the liability for any accident which befalls the employee, and an accident in which the protective device could have played a part? The employee, the Union, the Department of Labour and this Board of Arbitration have all played a part in challenging and overruling the Company's decision, and yet the Company is ultimately responsible for the safety of its employees. Certainly the beard guard if worn correctly could not constitute a safety hazard.

Under all of the circumstances I believe that there was a heavy onus on the Union to establish that the beard guard was not a reasonable provision for the safety of the employee; that it did not satisfy this onus by the grievor's testimony as to experience in England or by Mr. Robbins' testimony that the need for a guard is not recognized; that other men with beards have been seen without guards; that he did not consider hair as something that would ignite readily. I do not believe that there was an onus on the Company unless and until the onus which was initially upon the Union had been discharged, and obviously this it failed to do.

DATED at Toronto, Ontario, this 8th day of November, 1965
(Signed): D. G. Pyle

DISCHARGE

Company: Corporation of The City of Fort William

Union: Amalgamated Association of Street Electric Railway and Motor Coach Employees of America, Division 966

Arbitration Board Chairman: Magistrate H. T. Cunningham

Date: April 28 1966

Members of the Board: Magistrate H. T. Cunningham, Chairman, Mr Gordon N. Holt, Employer's nominee; Mr. Oliver F. Breton, Trade Union nominee.

Appearances For the Employer Mr. R. B. Andrews, City Solicitor, Mr R Willson, Personnel Supervisor; Mr. S. L. Bishop, Transit Manager Mr. H. Prouty, Assistant Transit Supervisor; Mr W Forbes, Assistant Transit Supervisor

For the Trade Union Mr Sidney Hare, 6th International Vice-President of the Trade Union; Mr. Gordon Mills, President of Local 966, Mr Richard Stuart, Financial Secretary of Local 966; Mr Bernie Agnolin, Mr George Arnold, Mr Hiram Norrison, Executive Members of Local 966; Mr. A. E. Middleton, Grievor.

Board Held February 6th, 1966, Royal Edward Hotel, Fort William, Ontario

Mr. E A Middleton, the Grievor, has been a permanent employee of the Corporation of the City of Fort William Transit Department for ten years. He is a member of Division 966, Amalgamated Association of Street Electric Railway and Motor Coach Employees of America which has a Collective Agreement with the above-mentioned Corporation, dated May 8th, 1964, filed as Exhibit No 3 with this Board The procedure governing the dismissal of permanent employees is governed by Paragraph 21 of this Agreement and which reads as follows

> 21 (a) A claim by a permanent employee that he has been unjustly discharged shall be treated as a grievance if a written statement of such grievance is lodged by the employee with the manager or his authorized deputy within five (5) days after the employee ceases to work for the Corporation Such grievance will be taken up by the manager or his authorized deputy with the Union Committee
>
> (b) Such special grievance may be settled by confirming the Corporation's action in dismissing the employee, or by reinstating the employee with full compensation for the time lost or by other agreement which is just and equitable in the opinion of the conferring parties or of the majority of the Board of Arbitration

By reference to Paragraph 8 of the Collective Agreement, it would appear that the various steps leading to the appointment of a Board have not been taken, as contemplated by that section Both parties, however, indicated their desire to waive any defects in procedure and to proceed to have this Board deal with the merits of the grievance

As a matter of record, the members of the Board feel that they must recite the fact that the Employer presented sworn evidence and submitted oral argument the Trade Union and the Grievor presented only oral argument As a matter of principle, wherever there is any conflict as to the facts, sworn testimony has to be accepted by the Board

The facts respecting this grievance are as follows. On May 13, 1965, the Grievor reported for duty as a bus driver on time for his shift commencing at 5:42 p.m which was to end at 1:42 a.m on May 14th At approximately 8:45 p.m on that evening the Grievor informed his supervisor M H. Prouty, that he was unable to complete his shift due to an attack of diahorrea and requested that a substitute driver be called in. Mr. Prouty, although he doubted that Mr. Middleton was actually ill, arranged for a substitute who took over driving duties at 9:45 p.m., following the normal 9:15 p.m. lunch break, and completed the Grievor's shift.

Because of his suspicions of Mr Middleton's illenss, Mr. Prouty drove past the Grievor's house at approximately 10:45 p.m. and noted his car was not at the premises. Following a hunch, Mr. Prouty drove to the Blue Swan Inn and saw Mr. Middleton's car parked there; this leading him to conclusion the Grievor was within. He immediately tried to contact his superior, Mr. S. L. Bishop, the Transit Manager, to set these facts before him. He did not make contact until approximately 11:40 p.m. After hearing Mr. Prouty's report, Mr. Bishop proceeded to the Blue Swan Inn, entered the premises and observed Mr. and Mrs. Middleton seated at a table near the entrance. He spoke to them, remained for a short period and left while Mr. and Mrs. Middleton were still at the table with a beer before them.

On May 14th Mr. Middleton called in to say that he would not be reporting for his normal shift. On the following day, Mr. Middleton was called into the Manager's office, through an arrangement made by Mr Hughes, and was informed (a) that he was under immediate suspension because of the foregoing incident and (b) that, due to this incident and to previous unsatisfactory work, a recommendation would be made for his immediate dismissal On June 1st, 1965, the Executive Control Committee met, considered the file and recommendation of Mr Bishop and dismissed Mr. Middleton. Notice of such dismissal was received by Mr. Middleton on June 5th as revealed in his letter to Mr. Bishop dated June 6th and filed as Exhibit No. 1 with this Board. On June 8th, the City Council of the Corporation of the City of Fort William adopted the minutes of the Executive Control Committee of June 1st, thereby confirming Mr Middleton's dismissal as an employee of the Corporation; effective date of such dismissal is deemed to be June 1st, 1965 Exhibit No. 2, filed with this Board, dated June 23rd, 1965 was forwarded to the Public Utilities Committee, to its Chairman and to Mr. S. H. Blake by Mr. Middleton and the Trade Union following a request made after this Council meeting. This exhibit contains the protest that the grievor was unjustly discharged because no reason for such discharge had been given to him, or to the Union, and because no opportunity of entering a defence had been given to either of them.

In the Management Right clause, "The Union recognizes the right of the Corporation to operate and manage its business in all respects, to maintain order and efficiency in its plants, and its methods and means of carrying on its business — cf. Paragraph 9 There are, also, certain rules and regulations attached to the Agreement which may be altered by the Corporation provided that such changes are not inconsistent with the Agreement and the attached regulations. Inherent in this Union recognition of Management's rights is the recognition that the Corporation has the right to hire and, inter alia, to demote, discipline, suspend or discharge for cause any employee; especially in the light of its obligation to manage its business and to maintain order and efficiency in its plants. Naturally, to dismiss an employee and thereby deprive him of his means of livelihood, is to exercise the most serious function of an employer in the maintenance of discipline of employees. Management and Union has recognized certain cases in which outright dismissal is prima facie, justified (cf. Paragraph 9); in other cases Management is in the position of having to justify the dismissal of an employee.

In the present case, the dismissal does not fall into the first category, so Management must justify Mr. Middleton's dismissal. There is little doubt in the minds of the Board members that Mr. Middleton took advantage of regulations and of his supervisor on the pertinent date in order to be relieved of duty so that he could carry out his own personal desires. If all employees were to take such advantage of Management, and of their fellow employees, upon the slightest pretext, or whim, it would be impossible for any kind of organization to function efficiently. Mr. Middleton definitely was in grave default and was subject to disciplinary action as a result of booking off as being sick — something which has not been proven to the satisfaction of the Board.

The Board does feel that Mr. Middleton ought to have been disciplined for this breach of his working agreement with the Corporation. There is, however, the second grounds upon which the Employer has based its actions — Mr. Middleton's previous work record.

Exhibit No. 4 was submitted by the Corporation and contained a number of complaints which had been brought to the employee's attention, up to and including August 31st, 1962. These complaints recited a number of instances in which the attitude of Mr. Middleton was shown to be indifferent to his duties as a bus driver. From the latter date until May, 1965, there had been only one instance of dereliction of duty in not reporting that a passenger had been slightly injured when alighting from a bus. There must have been a definite improvement in the employee's attitude during this two year period. In fact two supervisors were called to give evidence — one was most unhappy with Mr. Middleton's attitude and actions when under his supervision; the other deemed his employee to be a good driver when he wanted to be and recited only one occasion of dereliction of duty.

When taken together, the two grounds for dismissal advanced by the Corporation must be deemed to be serious, especially since promptness in adhering to a time schedule is of prime importance if efficiency in serving the general public is to be attained.

The members of the Board take the view that the sick leave benefits have been agreed upon so that they would be beneficial to both parties to the Agreement. Any employee who tries to twist the regulations governing these benefits for his own purposes when his state of health are good, defeats the purposes of those benefits. He then places himself in the position of being severely disciplined.

The board is of the opinion that Mr. Middleton's discharge was too harsh a penalty to pay for the combined complaints of the Employer. His actions, however, cannot be condoned and the Board would, therefore, direct that he be taken back in his capacity as a bus driver on the Transit Department of the Corporation within five days after the publishing of this Award upon the following conditions:

(a) That the reinstatement be for a probationary period of six months;

(b) That there be no compensation paid for the period between the dismissal of Mr. Middleton by the Corporation and the date of reinstatement;

(c) That there be no loss of seniority after the probationary period has been served; and

(d) That all pension rights and fringe benefits be reinstated as of the date Mr. Middleton is entitled to reinstatement.

DATED at Port Arthur, Ontario, this 28th day of April, 1966.

(Signed): H. T. Cunningham, Chairman

(Signed): O. F. Breton, Union nominee

DISSENT

I regret that I cannot agree with the award as signed by my colleagues on the Board.

It would appear to me that the Grievor made a deliberate untrue statement to his Supervisor. The statement of misconduct under date of May 13, 1965, which was included in Exhibit 4, contains the following:

> "and Middleton assured Assistant Supervisor Prouty he was going right home".

and the statement further explains that Middleton entered a time slip claiming sick pay for the latter four hours of his shift. If he were ill, it would seem the place for recovery would be his home and not a local tavern, thereby abusing the sick leave privilege. If he were not ill then he did not obtain permission to be absent from work for any other reason and therefore the case would fall under Article 9 of the Agreement which calls for specified causes for dismissal — in this case, absence without leave.

There is a principle involved which in my opinion is serious and all parties should respect it. While I agree that the penalty as stated in the Chairman's report and signed by the Union is severe, under these circumstances I feel there can be no alternative but to decide upon dismissal.

(Signed): G. N. Holt, Company nominee

Company: Massey-Ferguson Limited

Union: International Union, United Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers of America (UAW), Local 458, Brantford, Ontario.

Arbitrator: Judge Walter Little

Date: January 24, 1966

DISCIPLINE

SUSPENSION

His Honour Judge Walter Little, a single arbitrator, met with the parties at Toronto, Ontario, on January 7, 1966, to arbitrate nine grievances numbered 25-65 to 33-65 inclusive. The representatives of the parties were:

The Company: Messrs. J. B. Sutton, General Industrial Relations Manager; W. H. Morgan, Personnel and Industrial Relations Manager; G. Hachegian, Industrial Engineering Manager; H. Mavin, Industrial Engineer, and J. Duxbury, Foreman.

The Union: Messrs. Herbert Kelly, International Representative, and Peter White, Chairman, Bargaining Unit, "M" Foundry.

The parties submitted to the jurisdiction of the arbitrator.

Mr. Kelly stated that the Union was withdrawing grievances numbered 25 to 27 inclusive, and was proceeding with numbers 28 to 33 inclusive, which were filed by A. Fraser, W. Kozicki, B. Karczewski, J. Camilleri, W. Cook and W. Viney, respectively.

All grievances were filed on July 21, 1965, all are in exactly the same language and all the replies are identical. It is only necessary therefore to quote one of them. It reads:

NATURE OF GRIEVANCE

"I protest the one day's suspension I received for alleged deliberate restriction of output for July 14, 1965.

Adjustment requested, if any: One day's pay at average earnings."

The "Disposition of Foreman" dated July 21, reads:

The grievor's work effort continued to be unsatisfactory despite previous verbal and written warnings."

The "Disposition of Mr. Morgan" dated July 23, reads:

"Despite previous verbal and written warnings, the grievor continued to restrict production. The Company considers this action to be deliberate, therefore, this grievance is denied."

The "Final Disposition of Management" dated August 5 reads:

"Despite previous verbal and written warnings the grievor's effort rating continued to be below the normal working pace. This grievance is therefore denied."

The facts are substantially as follows:

Mr. Peter White, Union Plant Chairman for 18 years in "M" Foundry said he was familiar with the operation in which the six grievors were engaged and which led to the grievances.

All six were classified "Chip and Grind—Group Heavy" and worked in groups of three. In this instance Fraser, Kozicki and Karczewski were one group and Camilleri, Cook and Viney formed another. Their job was to chip and grind the rough parts off castings. When the casting comes off the shot blast machine, it is placed on a steel table and the first of the three operators chips off the heavy fine with the hammer. The second operator does a heavier type of grinding by using a vertical cup grinder to grind off the rough spots left by the chip hammer. The third operator is the finishing grinder who uses finer tools to get inside the castings and touch them up. The work does not always run smoothly as either the second or third man can be held up by "build ups" at the places where the first and second operators respectively work, depending on the amount of work which each has to do.

The operation (No. 508678) in which we are interested in this arbitration is of course an incentive one and the job was studied and the standard established on a group of three basis. It was so studied and the standard was set on June 15, 1965, as 60.5 hours (total time for the three operators) per one hundred pieces. In effect each man would spend about 12 or 13 minutes on each piece.

The standard was not satisfactory to the operators and a complaint was registered within the first hour after the standard became effective. It was agreed by the parties that a grievance protesting this standard was filed on June 16 and an arbitration respecting it is pending.

Duxbury, the foreman, explained that prior to the setting of the standard this operation had been carried out by the grievors for a period in June and also in May. He said that these employees normally had earnings of 145 to 150%, but prior to June 15, their earnings always had to be made up to the 120% required by the Agreement. From June 15 on, their work continued at too slow a pace so he finally decided to have a discussion with them.

On July 13 all the grievors accompanied by their steward were called into Duxbury's office where the latter and Howard Lindsay, Assistant Foreman, were present. They were informed that their performance had not been satisfactory; that they were not producing in the normal manner; and that the Company had to make up their pay each day.

The Union admitted that from June 15 to July 13 the performance of the grievors was below 100%. In fact, they were grinding about 27 to 31 pieces each shift. The grievors' reply to Duxbury was that the standard was too tight and they were doing as many pieces as they could.

On July 14, at 8:45 a.m. the grievors were again called in and given the following disciplinary notice in the form of a warning:

> "While performing chip and grind operations July 13, 1965 on part No. 508678 (Central Housing) this operator failed to give a satisfactory performance. He was warned verbally that his effort was not good enough. In spite of this warning, he has continued to give less than 100% work performance and this is regarded as a deliberate restriction of production."

This notice also contained the following warning as to future disciplinary action:

> "Any further deliberate restriction of production will be regarded as a very serious offence and will result in a more severe penalty."

The grievors did not grieve the above warning as their performance was under 100% on July 13.

On July 14, their production increased to 35, 36 or 37 pieces according to the foreman. The latter still considered this an unsatisfactory effort so on July 15 at 8.15 a.m. the following disciplinary notice was given to each of the grievors. It was a one-day suspension for July 16 and read:

> Disregard of verbal and written warning by continued restricting of output on Part No. 508678, chip and grind operations on July 14, 1965.

It contained the further warning:

> Continued restriction of production in this manner will result in a more severe penalty.

The job was restudied by management on July 19. The standard was changed to 64.2 hours per one hundred pieces which meant a percentage change of 6.1% in favour of the operators. If the old standard were applied to the performance of the grievors on July 14, all would be below 100%, but if the new standard were used the work performance of Camilleri, Cook and Viney who produced 37 pieces would have been 99.4%, while that of the other three grievors would have been 100.2%. The latter also produced 37 pieces but had more down time. Unfinished pieces were never included in calculations. On the following day July 15, both groups produced 38 pieces but again because of a difference in down time Camilleri, Cook and Viney had a work performance of 102.6%, and the others 103.1%.

Evidence was also given by Duxbury as to the performance of the grievors on the operation during November which was the first occasion on which such a run occurred after July. It established that the work performance percentages on November 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16 and 17 were respectively 123, 121, 134, 139, 142, 138 and 144, while on November 5 and 8 they were respectively 101 and 111.

Mr. White admitted that he was dissatisfied with the performance early in November, that he told the grievors so; and also told them he was certain they could produce considerably more if they put their minds to it. They doubted they could but as White had personally studied and timed the job he was certain they could. The date of this occurrence was not established by White but it was agreed it would be immediately prior to the marked improvement which occurred from November 9 to 17.

With respect to the suspensions White said that an I.B.M. system keeps track of an employee's work performance. He claimed that the acceptable or normal performance is 100%, although he agreed that if an employee consistently performed at this level on an incentive job he would be taken off the job or would voluntarily seek a transfer. As far as discipline was concerned however he said that in his 18 years as chairman no one had ever been disciplined who attained 100%. He agreed that 100% was substantially below the usual performance of these employees and did not deny that it could have been intentional. He felt the grievors had a defeatist attitude caused possibly by the tight standard which was originally set.

Duxbury did not dispute the fact that no one had ever been disciplined if he attained 100% and in fact specifically admitted that if the standard set on July 19 had been in effect on July 14, he would not have suspended any employee who attained 100%. It was his view that his supervisor would have taken the same attitude.

The suspensions were imposed under Article 2.01(b) which provides:

> "The Union acknowledges that it is the exclusive function

The only issue before me is to decide if the suspensions imposed on July 15 1965, were proper or not

Before doing so, I will make certain observations and findings. At the time of the hearing I indicated to the parties, that although the change in performance which took place in November following Mr White's discussion with the grievors could support the contention of a deliberate restriction of production early in November, I did not intend to use this evidence because it dealt solely with something which happened four months after the suspension. In doing so, I am following established practice but in addition to that it is obvious that if the arbitration could have been held before November that evidence would not have been available to me.

I am also finding on the evidence of what occurred from June 15 to July 14 that there was a deliberate restriction of production on the part of the grievors. Indeed this was not seriously challenged by the Union although its representatives clothed it with the more charitable attitude that the employees had a defeatist attitude and because too tight a standard was initially set they believed they could not do better when actually they could have. Their actions however speak for themselves. A complaint about the standard was filed in the first hour after it was set before anyone could determine its adequacy, but to make certain, that if a higher standard were subsequently established which by agreement is retroactive to the date of the complaint, there would be no financial loss. The complaint having been denied, a grievance regarding the standard was filed. Having taken this step, the grievors proceeded to demonstrate not only that they could not earn incentive pay but could not even produce 100% (This 100% is described in the Standard Hour Incentive Plan booklet as "normal pace") They consistently performed at this sub-normal pace till July 13. On that day they were orally warned and no grievance about the warning was filed because they had been working below normal. Their performance on July 14 improved but based on the old standard all were below normal.

At this point I must observe that in general a restriction of production such as occurred here is in my view, proper cause for discipline including suspension. It is part of an employee's responsibility to give a reasonable day's work for a day's pay whether he is on incentive or not. If therefore no past disciplinary practice existed in this plant I would have no hesitation in upholding the suspension on the general principle I have stated.

In the grievance before me we have other matters to consider. It was established that on no occasion in the 18 years in which White has been Chairman has any employee who worked at the normal pace (100%) on an incentive job been suspended. It was further proven that such discipline has been imposed if he performed under 100%. It was further admitted by the Company through its foreman that if the revised standard had been in effect on July 14, those employees performing at 100% would not have been suspended and furthermore that higher supervision would have approved this action. Finally, in the final disposition of the grievance at the Fourth Step the Company referred to "the grievor's effort rating ——— to be below the normal working pace", while in the written warning of July 14 the Company uses the words "He has continued to give less than 100% work performance and this is regarded as a deliberate restriction of production."

It is true that the grievors did not know that the standard would be revised and possibly should be subject to discipline on the basis of the standard then in effect. When however the parties have in the past accepted the normal pace as the dividing line between suspension and no suspension an arbitrator is not only bound to accept this formula, but must make certain that the standard he uses is the one set by the Company most favourable to the employees. I must therefore find that proper cause for suspension is the failure to perform at the normal pace based on the revised standard.

On the facts before me the Union withdrew three grievances because, even if the revised standard were applied the grievors still performed below the normal pace. In the case of the six grievors before me it was established that by using the revised standard, Camilleri, Cook and Viney performed at 99.4% rate while the other three had a 100.2% performance. The Union argued that because unfinished pieces are not counted, I should consider that Camilleri, Cook and Viney had also performed at a normal pace. I cannot do so. As stated the parties themselves established the 100% breaking point. It has no logical basis where it is proven that these grievors can by reasonable effort produce 140 to 150%. But the parties have adopted it and as far as this arbitration is concerned must be bound by it. If those who are only .2% above the 100% are to get the benefit of it, those only .6% below it must be penalized.

The grievances of Fraser, Kozicki and Karczewski are accordingly allowed and those of Camilleri, Cook and Viney dismissed. The three whose grievances are allowed are also entitled to one day's pay but only on the basis of 100% performance. I could not assume on what I have heard that they would have performed at an average rate on July 16.

I cannot leave this arbitration without observing that this decision does not mean that the established practice cannot be changed in the future. I have already found that in general a deliberate continued 100% performance on an incentive job would be grounds for discipline including suspension. If however a practice contrary to this principle is to be changed, employees are entitled to notice of it.

DATED at Parry Sound this 24th day of January, 1966.

(Signed): Judge Walter Little, Sole Arbitrator

Company: American Motors (Canada) Limited

Union: Local 1285 International Union, United Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers of America

Arbitration Board Chairman: Horace Krever

Date: March 25, 1966

AND IN THE MATTER of the grievances of E. S. J. Sears, R. E. Dyck, T. J. Scott, J. Jambrich, and W. Smith.

Members of the Board: Professor Horace Krever, Chairman; W. G. Gray, Esq., Q.C., Company nominee; A. A. Borovoy, Esq., Union nominee.

Appearances:

For the Company: J. F. Howard, Q.C.; D. B. Middleton, Personnel Manager; W. C. McMenemy, Industrial Relations Officer; J. Wilson, Plant Protection Chief; L. Soukup, Foreman — Body Build; W. Holden, Superintendent — Maintenance; J. Nelson, Superintendent — Body Build.

For the Union: Gordon Parker, International Representative; James Peters, President, Local 1285; Douglas Schneider, Unit Chairman; John Kincaid, Plant Committeeman; Alec Golab, Maintenance Man.

Date and place of hearing: March 17th, 1966, Toronto, Ont.

AWARD

This arbitration arises out of five grievances over the discharge by the Company of the five grievors on January 31, 1966. Because the discharges resulted from the same incident and are identical in their terms, they were dealt with together at the hearing by agreement between the parties and will be dealt with together in this award for the sake of convenience. It must be kept in mind, however, that they are five separate discharge cases with the consequence that each grievor is entitled to have the Board consider the evidence and the submissions of the parties as it applies to him as though each was the only grievor.

As will appear hereafter, because of the disposition being made of these cases it is unnecessary to set out in detail all the evidence that was presented during the lengthy hearing and which reflected the careful preparation made by both parties. A short factual summary would, however, assist in a better appreciation of the issues to be resolved.

The circumstances in question have to do with an occurrence on Monday, January 31, in that part of the Company's plant in Brampton, Ontario, known as the body-build line or the panel line. When a car enters this line it has no doors or hood and when it leaves the line these parts have been attached by five employees employed at the various tasks on the line. The cars themselves move along the line on individual dollies that themselves are connected to a link-chain that moves in a channel like an endless belt and that is propelled by a motor located at one end of the line. The dollies are connected to the upper part of the chain, the lower part travelling in a channel as the return chain. On the day in question the plant was unable to operate at its normal capacity owing to the high rate of late arrivals on the part of employees by reason of very bad weather conditions. Eventually, however, the five employees working on the line in question had arrived and were at their stations but the line continued to operate with interruptions because of the problem caused by the irregular supply of bodies emerging from earlier operations. These five employees are the grievors herein and were: T. J. Scott, a hoodfitter, W. Smith and J. Jambrich, door fitters and E. S. J. Sears and R. E. Dyck, drillers. At about 10.15 there occurred a break-down in the line caused, it soon appeared, by the breaking of a shear pin in the mechanism propelling the line. Without much delay, this pin was replaced and the line started again only to have another pin break and thus stop the line from functioning. On this occasion, before replacing the broken pin an inspection was made of the line and at the end of the line there was found, in the top side of the line, a piece of steel 18¾" in length x ¾" x 3/16". It was immediately suspected that it was this piece of metal that had caused the breakdown but within minutes of its discovery, at a part closer to the other end of the line and in the vicinity of the work stations of Mssrs. Scott, Jambrich and Smith, a piece of steel, or bar stock, as it was called in the evidence, 6" long x 1½" wide x ½" deep was found wedged in a link of the lower or returning end of the chain. It appears clear on the evidence that it was this piece of metal that was responsible for the breaking of the shear pin by preventing the line from running when it came into contact with one of the uprights that enables the top part of the chain to be elevated above the returning part of the chain.

According to their evidence, which was consistent with the explanation given to Messrs. Wilson and Nelson later in the day, at the time the line broke, Mr. Scott was at a drinking fountain and not at his work station, Mr. Smith was at his work station, Mr. Jambrich was in the upstairs washroom and not at his work station, Mr. Sears was at the drinking fountain and not at his work station, and Mr. Dyck was in the washroom and not at his work station. In passing, it should be said that while it is highly suspicious that at the material time 4 out of 5 of the employees in whose immediate area the occurrence took place, were away from their stations, the explanation of the employees for what to an outsider appears to be a strange way of conducting an assembly line was not implausible, namely, that they work ahead on their particular jobs with the result that time can be and is found within which the work station can be left unattended. This is particularly possible when the line is interrupted from time to time because of the absence of a steady supply of car bodies. It is not unreasonable, as Mr. Parker suggested in his summation, for employees engaged in repetitive assembly line production to want to "get away from the drudgery when they can work ahead." That absenting oneself from his work station at the relevant time is not necessarily incriminatingly crucial, is suggested by the fact that whatever doubt the Board may have on any other score, they are satisfied that at least one of the employees who was away from his station, namely Mr. Jambrich, neither had anything to do with placing the piece of bar stock in the chain or knew who had done so. Of the others, more will be said hereafter.

To return briefly to the events of the day, it appears from the evidence that later in the day, after lunch, each of the five employees was interviewed separately in Mr. Nelson's office by Mr. Nelson and Mr. Wilson. Each of them denied having placed the piece of bar stock in the chain or knowing who had done so. Each was also asked whether he would divulge the identity of the culprit if he knew and the evidence is conflicting as to the answers given except in the case of Mr. Smith who it appears clearly would have revealed the name of the guilty person if he knew it. During the interview with Mr. Smith, Mr. Nelson in reply to Mr. Smith's incredulous question whether 5 men would be fired for the incident unless the guilty person were ascertained, indicated that on another occasion he had discharged 9 men because some one had, in the course of his employment, killed a cat in a barbarous manner, but that 8 of them were immediately reinstated when one employee thereupon came forward and admitted having committed the act.

Some time after 3 p.m. on the same day the 5 employees were again separately called into Mr. Nelson's office. At that time each of them was discharged and handed a letter which reads as follows:

> "This letter will confirm our conversation with you and your Committeeman on Monday, January 31, 1966. At this meeting we discussed with you the deliberate act of wilful and malicious damage to Company property which occurred at approximately 10.15 a.m. today, and which resulted in a complete shutdown of the Body Build line. We told you that there was no doubt in our mind that either you, yourself, caused the shutdown, or that, failing this, you were fully aware as to who had, in fact, caused the shutdown. We informed you that the penalty to be imposed was that of discharge and gave you the opportunity to inform us that you had either, in fact, done the act, or, in the alternative, tell us who had done the act. You neither confirmed that you were responsible, nor gave us the name or names of the employee or employees involved.
>
> "Your discharge is therefore effective at the end of your shift, Monday, January 31, 1966, and we draw to your attention the relevant terms of the Agreement as they relate to a discharged employee."

It should be added that in the later interview with Mr. Smith, Mr. Nelson said that if he found out the identity of the person responsible he would reinstate the others.

Grievances were filed by each of the 5 discharged employees and each grievance is in the same language and is as follows:

> "I protest the Company's action in discharging me.
>
> "I feel this action completely unjust.
>
> "Therefore I request immediate reinstatment with full redress."

On the evidence presented before this Board it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the piece of bar stock that was found in the line was intentionally placed there by some one who had access to the line. The act causing the breakdown of the line, in other words, was an intentional act of industrial sabotage, and a criminal offence under sections 372 and 373 of the Criminal Code. More will be said shortly about the nature of the burden of proof required in a discharge case of this type but for the moment it should be said that even if the burden is one that can only be met by proof beyond a reasonable doubt, there can be no reasonable doubt that we are concerned with an intentional act, even though the evidence is circumstantial. Mr. Parker, on behalf of the union, submitted that the bar stock could have found its way into the link by accident or could have been inserted by someone other than one of the five grievors. The evidence is convincing that accident is not a possibility in this case and as to the conclusion that another person, one of many who daily cros the line, might have committed the act, that is not a rationa conclusion which can be supported by any evidence. In th connection the recent decision of the Ontario Court of Appea in Regina v. McIver (1965) 2 O.R. 475 at p. 479 is apposit We are of the view that the Company was justified in suspecting that the act in question was the deliberate act of one o the five grievors there being no suggestion, it should be added that it was the work of more than one.

The act in question is one that is as reprehensible as an that can be imagined on the part of an employee. It is no only offensive to the employer but is a disservice to the guilt employee's union and what is perhaps even more seriou treacherous conduct with relation to his fellow employees wh by the act are rendered suspect even though in fact innocen The particular manner in which the offence was committed i this instance indicates an intention to make it appear that M Smith was the offender. The bar stock in question came fro Mr. Smith's bench and was removed from that bench by som one who knew it was there, another indication that it was on of the five grievors who was the guilty party; it was inserte in the line in the vicinity of Mr. Smith's station and Mr. Smit alone of the five grievors was at the time present at the station. We are completely satisfied, however, that Mr Smit neither committed the act nor knew who had.

Before continuing with our analysis of the issues, we poin out that as is to be expected of a responsible union, th union, frankly and without hesitation, agreed that the ac if it was found to be intentional, was one which could not b condoned and which justified dismissal. The parties howev were not in agreement as to the nature of the onus of pro resting on the Company in a case of this sort. While arbitration boards have not always been in agreement on this poin we conclude that notwithstanding that the Company is alleging the commission of what is in effect a criminal offence a "just cause" for dismissal within the meaning of Article I, Section 3 of the Collective Agreement, the onus is one that is discharged on the balance of probability and does not requi proof beyond a reasonable doubt. It is difficult to see wh there should, in this case, be a higher onus on the employ than would be involved where a similar allegation is set u by way of defence in a civil action for damages for wrongf dismissal or a reference on the point may be made to th judgment of the Supreme Court of Canada in Hanes v Th Wawanesa Mutual Insurance Company (1963) S.C.R. 154.

On the balance of probabilities, then, it was not unreasonable for the Company to suspect that one of the five grievo committed the offence and, of course, that one of the fiv knows who committed the offence. As previously indicated w are concerned with five separate grievors, each of whom entitled to have the Board consider all the evidence as applies to him alone. We find ourselves in the position th we are unable to say that it has been established even o a balance of probabilities, that any particular one of the fiv grievors is the guilty person. But that does not end the matte As previously indicated the Company's grounds for dismissa as set out in its letter dated January 31, 1966, were that eac of the grievors either caused the shutdown or was fully awa of the identity of the person responsible. As the Company ha not been able to establish that any particular one of the fiv caused the shutdown, the grievors are entitled to succeed unless the second ground advanced for the dismissals has bee made out. In his argument, Mr. Howard referred us to th award in Re United Steelworkers' Local 1005, and Steel Co. o Canada, Ltd. (1960) 11 L.A.C. 107. As only one employee wa in that case under a cloud of suspicion and not, as in the instant case five of whom perhaps only one was guilty, the cas is not of great assistance in the solution of the problem wit which we are faced.

Mr Howard submitted, that an employer was entitled to dismiss an employee if that employee was aware of the identity of a fellow employee who was responsible for intentional damage of the employer's property but refused to inform on the guilty employee when asked to do so. This duty, in his submission, resulted from an implied term in a contract of employment that the employee will act with the utmost good faith towards the employer. If it were necessary to decide the point, it is our view that it is somewhat unrealistic in a highly industrial society in which a large number of employees are employed by a large industrial employer under the terms of a somewhat impersonal Collective Agreement rather than individual contracts of employment, that there should be implied from the relationship of employer and employee a duty on the latter, innocent of any wrongdoing, to inform on a fellow employee. But it is not necessary to decide that issue in this case because even if the Company would be justified in dismissing an employee on such ground, we cannot let ourselves fall into the error of a shotgun approach to this problem and say that there is only one case here and in that case the Company has shown that someone among the five grievors has not fulfilled this duty to inform on a fellow employee. In fact we are considering five cases and in not one case can we conclude that the indiivdual grievor has been shown to possess the relevant knowledge and to have improperly refused to inform. The Company has not alleged any concerted act on the part of two or more of the grievors and as we have exonerated two of the grievors completely, the most we can say about knowledge of the other three is that there may be a suspicion that there is knowledge on the part of one or more of them but that, in our view, is not enough. To hold otherwise is to run the risk of permitting one or possibly two innocent persons to be penalized for the inexcusable conduct of the third. To sum up, then, each grievor is entitled to say, "No matter which of the two grounds you rely on I am entitled to require you, the Company, to say that we have concluded that, on the balance of the probabilities, you are the person who committed the offence or who knows who the guilty man is." Such a conclusion is not possible, however, on the facts of this case.

With considerable regret that, in our concern for the innocent, a benefit will accrue to the guilty person for whose act no language could be too strong, it follows that we must and do hereby allow all five grievances and direct that each of the grievors be reinstated with full restoration of all benefits including seniority and full monetary redress as of January 31, 1966.

As there was some evidence that at least one of the grievors had obtained alternative employment after the discharges, which may have to be taken into consideration, the Board will retain the matter to the limited extent necessary of deciding what in each case is full monetary redress should the parties be unable to resolve that question between themselves.

DATED at Toronto this 25th day of March, 1966.

(Signed): H. Krever, Chairman

(Signed): W. Gibson Gray, Company nominee

(Signed): A. A. Borovoy, Union nominee

DISCHARGE

Company: Lake Ontario Steel Company Limited

Union: United Steelworkers of America

Chairman: J. A. Hanrahan

Date: April 27, 1967

(REFUSAL TO WORK SHIFTS)

Pursuant to the provisions of a collective agreement between the parties a Board of Arbitration was established with Mr. J. A. Hanrahan, Chairman; Mr. M. O'Brien, nominee of the Company and Mr. H. Gargrave, nominee of the Union.

The Board met with the parties in Toronto, Ontario, on April 25, 1967, when evidence and arguments were heard.

There appeared for the Company: I. H. McGowan, Consultant; A. Smith, Personnel Manager.

There appeared for the Union: Keith Ross, Representative; G. Mathews, President; D. Brown, Committeeman.

DISCHARGE GRIEVANCE

On March 7, 1967, Thomas Smith filed this grievance:

> "I grieve unjust dismissal. Inasmuch that I with seven other welders, have been dismissed irregularly and without just cause."

The grievor testified that he had been employed with this Company for approximately eighteen months in the classification of welder. Following the creation of the seven-day continuous operation for welders, who had previously worked a five-day work-week, Monday to Friday inclusive, Mr. Smith had announced he would not work on Sunday.

It was established that while working Monday to Friday on an afternoon shift he had on at least eleven occasions during the previous year worked on Sunday. On those occasions, more than forty hours was involved, so he received the appropriate overtime. The grievor explained in the majority of cases he had been working a night shift and his replacement did not appear on Sunday morning, so he worked on. In some cases replacements were found.

The grievor gave as his reason for refusing to work on Sunday in the new schedule was because of his religious belief that it was a day on which he should not labour; that he was prevented from attending his church service, which was only held in the morning; that he did not approve of not keeping the Sabbath holy by engaging in the duties of his ordinary occupation.

When asked first by the Chairman and later by Mr. McGowan whether, should the Board of Arbitration decide that the Company had the right to create a seven-day operation for welders, he would be content to go back and comply with that requirement, in each case he answered he would not.

It was established that a seven-day operation is common to the steel industry throughout Ontario.

It was also established that the first Sunday the grievor failed to appear he was asked for an explanation and when he announced he did not intend to work on any Sunday, he was given a verbal warning. The next Sunday he failed to appear as scheduled and on this occasion he was given a written warning, that read, in part:

> "You are hereby notified that any future occurrence of the above noted, namely, failure to report for work on a Sunday when regularly scheduled, will result in disciplinary action being taken in the form of suspension or discharge."

Mr. Smith filed a grievance against that disciplinary warning.

On the fourth Sunday after this new shift was created, two weeks after the grievor received the written warning, he did not appear for work as scheduled. On that occasion he was suspended for two days.

Finally, on Sunday, March 5, being scheduled to report for work at four o'clock, he failed to do so and was dismissed.

It was established that on each occasion the grievor telephoned the Company that he did not intend to report for work on the Sundays involved.

An earnest plea was made by Mr. Ross on behalf of the grievor that the Board should find where there was a bona fide religious belief against working on Sunday, such as held by the grievor, the Company should recognize that as proper excuse for failing to attend as required.

A further suggestion was that because the published rule requiring a telephone call to the Company at least two hours before an employee was due, notifying that he would not be able to do so, contained no suggestion that disciplinary action for other than a failure to comply with that requirement would be imposed, the grievor, therefore, should not have been discharged.

For the Company Mr. McGowan answered the plea as to the religious exemption claimed for the grievor, by pointing to the disruption this would make in the wide variety of activities requiring people, (many undoubtedly having the same strong religious conviction concerning the Sabbath) to work on Sunday. Transportation, communications, accommodation, police and fire protection, were but a few mentioned.

If this Board accepted Mr. Smith's excuse for his failure to comply with the terms of the contract that bound him, as well as others in this unit, it would apply equally to those in the many occupations requiring work on Sunday.

With respect to the rule as to the necessity to notify the Company that an employee could not report for work on a regularly established shift, this must be distinguished, Mr. McGowan contended, from the case where the employee had plainly announced he would not on that or any other occasion conform to that requirement of his employment.

During cross-examination of the grievor Mr. McGowan obtained from him an admission that before gaining employment with this Company he had read before signing the application form provided; that to the questions "Are you prepared to work shifts" he answered yes; to the question "Are you prepared to work week ends" he had answered "Yes

Having found that the Company is within its rights under the terms of the existing Collective Agreement to require the grievor and the six other welders to engage in a seven-day continuous operation that would require work on certain Sundays, and the grievor having announced that such a finding would not change his intention not to work when so required, we must find the Company was within its rights in his discharge

It is to be emphasized that before this final action was taken the grievor was given ample warning of its possibility --- first an oral warning, then a written warning, then a two-day suspension.

The grievor must understand that the Union representing him negotiated a contract that applied to him as well as all other employees in the Bargaining Unit that permitted the Company to initiate the new shift If he is not willing to conform to that requirement, the only answer left is for him to seek other employment that will permit him to practice his faith as he desires This, fortunately, he has done

For these reasons this grievance is dismissed.

It follows, of course, the Company was justified, in imposing the disciplinary action taken prior to discharge.

DATED at Brampton, Ontario, this 27th day of April, 1967.

(Signed): J. A. Hanrahan, Chairman
(Signed): M. O'Brien, Company nominee

DISCHARGE

Company: The Board of Education for the Twp. of Etobicoke

Union: National Union of Public Employees, C.L.C., Local 808

Arbitration Board Chairman: Judge W. Little

Date: August 30, 1961

UNION SECURITY

The Board of Arbitration comprising Judge Walter Little, Chairman; A. J. Clark, Esq., Company nominee, and G. Milling, Union nominee, met the parties at Toronto on August 10th, 1961, to deal with a dispute involving the check-off of Union dues. The representatives of the parties were:

The Employer: Messrs. G. D. Finlayson and W. R. Maxwell, Counsel, and D. L. Emond, Business Administrator, and H. Hall, Administrative Assistant.

The Union: Messrs. F. A. Brewin, Q.C., Counsel; J. B. Maskell, National Representative; F. Poole, G. French and C. Manser, President, Vice-President and Secretary-Treasurer, respectively, of Local 808.

The facts are substantially as follows:

On December 30, 1960, the parties entered into a Collective Agreement to be effective from January 1, 1961 to August 31, 1962. Article 2 of that agreement reads:

"Article 2—Recognition: In accordance with a certificate issued by the Ontario Labour Relations Board on the 26th day of July, 1960, the Board recognizes the Union as the sole collective bargaining agent for all employees of the Board engaged in caretaking and maintenance of schools, save and except foremen, persons above the rank of foreman, office staff and persons regularly employed for not more than twenty-four (24) hours per week."

The other articles which are pertinent to the issue herein are 5 and 6 which read:

"Article 5—Reservation of Management Rights. The Management of the Board's operations and the direction of its employees shall continue to be vested exclusively with the Board, and shall, among other things, include the right to hire, discharge, transfer, promote, demote and discipline employees, subject to the terms of this Agreement.

Article 6—Check-Off of Union Dues. 1. Upon receipt of individual authorization forms duly signed by employees, the Board will deduct the regular monthly Union dues from the pay accumulated to the credit of such employees. Deduction of Union dues from pay will be made in the last pay period of each calendar month. Amounts deducted for Union dues will be forwarded to a designated official of the Union on or before the tenth day of the month following the month in which the deduction is made.

2. Authorization for deduction of Union dues will be made on copies of the form attached to this Agreement.

3. All present employees who have been engaged by the Board since May 20, 1949, and new employees hired after the effective date of this Agreement will be required to sign the form referred to in (2) above authorizing the deduction of the monthly Union dues from their pay. For new employees the said deduction of Union dues will commence after they have completed the probationary period of employment."

The two members of the bargaining unit involved in this dispute are Cornelis DeHaan (Seniority date August 16, 1954) and Gerrit Bonvanie (Seniority date July 16, 1956). The evidence establishes and it is in fact admitted that on at least four occasions, Mr. Hall acting as agent of the Employer requested these employees to sign the dues deduction authorization cards referred to in Article 6 and warned them that their failure to do so constituted a breach of Article 6 and could force the Employer to terminate their services. On each occasion they refused to sign claiming that to do so would be in conflict with their religious principles as members of the Christian Reform Church. These attempts to comply with Article 6 were made by the Employer in April and May this year. The entire situation was reviewed at a full meeting of the Employer Board on May 24th. Prior to that meeting Mr. Hall advised DeHaan and Bonvanie that in the opinion of the Employer's lawyer, they were violating the agreement by their refusal to sign the cards. On May 22nd the two employees wrote the Board reiterating their objections to signing originally made, and adding others which need not be referred to here. This letter also stated "our legal adviser informs us that according to his interpretation of the agreement (Article 6) it is not a condition of employment to pay dues to the Union". The Employer Board accordingly refused to take any further action at its meeting of May 24th, but did advise the Union in a letter of May 25th written by Mr. Hall as follows:

> "We acknowledge receipt of your letter of April 11, 1961, in which you advised us that two employees, L. DeHaan and G. Bonvanie, had failed to authorize the deduction of Union Dues from their pay cheques.
>
> "Since that date we have discussed this situation with the Union representatives on several occasions and as you know, we were withholding any decision until the matter had been discussed by the Board. This was done last evening and I have been instructed to tell you that the Board will be pleased to make payroll deductions as it has since the inception of the Agreement for those employees who have authorized them."

The Union replied that in its opinion the Employer Board was in violation of the agreement and that the dispute would proceed to arbitration.

The two employees were present at the hearing, although not represented by counsel. They admitted the facts as above outlined, repeated their refusal to sign the authorization cards, but added that they had previously offered and were still willing to have the amount of the dues—$2.00 per month—deducted from their pay and given to a charitable institution.

At the commencement of proceedings counsel for the Employer contended that the Board had no jurisdiction to arbitrate the dispute as the Union had not filed a grievance under the provisions of Article 8—Grievance Procedure. Therefore, the Board could not proceed as Article 9 (4)—Arbitration reads. "No matter may be submitted to arbitration which has not been properly carried through all previous steps of the Grievance

Procedure Furthermore Section 34 (2) of The Labour Relations Act which contains arbitration provisions says that arbitration is only possible at the instance of one of the parties "after exhausting any grievance procedure established by this agreement". It was therefore contended that some employee should have filed a grievance and after the Grievance Procedure had been exhausted an arbitration could properly proceed. It was admitted by the Union that this procedure had been suggested to it by the Employer, but that it had been advised that same was not necessary.

In reply, counsel for the Union argued that it was obvious from the contents of Article 8 that it was intended to be used only for personal grievances filed by members of the bargaining unit. No individual employee had a right to grieve, as the Employer had done nothing to interfere with his rights under the agreement. The grievance before this Board was processed by the Union by the correspondence as a policy grievance, there being no provisions in the agreement for any procedure. As there were no provisions Section 34 of the Labour Relations Act became operative. Section 34 (1) provides that "Every collective agreement shall provide for the final and binding settlement by arbitration ... of all differences between the parties arising from the interpretation, application, administration or alleged violation of the agreement . . ." Finally, with respect to the quoted portion of Sec. 34 (2), by counsel for the Company, with respect to "exhausting any grievance procedure", this obviously meant any grievance procedure that was applicable. As the grievance procedure in this agreement clearly was not applicable, then the Board must find that as no procedure for dealing with this dispute is included in this agreement, it derives its jurisdiction from Section 34 (1).

In support of his contention, Union counsel referred to the case of United Steel Corporation Ltd. v. The United Steelworkers of America, Local 2766 et al 1958 O.W.N. P. 105 in which it was held by Wells J. (and later confirmed by the Court of Appeal) that where a collective agreement makes no provision for the filing of policy grievances by a Union, a Board of Arbitration has jurisdiction to deal with them under the provisions of Section 32 (now 34) of the Labour Relations Act.

The Board reserved its decision on the question of jurisdiction and proceeded with the hearing. It is now agreed unanimously that the arguments of the Union must prevail and that it has jurisdiction.

In its submission on the merits of the dispute the Union argued that there was a clear violation by the Employer of Article 6 (3). The word "required" meant that it was imperative for the Employer to secure a signed authorization card from each employee and if they refused to sign then the Employer should use its disciplinary powers contained in Article 5 to demote, discipline or even discharge the employees. While counsel admitted that Hall had acted in good faith and done everything possible to persuade the employees to sign, the Board had refused to take action on May 24th to compel the employees to comply. It was admitted that the employees could not be demoted as there were no classifications beneath that of caretaker, but the Employer could have fined or suspended the employees to see if they would agree. If these measures failed they could have been discharged. In other words the Employer was bound to use these disciplinary powers or otherwise check-off clauses in agreements would be meaningless.

Counsel stated however that the Union was not demanding the discharge of the employees, but said the Board should order the Employer to take adequate remedial measures including discharge if same became necessary.

It was also suggested that if the Employer did not wish to discharge, it could always pay the employees their regular salary and in addition pay the dues to the Union. In fact the Board was requested to use its powers to award damages, by ordering the Company to pay the dues effective from the beginning to the end of the agreement.

Finally, counsel said that if the requirement to sign was found to be a condition of employment—express or implied—(he did not agree that it was) then the Employer would have to discharge if the employees persisted in their refusal.

On behalf of the Employer, the following submissions were made.

1. The Employer had done everything it could do to persuade the employees to sign. It could not physically make them sign and therefore were not in breach of the Agreement.

2. The employees themselves had violated the agreement by their failure to sign. Under Sections 1 (c) and 37 of the Labour Relations Act every employee was as bound by the agreement as if he had signed it. Therefore, the obligation of signing was on the employee.

3. Any obligation on the part of the Employer to deduct dues does not arise under Article 6 (1) until it is in "receipt of individual authorization forms duly signed by Employees".

4. There was an obligation on the part of the Union to persuade the employees to sign and on the evidence, no Union official or member had made any effort in this regard.

5. Any obligation the Employer might have depended on whether or not it was a condition of employment that the forms be signed. Counsel admitted that prior cases on this subject were not too helpful as the decisions varied. The mere absence of the words "condition of employment" from Article 6 did not necessarily mean it was not such a condition. The Board would therefore have to decide from the words used in this agreement whether the requirement was a condition of employment. If it was, the Board would have to find that the employees by their own actions had disentitled themselves to employment and the Board should order the Employer to discharge them.

In resolving the issue herein, we must first consider the obligations which the law of Ontario places on employees who voluntarily or by operation of law become members of a bargaining unit. The law is clear that if a trade union follows the requirements of the Labour Relations Act and becomes certified as the bargaining agent for the employees described in the certification or subsequently recognized by the Employer in an agreement, then it represents all employees so described, whether certain individual employees like it or not. The Union has then the power to negotiate an agreement on behalf of all members of the bargaining unit and once that agreement is signed by the proper officials of the Union and the Employer it is equally binding on both and also on the members of the bargaining unit. Under it the members have certain guarantees for the lifetime of the agreement such as wages, seniority rights, vacations with pay, Statutory Holidays with pay, Welfare provisions and other benefits which the Union may have been able to persuade the Employer to give. It often happens that some members of the bargaining unit do not like the terms of the agreement and feel that they should have received greater benefits for their services. Once an agreement is signed however, these personal views matter not. All must be willing to serve under the terms of the agreement or face the possibility of his services being terminated. In addition to the benefits accruing to the Employees, there are usually articles which confer rights and benefits on the Union itself. One of the most keenly sought and highly prized benefits from the viewpoint of a Union is Union Security. It always seeks the maximum which it can persuade an Employer to give in this field. It sometimes obtains that maximum—either a Closed Shop or Union Shop depending on the circumstances. In other instances such as here, it settles for less. In this case it obtained the agreement of the Employer to the next form of Union Security lower than the Union Shop namely what is known as the Rand formula. In its simplest form this means that an Employee will not be compelled to join the Union, but must pay Union dues. It also means that these dues will be regularly deducted from his pay and paid directly to the Union by the Employer. This provision in an agreement is just as binding on Employees as those conferring benefits on them and will be just as strictly enforced. It is true that many employees will state what in their view are valid reasons for neither joining a Union nor being compelled to pay dues. The claim of religious scruples as here is only one of a number. It is also true that many employees will give reasons which in their view are valid as to why an employee should be compelled to join a Union or at least pay dues. Be that as it may, we are not concerned here with the reasons for or against the compulsory payment of Union dues by non-members. They can form neither the basis of our decision, nor even be considered in deciding the issue before us. We must decide one thing and one only. Are these two employees compelled by this Agreement to authorize dues deduction and if they fail do they become liable to discharge?

It is our view that the provisions of Article 6(3) are mandatory. Among the meanings of the word "require" found in the Concise Oxford Dictionary, 4th Edition are these—to order a person or demand of a person as of right; lay down an imperative. The words "will be required" must therefore mean—will be ordered as of right—to sign the authorization cards. It is clear from the context that it is the Employer which must issue this mandatory order. Until now, the Employer has issued no such order. It has merely sought by persuasion—and we do not criticize it for using these methods—to obtain compliance. But the article does not use the word "Persuade". If it did the Employer would have complied with the article. The use of the word "required" can only mean that if the employees refuse a request to comply, the Employer must take steps to insure compliance by disciplinary measures and if these fail to discharge the employees. It is clear to us that the only possible course here was suspension or discharge. We do not agree with the contention that a fine might have been imposed by the Employer. We do not think this Employer has that right. Furthermore, we can only conclude from the evidence and the statements of the employees to the Board that they have no intention of signing and that a suspension would likely have had no effect. To make its requirement of compliance effective, the Employer has in our view no alternative but to advise the employees that by failing to sign they will by their own action disentitle themselves to employment and will force the Employer to discharge them. We must find, therefore that by its failure to take such disciplinary measures as would compel compliance or failing that to discharge the employees, the Employer has violated the provisions of Article 6(3).

We reject the contention of the Employer that there was an obligation on the part of the Union to obtain the signatures of these employees on the cards. There is no such requirement, express or implied in this regard in the agreement. It is quite clear that this is an obligation of the Employer.

Finally we specifically find that the signing of the authorization cards is a condition of employment and non-compliance leaves the employees liable to such disciplinary measures as the Employer decides to impose up to and including discharge. In this connection it should be observed, that the Employer must have known when it agreed to the inclusion of Article 6(3) in the agreement that it meant that all employees must pay dues and that it was its duty to collect them by check-off. It should have been equally clear to them that if any employee for any alleged reason refused to sign the cards, then it would be necessary to take such disciplinary measures as it might decide under Article 5. If this were not so, Article 6(3) would be meaningless and completely ineffective. The law of Ontario does not compel an Employer to agree to a check-off of Union dues. When however an employer and a Union agree to include an article such as 6(3) in an agreement, the check-off of Union dues becomes just as binding on the Employer and the employees in the bargaining unit as if it were part of a statute.

In conclusion we find that both the Employer and the employees—DeHaan and Bonvanie—have violated Article 6(3). As the employees have persisted in their refusal to sign, but were not as individual parties to these proceedings, we will not order them to sign. We do order the Employer however to take immediate steps to comply with the provisions of Article 6(3) by again requesting the two employees to sign the authorization cards and at the same time warning them that their refusal will disentitle them to employment. Unless the employees immediately comply, we further order the Employer to exercise its powers under Article 5 of the Agreement by discharging the employees.

We cannot leave this matter without reference to the Union's claim for damages. While we recognize that we have the power to make such an order, we do not feel the circumstances are such that damages should be awarded.

DATED at Parry Sound, this 30th days of August, 1961.

(Signed): Judge Walter Little, Chairman.
(Signed): A. J. Clark, Company nominee.
(Signed): G. Milling, Union nominee.

LABOUR STUDIES UNITS

prepared for the

ONTARIO FEDERATION OF LABOUR

by

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February 1976

Unit 8 of 9 Units

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LABOUR AND POLITICS

RATIONALE:

How best can organized labour ensure a political voice? This question is the central topic of study for this Unit. While the American approach has been to produce a strong lobby to the politicians in Washington, organized labour in Canada has chosen to affiliate with a "labour party". There are arguments on both counts as to the most effective method of ensuring a labour point of view in government. This argument has taken place over many years and goes on even now.

This Unit begins with an article by David Bercuson, a history professor at the University of Calgary, who argues that the American alternative is more productive and that the Canadian approach is even counter-productive. After establishing the early demands of labour, the Unit traces the development of a labour voice through affiliation; first, to early parties, then to the CCF and finally to the NDP. Then, there is a short study of how organized labour in Canada does lobby the politicians in Ottawa. A brief digression into the lives of labour politicians follows. Here, there is an overlap with another Unit in the course (see Labour Personalities), but it does allow the student to do research into modern labour politicians and leaders. The Unit ends with a discussion of the future of a labour party. An excerpt from Canadian Labour In Politics by Gad Horowitz offers some balance to the question of "lobby" or"affiliate" by countering Bercuson's thesis with the opinion that it is essential to the existence of a labour party to have a strong base in labour union affiliation.

CONTENT	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
A. Labour's Political Efforts: Should they lobby or affiliate?			
1. Introduction - the view of a cartoonist. Labour is seen as the "Golden Goose" tied to the NDP Party and the NDP voicing only the opinions of labour.	A transparency may be made of Appendix VIII-A and shown to students. The students are asked to explain what each of the figures in the cartoon represents or is symbolic of. Then the students are asked the meaning of the cartoon. A brief class discussion may ensue as to whether or not they agree or disagree with the cartoon and why?	Appendix VIII-A, Cartoon, Macpherson, Toronto Star.	1. To introduce the concept of a connection between labour and politics. 2. To interpret the message presented by a cartoonist.
2. The CLC-NDP Alliance. A presentation of Bercuson's thesis that the CLC-NDP Alliance is a bad move on the part of labour and that the American alternative of lobbying for a political voice is much more effective.	Students should be presented with a copy of Bercuson's article Appendix VIII-B(1) and accompanying questions to be answered. Before a discussion takes place the teacher should ensure that any terms not understood should be defined. (Ex. affiliation and lobby). The document study may be followed by a Socratic lesson or an open discussion.	Appendix VIII-B(1) "Labour's Road to Nowhere: The CLC-NDP Alliance" by D. Bercuson, July, 1975 Canadian Forum. Appendix VIII-B(ii) Questions to accompany Bercuson's article.	1. To define the political alternatives of affiliatio or lobby. 2. To determine the strengths and weaknesses of each of these approaches. 3. To have the students choos which approach is best and answer why.

CONTENT	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
B. The Course taken - why? 1. The Demands of Labour: An examination of the demands of labour outlined by the Toronto Trades & Labour Council 1881 and the T.L.C. Convention in Winnipeg 1898. Action on these demands may come through collective bargaining with individual employers or through enactment of law.	Appendix VIII-C(i) and VIII-C(ii) may be put on a ditto or overhead transparency. Students should examine the demands of labour. A class discussion may revolve around the following questions: 1. Suggest methods by which labour can ensure action on the demands. 2. Which of the demands are now enforced? 3. Hypothesize on how these demands came to be enforced? 4. Other political parties have been responsible for making some of these objectives into law. Why would these demands become part of their political platform? What effect would this have on the support given to a labour party?	Appendix VIII-C(i) "Toronto Trades & Labour Council Proposals 1881" Minutes. Appendix VIII-C(ii) Lazarus: "Years of Hard Labour" p.20.	1. To introduce some of the early demands of labour. 2. To determine which demands have been acted upon. 3. To hypothesize about how such demands can be implemented into action.

CONTENT	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
2. How to win a labour voice: A series of motions made from 1872 to 1973 to various organized labour groups seems to indicate at first a desire to become active politically and finally affiliation with political parties. (i.e., CCF & NDP).	Students should examine motions (i)-(v) in Appendix VIII-D. The following considerations should be made: 1. When and by whom were the motions made? 2. What is each motion trying to say? 3. How does motion (v) differ from motion (i)? 4. What political action does organized labour seem to have taken?	Appendix VIII-D "Motions to organized labour".	1. To perceive political activity by the labour movement as a progressive action through history. 2. To determine the difference between simple political education and actual affiliation. 3. To translate motions into simple terms. 4. To determine which political action course labour seems to have taken.

CONTENT	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
3. Effects of the Winnipeg Strike 1919. Eight of the ten leaders of the strike became political leaders at the municipal, provincial or federal level. There may be several reasons for this: (i) The causes they stood for were the people's causes; (ii) the strike put them in the public eye; (iii) they were talented men.	At this point the teacher may want to do a quick review of the Winnipeg Strike. (See Unit #3: - Major Events). Students may use the article (Appendix VIII-E) as the basis for discussion of the following questions: 1. Which of the Big Ten became political leaders? In what way? 2. How do you account for the political prominence of these men?	Appendix VIII-E "The Fate of the Big Ten" Eric Wells, Weekend Magazine June 14, 1969.	1. To determine the effect of the Winnipeg Strike 1919 on political leaders who represent the labour point of view. 2. To determine which of the leaders of the strike became political leaders and why?
4. Labour Political Parties: (i) early attempts - 1919 the Progressives (farmer) Party in Ontario - "Ginger Group" - 1920 Manitoba Labour Party - 1921 Dominion Labour Party.	A very short lesson on the emergence of political parties should be attempted. Appendix VIII-F(i) may be used to determine what happened and why it happened.	Appendix VIII-F(i) "Early Attempts at Labour Parties". "Ginger Group" can be found in Canadian Labour and Politics by Scotton available from CLC, 2841 Riverside Drive, Ottawa, Ont.	1. To know that the Progressive Party, the Manitoba Labour Party and the Dominion Labour Party were early labour parties. 2. To determine why these parties came into being at this time.
(ii) - The CCF - why it was formed? - a determination of the social and economic transformation called for by the CCF	Students are asked to hypothesize about why labour would attempt to form a National Labour Party. Ideas would be placed on blackboard. A ditto of Appendix VIII-F(ii) should be distributed to the students. Students should be asked to determine and discuss the organizational principle of the CCF.	Appendix VIII-F(ii) "Statement by David Lewis".	1. To review the purposes of labour political activity on a national scale. 2. To see that political activity in terms of party affiliation. 3. To determine the organizational principle of the CCF.
- the platform of the CCF (a) planning (b) socialization of finance (c) social ownership (d) agriculture (e) external trade (f) [illegible]operative institutions	An assignment should be given to the students involving a reading of the CCF Program (Appendix VII[illegible]F (iii).	Appendix VIII-F(iii) "Co-operative Commonwealth Federation Program".	1. To determine the political platform of the CCF. 2. To determine which, if an of the progr[illegible] have been adopted by o[illegible]r parties.

CONTENT	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
4. Labour Political Parties (cont'd)			
(g) Labour Code (h) socialized health services (i) B.N.A. Act (j) external relations (k) taxation (l) freedom (m) social justice (n) emergency program	Students are asked to determine the social and economic transformation that the CCF was calling for. Which of the programs have been adopted by federal or provincial governments? A class discussion should follow.	Appendix VIII-F(iv) "Performance of CCF And NDP in Federal Elections, 1935-1965."	1. To know that the CCF gained seats from 1935--1957 and then suffered a great defeat.
(iii) The NDP - performance of the CCF 1935 - 1958 - the CCF gains seats from 1935 to 1957 and loses many seats in 1958.	Appendix VIII-F(iv) should be made available to the students via a ditto or an overhead transparency. Students should examine election results from 1935 - 1958. What trend is developing from 1935-1957? What happens in 1958? Students may later look more closely at the post 1962 results.		
A reappraisal of the CCF.	Enriched classes may be given the assignment of finding out the statistics for elections since 1965. The election in B.C., Man., and Ontario are especially important. See Canada Year Books for statistics or contact local members of parliament.		
	Students should read address by Tommy Douglas (Appendix VIII-F(v) and answer the following questions: 1. What was the objective of the CCF? 2. Why was it necessary for the CCF to change?	Appendix VIII-F(v) "Address by Tommy Douglas"	1. To determine the objectives of the CCF. 2. To see the shortcomings of those objectives. 3. To determine the aims of the new federation.

CONTENT	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
4. Labour Political Parties (cont'd)	3. What should be the aim of the new federation?		
What's in a name? The New Democratic Party:	List on the board the following phrases and ask the students to list adjectives which come to mind when they are used. Discuss connotations of the phrases: "people's movement", "people's party" and "socialism". Read: "The Type of Image" Appendix VIII-F(vi) to the students. Discuss why the name New Democratic Party was chosen.	Appendix VIII-F(vi) "The Type of Image- We Want to Protect the Public"	1. List adjectives, which come to mind when certain phrases are used. 2. Discuss the connotations surrounding such words as "socialism". 3. To discover why the name New Democratic Party was chosen.
The CCF and the Canadian Labour Congress agree to help form a new party. Why? How?	Students are given two readings Appendix VIII-F(vii) and Appendix VIII-F(viii) and asked to relate why and how each of the two organizations would help in the development of the NDP.	Appendix VIII-F(vii) "CLC Resolution" Appendix VIII-F(viii) "CCF Resolution"	1. To know that the NDP was formed with the support of the CCF and CLC. 2. To determine why that support was given. 3. To determine how support was given.
CLC Policy Statements - the CLC endorses affiliation but also suggests other political action.	Students should read Policy Statement Appendix VIII-G(1) and determine how this document is consistent with the labour approach to politics. Students should then read Appendix VIII-G(ii) and determine what other political activity the CLC calls for. A discussion may ensue as to why each of the "other proposals" are considered important.	Appendix VIII-G(i) "Policy Statement 10th CLC Consitutional Convention 1974" Appendix VIII-G(ii) "Principles and Policies of the Canadian Labour Congress"	1. To determine that the labour policy of affiliation is consistent to today's activity. 2. To determine that other proposal for political activity are also called for.

CONTENT	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
The Lobby - an alternative - Definition of lobby - why and how does labour lobby. - unemployment and inflation - an example - other examples.	A quick review of the definition of lobby is necessary. Use dictionary plus refer to Bercuson's article Appendix Read memorandum (Appendix VIII-H) What is the purpose of this document? What is the labour view on unemployment and inflation? Why would they feel this way? What other issues does labour see as important? How would labour lobby the government concerning these issues? A follow-up study may be to examine types of lobbying done against the wage/price guidelines of 1975?	Appendix VIII-H "Memorandum to the Government of Canada by the Canadian Labour Congress" - extra copies of this may be obtained from Canadian Labour Congress, 2481 Riverside Dr., Ottawa, Ont.	1. To define the term lobby. 2. To determine how and why labour lobbies the government.
The Labour Politician (1) Daniel O'Donoghue - "Father of the Canadian Labour Movement" (2) J.S. Woodsworth (3) Stephen Lewis	The intent of this section of the Unit is to take a brief look at the labour politician, to determine what kind of man he is and why he represents the worker in Canada. For specific information on this refer to Unit #5 - Personalities. Students may do research into the background and leadership qualities of Stephen Lewis. This may be summed up by having students interview local labour leaders. Contact the local labour council.	- Biography of Daniel O'Donoghue may be found in "Workers Way To a Fair Share" by Leslie E.Wismer, published by Trades & Labour Congress of Canada (now CLC). - Biography of J.S. Woodsworth found in A Prophet in Politics by Kenneth McNaught, Toronto U. of T. Press, 1959. See newspapers of 1975 provincial election for information on Stephen Lewis. - For information on local labour leaders contact local labour council.	1. To determine characteristics of labour leaders. 2. To give a perspective of labour politicians by viewing a leader in 1880's 1920's - 30's, 1960's - 1970's.

CONTENT	STRATEGIES	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
The Future of a Labour Party: Affiliation by trade unionists is a basic strength of the NDP and will continue to be. The NDP will have to be content as a minority party until it can increase its union affiliation.	Students should read Appendix VIII-I and consider the following questions: 1. What was the purpose of change from CCF to NDP? 2. Why is it so difficult for the NDP to "broaden its base"? 3.* Does Horowitz believe in "affiliation" or "lobby" for the labour movement? 4. What reasons does he give for his point of view? 5. What is the future of the NDP according to Horowitz? 6. Which method "affiliation" or "lobby" do you think labour should use to win a voice with the government? These questions may be the basis for a Scoratic lesson or a class discussion. * (Compare with Bercuson's (Appendix).	Appendix VIII-1 "The Future of a Labour Party" by Gad Horowitz, CANADIAN LABOUR IN POLITICS, Toronto, U. of T. Press, 1968. Four sources which are particularly useful for this Unit are: Horowitz, Gad, CANADIAN LABOUR IN POLITICS, Toronto U of T Press, 1968. Lipton, Charles, THE TRADE UNION MOVEMENT IN CANADA, Toronto NC Press, 1967. Lazarus, Morden, YEARS OF HARD LABOUR, OFL publication, 1974. Scotton, Clifford, CANADIAN LABOUR & POLITICS, CLC publication. Clifford Scotton's Canadian Labour & Politics is a booklet which gives an over-view of labour and politics, available from: Canadian Labour Congress, 2481 Riverside Dr., Ottawa, Ontario.	1. To review the transition fr the CCF to NDP. 2. To give some balance to the argument of "affiliation" o "lobby" by comparing Horowitz's opinion with Bercuso 3. To discuss the future of th NDP in Canada. 4. To form a personal opinion how labour can be most effective in developing a political voice.

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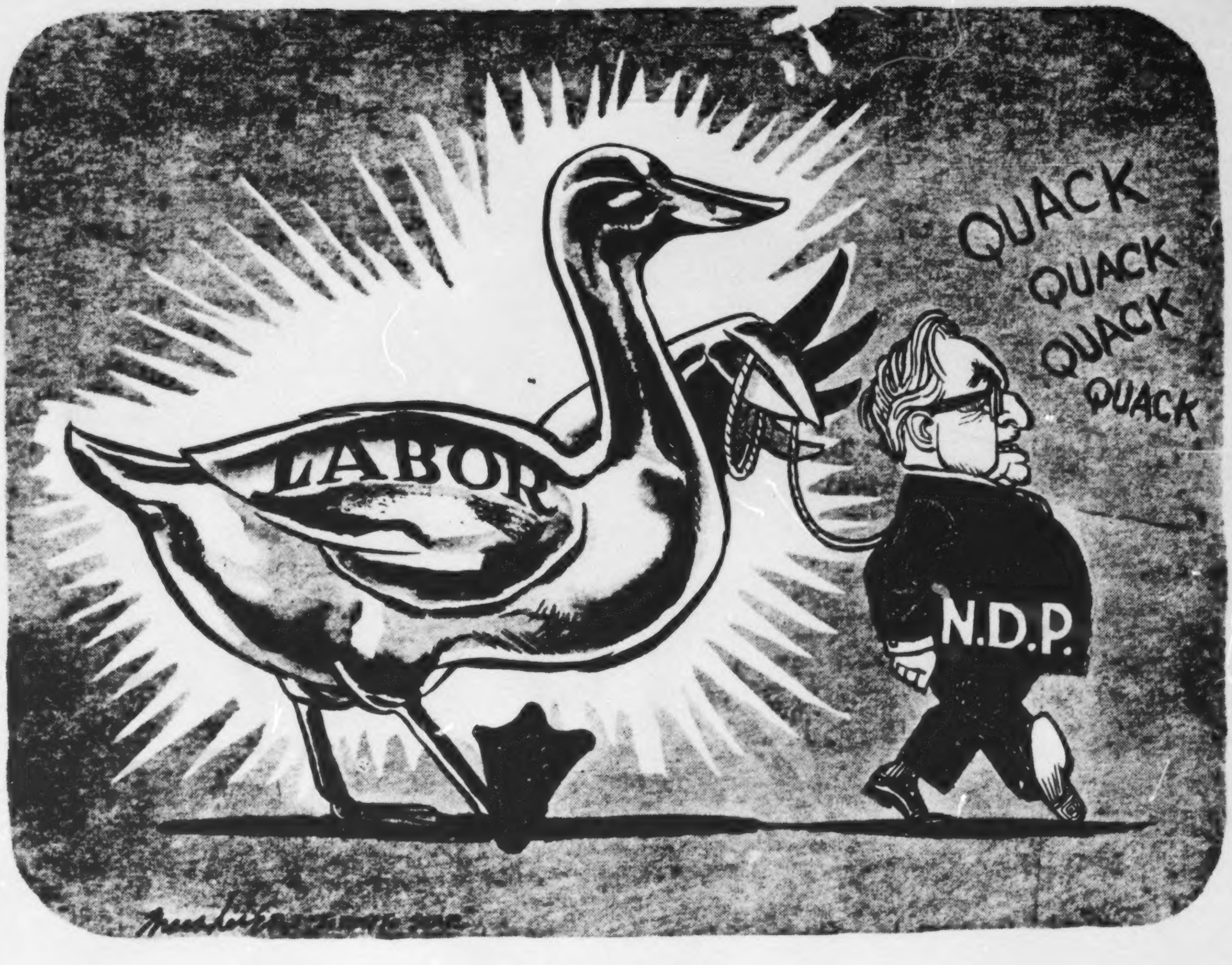
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THE GOLDEN GOOSE

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Labour's Road to Nowhere:

The CLC-NDP Alliance

by David J. Bercuson

David J. Bercuson, who teaches history at University of Calgary, is the author of Confrontation at Winnipeg

The New Democratic Party was severely shaken by the results of the last federal election. It is now apparent that the NDP has no realistic chance of becoming the government or the official opposition in Ottawa within the foreseeable future. This should have repercussions not only for the Party, but for the 1.9 million member Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) which has been closely allied with the NDP since the Party's birth in 1961. By backing a loser at the federal level, labour's political efforts at Ottawa have mostly come to nothing.

In the United States, by contrast, the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO), has become a powerful voice in Washington. Labour's aspirations and reactions must be taken into account, especially by the U.S. Congress, when domestic and foreign policies decisions are made. In Ottawa, CLC influence is almost strictly limited to labour matters while its attitudes towards other policy areas usually are ignored. The federal government's view of the CLC was clearly enunciated by the late Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson to a Congress Convention in 1964 when he told delegates: "you speak in *labour policy and matters* for some five million Canadians." This position has not changed and the political trap in which the CLC now finds itself, caused by the declining fortunes of the NDP, should prompt Canadian labour leaders to ask themselves if it is not time to abandon their support of the NDP.

Labour's political role is very much different in Canada than in the United States. Here there is an organic connection between the Canadian Labour Congress and the New Democratic Party. The NDP was founded in 1961 partially as a result of a CLC decision to involve itself actively in politics through a labour political party. The original connection has been strengthened through the years and now the NDP is considered to be the political arm of the CLC. The Congress is a major force providing volunteer labour at election times, financing the NDP, urging members to con-

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tribute directly to the Party, and sitting in the Party's highest councils and helping to decide Party policy. In a very real sense, the CLC fights every federal and provincial election through the NDP and has tied its political fortunes to the success or failure of the NDP.

The Canadian Labour Congress does play a political role outside the NDP whenever it acts as a lobby group trying to get federal or provincial governments to adopt policies in tune with the Congress' aspirations. But in these circumstances the Congress must come only as the representative of one special interest and not as the friend or ally of government. The voice of the Congress, therefore, is almost totally mute when it speaks on matters which do not directly concern the welfare or interests of organized labour. The act of presenting long and intricately composed 'briefs' on an annual basis has become a ritual. Congress leaders berate the federal government and then turn to their followers to claim that it is only the New Democratic Party which is really responsive to the needs of organized labour. The Congress has given up on the Liberal and Conservative Parties and, with its NDP connection, put all its political eggs into one basket. Viewed from another angle it is clear that since Liberal or Conservative governments know they are listening to an organization which is directly tied to the NDP, and which will not return any favours they proffer,there is no special reason why Congress views should be respected in non-labour matters. Since these parties owe the Congress nothing and expect nothing from it, the CLC's influence is severely undermined.

The American labour movement is under no such handicap. It is independent in political matters and it is from this independence that its strength and importance stem. When George McGovern ran for the presidency under the Democratic banner in 1972 organized labour did not support him and publicly announced its neutrality. True, certain American unions backed him, most notably the United Automobile Workers, but other, just as notable, unions, such as the Teamsters, supported President Nixon. (Neither is affiliated with the AFL-CIO.) The AFL-CIO stayed aloof but continued to support and work for other Democratic candidates for federal, state, and local office. McGovern's crushing defeat was not due solely to the AFL-CIO's position but it did show how important labour's support is to any Democratic candidate. Another case in point is Hubert Humphrey's bid for the Democratic nomination in 1968. Here the AFL-CIO strongly backed their old friend and ally and through their support helped him earn the nomination and almost elected him to the presidency. The AFL-CIO, along with independent unions such as the United Auto Workers, have amply demonstrated their strength in the American political process and have proven that they must be included in any alignment of groups that could bring victory to the Democratic Party. The realization that labour is necessary to the Democrats, and conversely that labour's neutrality or opposition could be disastrous, gives labour its power in Washington. Its professional lobbyists are amongst the most numerous in the capital and its views are listened to on almost every issue from foreign affairs to financial policy.

In Canada organized labour has always been inclined to involve itself directly in political activities, at least from the time of the Trades and Labour Congress, (forerunner to the CLC) first resolution to enter the political arena in 1906. Though the inclination to move into politics was not strong enough to result in an all out effort to found, support and elect an official labour party, it was more than was being attempted in the United States. By the nineteen twenties a clear divergence of opinion and tactics had emerged between the Canadian and American union movements even though the Trades and Labour Congress was affiliated and subordinate to the American Federation of Labor. There were many reasons for this. The party systems in the two countries were not at all comparable. In the United States there are no rigid party lines and labour can bring great pressure to bear on individual congressmen and senators. A state labour federation can support a Republican in one county and a Democrat in the next knowing (or hoping) that on certain issues they would vote together. In Canada stricter party discipline would not let this happen, forcing labour to choose a political party, rather than a set of individuals, to support. In backing a party, however, labour would be only one interest group competing with farmers, bankers, manufacturers, merchants, etc. A key reason for the differences in the approach to politics by the two national labour movements lies in the ideological and sentimental ties, as well as the bonds of custom and tradition, that brought the Canadian labour movement so close to the British, even though almost all of its formal affiliations were to the American. Canada's parliamentary system was modeled upon Britain's, her two political parties, Liberal and Conservative, apparently reflected the British pattern while the attitudes to class, work and labour of the Canadian elites often parroted those of the British. In addition, Canadian unions were heavily influenced by skilled British immigrants who had been politically active in the old country and a list of union leaders in Canada has always included a high proportion of British-born

There were, therefore, strong factors which tended to lead Canadian unionists into politics. The path from 1906 to 1958 was tortuous but a steadily increasing committment to independent labour politics amongst union leaders revealed labour's belief that victories on the picket line and at the bargaining table must be backed up and complemented by electoral success. When, in 1958, the old CCF began to number its days after twenty five years in federal politics, labour finally moved. The CCF and the new Canadian Labour Congress merged forces to produce the NDP which has been fighting federal and provincial battles since 1961. An old dream of generations of Canadian union men had finally been fulfilled. Canada had a bona fide labour party.

Though the New Democratic Party finally made three major breakthroughs in the 1969-1972 period, capturing the governments of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and British Columbia, its voter strength in federal elections has remained within narrow limits of from fifteen to eighteen per cent. In addition, the New Democratic Party has never made any significant dent in Quebec, continues as the third party in Ontario, while its only success in the Atlantic provinces has come in the Cape Breton area. At the rank and file level, most union members continue to vote as they have for generations: for Liberals and Conservatives.

There are probably as many reasons for a political party's success or failure at the polls as there are voters. There can be little doubt, however, that one factor behind the NDP's 1974 failure was the tendency of hundreds of thousands of workers across the country to vote Liberal to defeat Conservatives' announced intention of instituting wage and price controls. This is important for what it reveals about the average worker's attitude to the NDP; they *did not* vote NDP when they saw their interests threatened, they voted Liberal. There is nothing new about this. Though the NDP purports to be the party of labour, and is strongly supported in every way imaginable by the Canadian Labour Congress, more workers have always voted Liberal and Conservative than NDP or CCF. As long as this continues, and the chances are that it will, the NDP will not be able to count on the 1.9 million labour votes it ought to have while it goes in search of the other million middle class and farm votes that it must have to become a major force in Canadian politics.

Even where the NDP has been successful, there has been trouble between the party and the unions. Since a government must consider itself the instrument of all people, parties in power must not publicly lean too greatly towards any one special interest group. If a Party heeded only farmers and farmers were not in a majority, it would quickly fall into eclipse. The same holds for labour parties. They must appear to be fair towards other groups or they will lose whatever support they have outside the union movement. Workers who have contributed to and supported a party they consider their own do not understand, however, when that party, once successful, ceases to be "theirs". They can become bitter when they see a government they hoped would be favourable to them attempting to be neutral in policy and action. In both Manitoba and British Columbia the unions have been embittered by NDP government's actions in labour disputes with their own employees, reluctance to openly side with workers in battles with private employers or failure to introduce openly pro-labour legislation. Once the NDP achieves power it discovers that labour support alone is not enough to keep office and therefore seeks the votes of small businessmen, farmers and the middle class. This waters down labour's influence and often alienates the unions.

What, then, has the Canadian labour movement received from the New Democratic Party in return for its millions of dollars and tens of thousands of man-hours or work? It has not received any particular favours from any of the three NDP provincial governments. They have, as a rule, been fairer and more progressive in their approach to labour problems but they have not been the voice of labour in the halls of government and they have not been the arm of labour in the operation of government. At Ottawa labour owns the support of a party that will probably never win federal office and this connection has, in itself, proved to be a disadvantage. The link between the NDP and the labour movement has undermined labour's influence with the two major parties and the governments which are always formed by those parties. The labour movement has, on balance, gained little from its alliance with the NDP and is, in fact, losing a great deal.

Under these circumstances labour leaders should reassess the connection between their unions and the NDP. The historical yearning for a labour party must be ignored in a coldly realistic appraisal of the political balance sheet. The NDP is going nowhere federally and cannot ally itself any closer with the unions provincially. Labour will never get more out of the partnership than it is now receiving. The question is, therefore, can labour get more out of any other kind of arrangement? Would labour benefit more in its relationship with the NDP, or with the Liberal and Conservative Parties, if its political links were informal and based on the expectation of future reward? It is time to find out.

The Canadian Labour Congress should dissolve its ties with the NDP and sell its support to the highest bidder. It should approach the Liberals or the Conservatives to sound out their attitude towards labour demands and seek their reaction towards labour's views. If one of these parties is found willing to accommodate the CLC it ought to throw its money and manpower to it until such time as it could get a better deal elsewhere. If the NDP continues to be the only group that can offer satisfaction the CLC should support it, but without formal alliance. Such an approach to politics would mean abandoning the old dream that labour should run the government through a political party—a dream that is impractical and dead anyway—and would give way to a straight bargain, trading votes and money for influence in government. Such an arrangement would mean far more to the Liberals and Conservatives today than it would have fifty years ago because of the hundreds and thousands of votes represented by the modern CLC.

The CLC has not been successful in trying to deliver votes to the NDP but ought to do much better in supporting the Liberals or Conservatives. Canadian workers generally shy away from the NDP because they are as untouched as other Canadians by the party's basically social democratic message. They have been raised in a society which lives by the rules and myths of the capitalist welfare state and they generally accept the values of the system. Class consciousness has never been a significant factor motivating the bulk of Canadian union members and they have almost always belonged to and supported unions which operated as part of the system. As a result they have almost always ignored class appeals when voting. Thus the CLC must overcome ingrained prejudices to deliver labour votes to the NDP which it would not encounter in rallying support for the older parties. Since Canadian workers have always voted primarily for the Liberals and Conservatives, the CLC's main job would be to direct, support and strengthen present voting patterns so that they could be channelled to one party of their choice. This is where the CLC role would be important and is what the Congress would be "selling" in return for greater influence in making of major national policies. This kind of arrangement would probably yield results such as those achieved in the United States by the AFL-CIO whose political apparatus is the most powerful in the country. The labour movement there has far more political power than in Canada even though, on a per capita basis, fewer Americans are union members. The only path to follow should be that which is the best course for labour and will yield the greatest results. The labour-NDP marriage must be reexamined in the harsh light of prevailing Canadian political realities. □

Questions to accompany David Bercuson's article:

1) What is Bercuson's thesis?

2) What was the American alternative to political affiliation to one Party?

   Why does Bercuson see this as effective?

3) How does the CLC support the NDP?

   Why does Bercuson see this as a weakness?

4) What reasons does Bercuson give for Canada's divergence from the American alternative?

5)Do you agree or disagree with Bercuson's recommendations? Why?

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Toronto Trades & Labour Council proposals: 1881

1) A ban on employment of children under 12;
2) a maximum nine-hour day for women and young people;
3) the regular publication of information on industrial conditions by government;
4) the enactment of safety and sanitary regulations including regulations against fire;
5) shielding for gears and shafts;
6) regular inspections of engines and boilers;
7) a staff of inspectors to enforce these measures.*

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*Toronto Trades & Labour Council, "Minutes", 1881.

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The TLC convention in Winnipeg in 1898 drew up a platform of objectives which included:

1. *Free compulsory education;*
2. *A legal working day of eight hours and a six-day week;*
3. *Government inspection of all industry;*
4. *A minimum living wage based on local conditions;*
5. *Public ownership of railways, telegraph, waterworks, lighting, etc.;*
6. *Tax reform by lessening taxes on industry and levying them on land values;*
7. *Abolition of the Dominion Senate;*
8. *The union label on all manufactured goods and on all government supplies;*
9. *Abolition of child labour of children under 14 and of female labour in all branches of industrial life such as mines and factories;*
10. *Abolition of property qualifications for public office;*
11. *Voluntary arbitration of labour disputes.*

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"MOTIONS TO ORGANIZED LABOUR"

(i) "Be it resolved that we form labour reform leagues in each ward in the city under the jurisdiction of this Assembly, to be composed of working men, to discuss matters pertaining to them as working men, and using their united efforts to advance the interests of labour."

TORONTO TRADES ASSEMBLY, Minutes, Mar. 1, 1872.

(ii) In 1872, "The Workingmen's Progressive Political Party", organized at London, Ontario, had a program demanding abolition of property qualifications for candidates in provincial elections, an elective Senate, a liberal land policy, and the vote for low income groups.

ONTARIO WORKMAN, [illegible]y 16 and 23, 1872.

(iii) "Be it resolved that this Congress recommend that the various central bodies of labour in Canada take steps to form themselves into political parties. Where possible, candidates should be placed in the field. We should endeavour to have direct representation in the various Houses of Parliament, on lines similar to organized workers in Great Britain, etc. Hereafter the members of labour organizations found on platforms advocating the interests of the old political parties, should be regarded with suspicion as decoys of the wage earners and should be regarded as opponents to the advance of the labour movement".

TRADES & LABOUR CONGRESS OF CANADA, THIRTEENTH ANNUAL CONVENTION, 1898, PROCEEDINGS, P.31.

(iv) "Be it resolved that we believe and affirm that organized labour will be doing itself a great service and hastening the realization of its aims by entering into affiliation with the CCF ... and that until such affiliation is an accomplished fact, this conference calls upon all unions to endorse the CCF as the official political arm of the trade union movement in Canada".

TRADE UNION CONFERENCE, JULY 25, 1942, PROCEEDINGS.

(v) WHEREAS The NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY is the only party that supports the basic objectives of the labour movement, and

WHEREAS election results in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, British Columbia and also in the Federal Government indicate the New Democratic Party is consistently gaining the support of people in Canada, and

WHEREAS it is essential to continue our activities in the field of political action:

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that this convention re-affirm its endorsation of the New Democratic Party as the political arm of the labour movement in Canada.

MOTION BY LOCAL 1005, United Steelworkers of America to SEVENTEENTH CONVENTION OF ONTARIO FEDERATION OF LABOUR, NOVEMBER, 1973.

THE FATE OF THE BIG TEN

The trial of the Big Ten holds a curious position in Canadian history, apart from the dubious forensic values. It was the original intention of Justice Minister Arthur Meighen to deport without trial those born outside of Canada. This would have meant that eight of them would have been deported to the British Isles, leaving here in Canada J. S. Woodsworth and George Armstrong.

Instead of deportation, the 10 were brought to trial, except for Woodsworth. Although he was arrested and charged with seditious libel, charges against him were stayed. On his election to the Commons two years later, he said, "Now my case has been tried by a larger jury and the verdict is one I may feel proud of. In fact, when Meighen arrested me, it nominated me for Ottawa."

The trials had similar effects on others. "The larger jury", as Woodsworth called it, found all 10 not guilty.

Robert Durward was assistant secretary to the strike committee. Benign and philosophical, he chuckles today when he recalls what Canada would have lost had it deported everyone adjudged to be a seditionist. He probably would have been deported too, for he was born in Aberdeen, Scotland.

"I was blacklisted from employment as a Red and although I wasn't charged with sedition I, too, went into politics after the strike was over."

Durward served on both the city school board and city council, losing his seat finally to a Communist, which he finds somewhat ironic. But concerning the charge of seditious conspiracy, he affirms all the Big Ten were guiltless. "There was no political intent at all . . . the political action came after."

The fate of the Big Ten:

R. B. Russell received a two-year sentence. He became a leading light in the One Big Union and eventually merged it with the CLC. A high school is named after him.

John Queen received one year. A Labor alderman at the time of the strike, he was elected to the legislature while in prison, and later became mayor of Winnipeg.

William Ivens received one year. Elected to the legislature.

R. J. Johns received one year. He became a director of technical education for Manitoba.

George Armstrong received one year. He was elected to the legislature.

W. A. Pritchard received one year. He had a long political career in B.C. and became mayor of Burnaby.

R. E. Bray received six months. He became an OBU organizer in B.C.

A. A. Heaps acquitted. Became a member of Parliament.

Fred Dixon acquitted, member of the legislature.

J. S. Woodsworth, charge stayed. Member of Parliament and founding leader of the CCF.

Eric Wells, Weekend Magazine, June 14, 1969

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"EARLY ATTEMPTS AT LABOUR PARTIES".

1919: Thomas Crerar's resignation as Minister of Agriculture in the Union Government, his emergence soon after as leader of the Progressives (farmers) Party; in Ontario, election of Canada's first farmer-labour government.

1920: Election of 11 candidates of the Manitoba Labour Party and 8 candidates of the United Farmers of Manitoba to the provincial legislature; election of a number of labour representatives to the Winnipeg Municipal Council.

1921: Defeat of the strike-breaking Borden (Union) government in the federal election; election of a bloc of 75 progressives, mostly farm candidates - the largest third party grouping ever to sit in the House of Commons.

In 1921, came the decision to establish a Dominion Labour Party. This was Canada's first, and until 1961, only experiment in a federal labour party. It was inaugurated at a conference held the week the TLC convention met at Winnipeg in August 1921. That conference decided the new party would seek to unite the political power of the workers and press for a change "in the present economic and social system". Provision was made for co-operation with the farmers - the executive was instructed to confer with the Progressive (farmers) Party.

"STATEMENT BY DAVID LEWIS°

On October 7, 1943, David Lewis then National Secretary of the

CCF said:

"On every possible occasion I have explained to the trade unionists the basic organizational principle of the CCF as being that of uniting all the three major classes of Canada into one political instrument - namely, the industrial workers, the farmers, and the middle class people .... In Canada the farmers and the middle class people combined actually outnumber the industrial workers, and ... since the proportion of workers organized in trade unions still remains relatively small, the rest of the Canadian people far outnumber those in the ranks of organized labour."*

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*Lewis to Harold Winch, October 7, 1943, NPD files.

Appendix

CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH FEDERATION PROGRAMME

ADOPTED AT FIRST NATIONAL CONVENTION HELD AT REGINA, SASK., JULY, 1933

THE C.C.F. is a federation of organizations whose purpose is the establishment in Canada of a Co-operative Commonwealth in which the principle regulating production, distribution and exchange will be the supplying of human needs and not the making of profits.

We aim to replace the present capitalist system, with its inherent injustice and inhumanity, by a social order from which the domination and exploitation of one class by another will be eliminated, in which economic planning will supersede unregulated private enterprise and competition, and in which genuine democratic self-government, based upon economic equality will be possible. The present order is marked by glaring inequalities of wealth and opportunity, by chaotic waste and instability; and in an age of plenty it condemns the great mass of the people to poverty and insecurity. Power has become more and more concentrated into the hands of a small irresponsible minority of financiers and industrialists and to their predatory interests the majority are habitually sacrificed. When private profit is the main stimulus to economic effort, our society oscillates between periods of feverish prosperity in which the main benefits go to speculators and profiteers, and of catastrophic depression, in which the common man's normal state of insecurity and hardship is accentuated. We believe that these evils can be removed only in a planned and socialized economy in which our natural resources and the principal means of production and distribution are owned, controlled and operated by the people.

The new social order at which we aim is not one in which individuality will be crushed out by a system of regimentation. Nor shall we interfere with cultural rights of racial or religious minorities. What we seek is a proper collective organization of our economic resources such as will make possible a much greater degree of leisure and a much richer individual life for every citizen.

This social and economic transformation can be brought about by political action, through the election of a government inspired by the ideal of a Co-operative Commonwealth and supported by a majority of the people. We do not believe in change by violence. We consider that both the old parties in Canada are the instruments of capitalist interests and cannot serve as agents of social reconstruction, and that whatever the superficial differences between them, they are bound to carry on government in accordance with the dictates of the big business interests who finance them. The C.C.F. aims at political power in order to put an end to this capitalist domination of our political life. It is a democratic movement, a federation of farmer, labor and socialist organizations, financed by its own members and seeking to achieve its ends solely by constitutional methods. It appeals for support to all who believe that the time has come for a far-reaching reconstruction of our economic and political institutions and who are willing to work together for the carrying out of the following policies:

1. PLANNING

The establishment of a planned, socialized economic order, in order to make possible the most efficient development of the national resources and the most equitable distribution of the national income.

The first step in this direction will be setting up of a National Planning Commission consisting of a small body of economists, engineers and statisticians assisted by an appropriate technical staff.

The task of the Commission will be to plan for the production, distribution and exchange of all goods and services necessary to the efficient functioning of the economy; to co-ordinate the activities of the socialized industries; to provide for a satisfactory balance between the producing and consuming power; and to carry on continuous research into all branches of the national economy in order to acquire the detailed information necessary to efficient planning.

The Commission will be responsible to the Cabinet and will work in co-operation with the Managing Boards of the Socialized Industries.

It is now certain that in every industrial country some form of planning will replace the disintegrating capitalist system. The C.C.F. will provide that in Canada the planning shall be done, not by a small group of capitalist magnates in their own interests, but by public servants acting in the public interest and responsible to the people as a whole.

2. SOCIALIZATION OF FINANCE

Socialization of all financial machinery—banking, currency, credit, and insurance, to make possible the effective control of currency, credit and prices, and the supplying of new productive equipment for socially desirable purposes.

Planning by itself will be of little use if the public authority has not the power to carry its plans into effect. Such power will require the control of finance and of all those vital industries and services, which, if they remain in private hands, can be used to thwart or corrupt the will of the public authority. Control of finance is the first step in the control of the whole economy. The chartered banks must be socialized and removed from the control of private profit-seeking interests; and the national banking system thus established must have at its head a Central Bank to control the flow of credit and the general price level, and to regulate foreign exchange operations. A National Investment Board must also be set up, working in co-operation with the socialized banking system to mobolize and direct the unused surpluses of production for socially desired purposes as determined by the Planning Commission.

Insurance Companies, which provide one of the main channels for the investment of individual savings and which, under their present competitive organization, charge needlessly high premiums for, the social services that they render, must also be socialized.

3. SOCIAL OWNERSHIP

Socialization (Dominion, Provincial or Municipal) of transportation, communications, electric power and all other industries and services essential to social planning, and their operation under the general direction of the Planning Commission by competent managements freed from day to day political interference.

Public utilities must be operated for the public benefit and not for the private profit of a small group of owners or financial manipulators. Our natural resources must be developed by the same methods. Such a programme means the continuance and extension of the public ownership enterprises in which most governments in Canada have already gone some distance. Only by such public ownership, operated on a planned economy, can our main industries be saved from the wasteful competition of the ruinous over-development and over-capitalization which are the inevitable outcome of capitalism. Only in a regime of public ownership and operation will the full benefits accruing from the centralized control and mass production be passed on to the consuming public.

Transportation, communications and electric power must come first in a list of industries to be socialized. Others, such as mining, pulp and paper and the distribution of milk, bread, coal and gasoline, in which exploitation, waste, or financial malpractices are particularly prominent must next be brought under social ownership and operation.

In restoring to the community its natural resources and in taking over industrial enterprises from private into public control we do not propose any policy of outright confiscation. What we desire is the most stable and equitable transition to the Co-operative Commonwealth. It is impossible to decide the policies to be followed in particular cases in an uncertain future, but we insist upon certain broad principles. The welfare of the community must take supremacy over the claims of private wealth. In times of war, human life has been conscripted. Should economic circumstances call for it, conscription of wealth would be more justifiable. We recognize the need for compensation in the case of individuals and institutions which must receive adequate maintenance during the transitional period before the planned economy becomes fully operative. But a C.C.F. government will not play the role of rescuing bankrupt private concerns for the benefit of promoters and of stock and bond holders. It will not pile up a deadweight burden of unremunerative debt which represents claims upon the public treasury of a functionless owner class.

The management of publicly owned enterprises will be vested in boards who will be appointed for their competence in the industry and will conduct each particular enterprise on efficient economic lines. The machinery of management may well vary from industry to industry, but the rigidity of

Civil Service rules should be avoided and likewise the evils of the patronage system as exemplified in so many departments of the Government today. Workers in these public industries must be free to organize in trade unions and must be given the right to participate in the management of the industry.

4. AGRICULTURE

Security of tenure for the farmer upon his farm on conditions to be laid down by individual provinces; insurance against unavoidable crop failure; removal of the tariff burden from the operations of agriculture; encouragement of producers' and consumers' co-operatives; the restoration and maintenance of an equitable relationship between prices of agricultural products and those of other commodities and services; and improving the efficiency of export trade in farm products.

The security of tenure for the farmer upon his farm which is imperilled by the present disastrous situation of the whole industry, together with adequate social insurance, ought to be guaranteed under equitable conditions.

The prosperity of agriculture, the greatest Canadian industry, depends upon a rising volume of purchasing power of the masses in Canada for all farm goods consumed at home, and upon the maintenance of large scale exports of the stable commodities at satisfactory prices or equitable commodity exchange.

The intense depression in agriculture today is a consequence of the general world crisis caused by the normal workings of the capitalistic system resulting in: (1) Economic nationalism expressing itself in tariff barriers and other restrictions of world trade; (2) The decreased purchasing power of unemployed and under-employed workers and of the Canadian people in general; (3) The exploitation of both primary producers and consumers by monopolistic corporations who absorb a great proportion of the selling price of farm products. (This last is true, for example, of the distribution of milk and dairy products, the packing industry, and milling.)

The immediate cause of agricultural depression is the catastrophic fall in the world prices of foodstuffs as compared with other prices, this fall being due in large measure to the deflation of currency and credit. To counteract the worst effect of this, the internal price level should be raised so that the farmers' purchasing power may be restored.

We propose therefore:

(1) The improvement of the position of the farmer by the increase of purchasing power made possible by the social control of the financial system. This control must be directed towards the increase of employment as laid down elsewhere and towards raising the prices of farm commodities by appropriate credit and foreign policies.

(2) Whilst the family farm is the accepted basis for agricultural production in Canada the position of the farmer may be much improved by:

(a) The extension of consumers' co-operatives for the purchase of farm supplies and domestic requirements; and

(b) The extension of co-operative institutions for the processing and marketing of farm products.

Both of the foregoing to have suitable state encouragement and assistance.

(3) The adoption of a planned system of agricultural development based upon scientific soil surveys directed towards better land utilization, and a scientific policy of agricultural development for the whole of Canada.

(4) The substitution for the present system of foreign trade, of a system of import and export boards to improve the efficiency of overseas marketing, to control prices, and to integrate the foreign trade policy with the requirements of the national economic plan.

5. EXTERNAL TRADE

The regulation in accordance with the National plan of external trade through import and export boards.

Canada is dependent on external sources of supply for many of her essential requirements of raw materials and manufactured products. These she can obtain only by large exports of the goods she is best fitted to produce. The strangling of our export trade by insane protectionist policies must be brought to an end. But the old controversies between free traders and protectionists are now largely obsolete. In a world of nationally organized economies Canada must organize the buying and selling of her main imports and exports under public boards, and take steps to regulate the flow of less important commodities by a system of licenses. By so doing she will be enabled to make the best trade agreements possible with foreign countries, put a stop to the exploitation of both primary producer and ultimate consumer, make possible the co-ordination of internal processing, transportation and marketing of farm products, and facilitate the establishment of stable prices for such export commodities.

6. CO-OPERATIVE INSTITUTIONS

The encouragement by the public authority of both producers' and consumers' co-operative institutions.

In agriculture, as already mentioned, the primary producer can receive a larger net revenue through co-operative organization of purchases and marketing. Similarly in retail distribution of staple commodities such as milk, there is room for development both of public municipal operation and of consumers' co-operatives, and such co-operative organization can be extended into wholesale distribution and into manufacturing. Co-operative enterprises should be assisted by the state through appropriate legislation and through the provision of adequate credit facilities.

7. LABOR CODE

A National Labor Code to secure for the worker maximum income and leisure, insurance covering illness, accident, old age, and unemployment, freedom of association and effective participation in the management of his industry or profession.

The spectre of poverty and insecurity which still haunts every worker, though technological developments have made possible a high standard of living for everyone, is a disgrace which must be removed from our civilization. The community must organize its resources to effect progress sive reduction of the hours of work in accordance with technological development and to provide a constantly rising standard of life to everyone who is willing to work. A labor code must be developed which will include state regulation of all wages, equal reward and equal opportunity of advancement for equal services, irrespective of sex; measures to guarantee the right to work or the right to maintenance through stabilization of employment and through unemployment insurance; social insurance to protect workers and their families against the hazards of sickness, death, industrial accident and old age; limitation of hours of work and protection of health and safety in industry. Both wages and insurance benefits should be varied in accordance with family needs.

In addition workers must be guaranteed the undisputed right to freedom of association, and should be encouraged and assisted by the state to organize themselves in trade unions. By means of collective agreements and participation in works councils, the workers can achieve fair working rules and share in the control of industry and profession; and their organizations will be indispensable elements in a system of genuine industrial democracy.

The labor code should be uniform throughout the country. But the achievement of this end is difficult so long as jurisdiction over labor legislation under the B.N.A. Act is mainly in the hands of the provinces. It is urgently necessary, therefore, that the B.N.A. Act be amended to make such a national labor code possible.

8. Socialized Health Services

Publicly organized health, hospital and medical services.

With the advance of medical science the maintenance of a healthy population has become a function for which every civilized community should undertake responsibility. Health services should be made at least as freely available as are educational services today. But under a system which is still mainly one of private enterprise the costs of proper medical care, such as the wealthier members of society can easily afford, are at present prohibitive for great masses of the people. A properly organized system of public health services including medical and dental care, which would stress the prevention rather than the cure of illness should be extended to all our people in both rural and urban areas. This is an enterprise in which Dominion, Provincial and Municipal authorities, as well as the medical and dental professions, can co-operate.

9. B.N.A. Act

The amendment of the Canadian Constitution, without infringing upon racial or religious minority rights or upon legitimate provincial claims to autonomy, so as to give the Dominion Government adequate powers to deal effectively with urgent economic problems which are essentially national in scope; the abolition of the Canadian Senate.

We propose that the necessary amendments to the B.N.A. Act shall be obtained as speedily as required, safeguards being inserted to ensure that the existing rights of racial and religious minorities shall not be changed without their own consent. What is chiefly needed today is the placing in the hands of the national government of more power to control national economic development. In a rapidly changing economic environment our political constitution must be reasonably flexible. The present division of powers between Dominion and Provinces reflects the conditions of a pioneer, mainly agricultural, community in 1867. Our constitution must be brought into line with the increasing industrialization of the country and the consequent centralization of economic and financial power—which has taken place in the last two generations. The principle laid down in the Quebec Resolution of the Fathers of Confederation should be applied to the conditions of 1933, that "there be a general government charged with matters of common interest to the whole country and local governments for each of the provinces charged with the control of local matters in their respective sections."

The Canadian Senate, which was originally created to protect provincial rights, but has failed even in this function, has developed into a bulwark of capitalist interests, as is illustrated by the large number of company directorships held by its aged members. In its peculiar composition of a fixed number of members appointed for life it is one of the most reactionary assemblies in the civilized world. It is a standing obstacle to all progressive legislation, and the only permanently satisfactory method of dealing with the constitutional difficulties it creates is to abolish it.

10. External Relations

A Foreign Policy designed to obtain international economic co-operation and to promote disarmament and world peace.

Canada has a vital interest in world peace. We propose, therefore, to do everything in our power to advance the idea of international co-operation as represented by the League of Nations and the International Labor Organization. We would extend our diplomatic machinery for keeping in touch with the main centres of world interest. But we believe that genuine international co-operation is incompatible with the capitalist regime which is in force in most countries, and that strenuous efforts are needed to rescue the League from its present condition of being mainly a League of capitalist Great Powers. We stand resolutely against all participation in imperialist wars. Within the British Commonwealth, Canada must maintain her autonomy as a completely self-governing nation. We must resist all attempts to build up a new economic British Empire in place of the old political one, since such attempts readily lend themselves to the purposes of capitalist exploitation and may easily lead to further world wars. Canada must refuse to be entangled in any more wars fought to make the world safe for capitalism.

11. Taxation and Public Finance

A new taxation policy designed not only to raise public revenues but also to lessen the glaring inequalities of income and to provide funds for social services and the socialization of industry; the cessation of the debt creating system of Public Finance.

In the type of economy that we envisage, the need for taxation, as we now understand it, will have largely disappeared. It will nevertheless be essential during the transition period, to use the taxing powers, along with the other methods proposed elsewhere, as a means of providing for the socialization of industry, and for extending the benefits of increased Social Services.

At the present time capitalist governments in Canada raise a large proportion of their revenues from such levies as customs duties and sales taxes, the main burden of which falls upon the masses. In place of such taxes upon articles of general consumption, we propose a drastic extension of income, corporation and inheritance taxes, steeply graduated according to ability to pay. Full publicity must be given to income tax payments and our tax collection system must be brought up to the English standard of efficiency.

We also believe in the necessity for an immediate revision of the basis of Dominion and Provincial sources of revenues, so as to produce a co-ordinated and equibable system of taxation throughout Canada.

An inevitable effect of the capitalist system is the debt creating character of public financing. All public debts have enormously increased, and the fixed interest charges paid thereon now amount to the largest single item of so-called uncontrollable public expenditures. The C.C.F. proposes that in future no public financing shall be permitted which facilitates the perpetuation of the parasitic interest-receiving class; that capital shall be provided through the medium of the National Investment Board and free from perpetual interest charges.

We propose that all Public Works, as directed by the Planning Commission, shall be financed by the issuance of credit, as suggested, based upon the National Wealth of Canada.

12. Freedom

Freedom of speech and assembly for all; repeal of Section 98 of the Criminal Code; amendment of the Immigration Act to prevent the present inhuman policy of deportation; equal treatment before the law of all residents of Canada irrespective of race, nationality or religious or political beliefs.

In recent years, Canada has seen an alarming growth of Fascist tendencies among all governmental authorities. The most elementary rights of freedom of speech and assembly have been arbitrarily denied to workers and to all whose political and social views do not meet with the approval of those in power. The lawless and brutal conduct of the police in certain centres in preventing public meetings and in dealing with political prisoners must cease. Section 98 of the Criminal Code which has been used as a weapon of political oppression by a panic-stricken capitalist government, must be wiped off the statute book and those who have been imprisoned under it must be released. An end must be put to the inhuman practice of deporting immigrants who were brought to this country by immigration propaganda and now, through no fault of their own, find themselves victims of an executive department against whom there is no appeal to the courts of the land. We stand for full economic, political and religious liberty for all.

13. Social Justice

The establishment of a commission composed of psychiatrists, psychologists, socially minded jurists and social workers, to deal with all matters pertaining to crime and punishment and the general administration of law, in order to humanize the law and to bring it into harmony with the needs of the people.

While the removal of economic inequality will do much to overcome the most glaring injustices in the treatment of those who come into conflict with the law, our present archaic system must be changed and brought into accordance with a modern concept of human relationships. This new system must not be based as is the present one, upon vengeance and fear, but upon an understanding of human behaviour. For this reason its planning and control cannot be left in the hands of those steeped in the outworn legal tradition; and therefore it is proposed that there shall be established a national commission composed of psychiatrists, psychologists, socially minded jurists and social workers whose duty it shall be to devise a system of prevention and correction consistent with other features of the new social order.

14. An Emergency Programme

The assumption by the Dominion Government of direct responsibility for dealing with the present critical unemployment situation and for tendering suitable work or adequate maintenance; the adoption of measures to relieve the extermity of the crisis such as a programme of public spending on housing, and other enterprises that will increase the real wealth of Canada, to be financed by the issue of credit based on the national wealth.

The extent of unemployment and the widespread suffering which it has caused, creates a situation with which provincial and municipal governments have long been unable to cope and forces upon the Dominion government direct responsibility for dealing with the crisis as the only authority with financial resources adequate to meet the situation. Unemployed workers must be secured in the tenure of their homes, and the scale and methods of relief, at present altogether inadequate, must be such as to preserve decent human standards of living.

It is recognized that even after a Co-operative Commonwealth Federation Government has come into power, a certain period of time must elapse before the planned economy can be fully worked out. During this brief transitional period, we propose to provide work and purchasing power for those now unemployed by a far-reaching programme of public expenditure on housing, slum clearance, hospitals, libraries, schools, community halls, parks, recreational projects, reforestation, rural electrification, the elimination of grade crossings, and other similar projects in both town and country. This programme, which would be financed by the issuance of credit based on the national wealth, would serve the double purpose of creating employment and meeting recognized social needs. Any steps which the Government takes, under this emergency programme, which may assist private business, must include guarantees of adequate wages and reasonable hours of work, and must be designed to further the advance towards the complete Co-operative Commonwealth.

Emergency measures, however, are of only temporary value, for the present depression is a sign of the mortal sickness of the whole capitalist system, and this sickness cannot be cured by the application of salves. These leave untouched the cancer which is eating at the heart of our society, namely, the economic system in which our natural resources and our principal means of production and distribution are owned, controlled and operated for the private profit of a small proportion of our population.

No C.C.F. Government will rest content until it has eradicated capitalism and put into operation the full programme of socialized planning which will lead to the establishment in Canada of the Co-operative Commonwealth.

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PERFORMANCE OF THE CCF AND NDP IN FEDERAL ELECTIONS, 1935–1965

	1935			1940		
	Popular vote		Seats won	Popular vote		Seats won
	n	%		*n*	%	
British Columbia	97,015	34	3	103,181	28	1
Ontario	127,927	8	0	61,166	4	0
Saskatchewan	73,505	21	2	106,267	29	5
Canada	391,185	8.9	7	393,230	8.8	8

	1945			1949		
	Popular vote		Seats won	Popular vote		Seats won
	n	%		*n*	%	
British Columbia	125,945	29	4	145,442	31	3
Ontario	260,502	14	0	306,551	15	1
Saskatchewan	167,233	44	18	152,399	41	5
Canada	816,259	15.6	28	782,410	13.4	13

	1953			1957		
	Popular vote		Seats won	Popular vote		Seats won
	n	%		*n*	%	
British Columbia	125,487	27	7	131,873	22	7
Ontario	212,224	11	1	274,069	12	3
Saskatchewan	156,406	44	11	140,293	36	10
Canada	636,310	11.3	23	707,659	10.7	25

	1958			1962		
	Popular vote		Seats won	Popular vote		Seats won
	n	%		*n*	%	
British Columbia	153,432	24.8	4	212,997	31	10
Ontario	252,943	10.1	3	456,275	17	6
Saskatchewan	112,800	28.3	1	93,374	22	0
Canada	680,814	9.4	8	1,037,531	13.5	19

	1963			1965		
	Popular vote		Seats won	Popular vote		Seats won
	n	%		*n*	%	
British Columbia	218,015	30.6	9	239,086	32.9	9
Ontario	442,485	16	6	594,267	21.7	9
Saskatchewan	74,889	18.4	0	104,619	26	0
Canada	1,037,950	13.2	17	1,381,047	17.9	21

SOURCE: 1935–57, from Howard Scarrow, *Canada Votes*; 1958–65, from *Political Education Information*, no. 13 (Sept. 1966), pp. 55–8.

ADDRESS BY TOMMY DOUGLAS TO THE CCF NATIONAL COUNCIL, JANUARY 13 - 15, 1956.

We have to look very realistically over the period of the last ten or fifteen years and recognize that we have lost ground. . . . We have also to recognize that the capitalist groups have learned a great deal. . . . They have applied some of the Keynesian techniques and they have been admirably successful up to a point. . . . We . . . like socialist parties all over the Western world, are on the defensive. . . . [The] indictment of capitalism [in the Regina Manifesto] is still basically true, but it is not as apparent as it was in 1933 and it is harder to sell.

Our movement must be deepened and broadened. . . . No one knows better than I that you just can't elect a CCF government with only the people who are avowed socialists. You have to have the support of the hundreds of thousands of people who will accept the objectives that we have without necessarily understanding the political philosophy or ideology. And that of course is where we must then use this hard dynamic core [of convinced socialists] as the yeast that will . . . work as the leaven in other organizations to get us the mass support which we need. We have to get those people to . . . exercise their influence in . . . the labour congresses, the farmers unions. . . . When the tide starts to come back in, as I think it will, we must be ready for it. In 1932–33 we had as our objective a federation of farmer, labour and socialist organizations. It was a good objective. I'm not completely without hope that if the tide begins to turn the farm, co-operative, and labour organizations might . . . come in with the CCF, or merge in some alignment of which the CCF would be the dynamic core—a new type of federation or the same type of federation enlarged for a genuine farmer-labour-socialist movement in Canada. I think that ought to be our aim.

If we could accomplish that by 1958 or 1960 we would have the basis of a great movement in Canada. . . . Unless we can restate our position and . . . unless we . . . adopt better techniques and adopt them fast . . . unless we can stimulate and direct some of the mass movements to which I have referred . . . we will continue to be a diminishing group, a small well-respected, highly-thought-of minority, with increasingly less influence. But the possibilities are here, they're here if we're prepared to do something about it. . . .

APPENDIX VIII-F(vi

"THE TYPE OF IMAGE WE WANT TO PROJECT TO THE PUBLIC".

"... the basic theme should that that the New Party is NEW.... We will not convince many people that the party is really new if we continue to use the old ... jargon which is meaningful to us but means very little to most people and often raises vague fears and doubts in their minds.... A few examples: "people's movement" or "people's party," ..."socialism". People who use this word freely are by no means agreed as to its meaning and most others have been conditioned to respond to it unfavourably. The ideas we espouse are far more important than the word used to describe them, so why not concentrate on the ideas?"

NCNP MINUTES, REPORT OF SUBCOMMITTEE ON PROMOTION AND PUBLIC RELATIONS, JANUARY 27 - 28, 1961, NDP Files.

"CANADIAN LABOUR CONGRESS RESOLUTION, CANADIAN LABOUR CONGRESS CONVENTION, APRIL 21 - 25, 1958"

This Convention believes that the imperative need of the Canadian political scene today is the creation of an effective alternative political force based on the needs of workers, farmers and similar groups, financed and controlled by the people and their organizations.

"During the past quarter century the CCF has made a tremendous contribution to the welfare of the Canadian people, both in and out of Parliament. The organized Labour Movement fully recognizes that contribution and knows that, with its limited facilities, it continues to battle for the ideas of social justice, security and freedom, which are also the goals of this Congress.

"The time has come for a fundamental re-alignment of political forces in Canada. There is the need for a broadly based people's political movement, which embraces the CCF, the Labour Movement, farm organizations, professional people and other liberally-minded persons interested in basic social reform and reconstruction through our parliamentary system of government. Such a broadly based political instrument should provide that Labour and other peoples' organizations may, together with the CCF, participate directly in the establishment of such a movement, its organizational structure and basic philosophy and program, as well as in its financing and choice of candidates for public office.

"The experience of Labour and social democratic political parties elsewhere should be studied for whatever their history and structure might contribute, while recognizing that any effective political instrument in Canada must be Canadian in character and structure.

"In participating in and initiating the creation of a new political movement, Labour emphasizes that not only is there no wish to dominate such a development, but there is the fullest desire for the broadest possible participation of all individuals and groups genuinely interested in basic democratic social reform and the democratic planning necessary to such reform.

"This Convention, therefore, instructs the Executive Council to give urgent and immediate attention to this matter by initiating discussions with the CCF, interested farm organizations and other like-minded individuals and groups, to formulate a constitution and a program for such a political instrument of the Canadian people; and to report on such a plan, draft constitution and program to the next Convention of this Congress for action."

CLC Convention Proceedings (1958), p. 49.

APPENDIX VIII-F(viii)

"CCF RESOLUTION, JULY 1958, CCF NATIONAL CONVENTION"

"This National Convention of the CCF reaffirms its belief that the future welfare of Canada and its people lies in the further development and early victory of a broadly-based people's political movement. As democratic socialists, we believe that such a movement must continue to be dedicated to the principles of democratic social planning and to the widest forms of social security and individual liberty. It must remain steadfast in its determination to introduce, where appropriate, public control and public ownership in place of the present monopolistic domination of our economy, and indeed, our whole society, by large private corporations.

"Such a movement must dedicate itself to the task of democratically rebuilding our society so that co-operation will replace greed, constructive development will replace exploitation of man by man and unity of farmer and worker, east and west, French-speaking and English-speaking, will replace disunity and deliberately contrived conflict. Its aims must be to build our society on moral foundations of social justice and human dignity.

"For these reasons this Convention welcomes the resolution adopted by the Canadian Labour Congress at its Convention in Winnipeg in April of this year, looking to the building of such a political movement together with the CCF and farm organizations, groups and individuals ready to join in common objectives.

At its merger convention in 1956, the Canadian Labour Congress adopted a political program which the CCF convention, held some months later, was able wholeheartedly to endorse, thus establishing once again the identity of the CCF program with the social objectives of labour in the same way as CCF policies have always been identical with those of farmers as well as other groups in our society. Indeed, since its inception the CCF has always appealed to organized labour and to organized agriculture to join in building a people's political movement, strong and representative of all sections of the Canadian people. The CLC resolution is thus a landmark in our country's history and presents a greater opportunity for progress in this direction than ever before.

"This Convention, therefore, authorizes the National Council and National Executive to enter into discussions with the Canadian Labour Congress, the Canadian and Catholic Confederation of Labour, interested farm organizations and other like-minded groups and individuals looking toward the achievement of the objectives set out and to present the results of such discussions to the next regular or to a special convention of the CCF for action. Further the Convention authorizes the National Council and Executive to initiate and conduct the fullest discussion on this matter within the party, and instructs that any draft Constitution for such proposed broader political party be submitted to the CCF members, through their clubs and associations, for study and recommendation, before being submitted to the Convention and that any other propositions concerning the above, which are to be put before such Convention, shall be circulated to CCF clubs and associations at least two months prior to the Convention."

Political action

The defeat of the Liberal government on May 8, 1974, and the federal election to be held July 8 provide the people of Canada with the democratic opportunity to express themselves on the many important issues which face the nation.

Their number is multitude. Sky-rocketing prices due to gouging and profiteering, the continuing high rate of unemployment, spiralling food prices, the shocking lack of housing, the urgent need for a realistic energy policy, the requirements of a fair taxation program, curbing the power of multi-national corporations, the development of Canadian owned and controlled industries, the improvement in government's own labour relations and the extension of collective bargaining are all among high priority needs.

The Second Constitutional Convention of the Canadian Labour Congress, held in Winnipeg in 1958, endorsed a resolution calling for the realignment of the political forces to give Canadians a truly meaningful choice. It was this decision which led to the founding of the New Democratic Party.

This Tenth Constitutional Convention of the Canadian Labour Congress now has a unique opportunity to give effect to the 1958 decision which has been re-affirmed by each convention since that date.

This convention of the Canadian Labour Congress therefore calls upon all affiliated organizations and unions which are not legislatively restricted from doing so to rally the fullest possible support for the New Democratic Party and its candidates in the forthcoming election. It is further recommended that national offices of affiliated organizations do their utmost in raising funds to strengthen the Canadian COPE program and that provincial and local unions also assist the New Democratic Party and its candidates at the riding level with financial material and personnel help.

Organized labour, through this Canadian Labour Congress program, is confronted with the challenge and opportunity of bringing about changes which are essential to the needs of the people of Canada. ■ ■

PRINCIPLES AND POLICIES OF THE CANADIAN LABOUR CONGRESS

POLITICAL POLICY

The interest and concern of trade unions with many matters of a public nature leads, inevitably, to the area of politics. The position of the Canadian Labour Congress is, and always has been, that every affiliated group and, more important, every individual has the absolute right to make and exercise a personal choice with regard to political matters. It has, however, been the view of the great majority of the delegates to CLC conventions that labour's political objectives can best be achieved through support of a party which endorses and pursues the policies sought by the CLC. It has also been the view of these delegates that the New Democratic Party meets these requirements; in fact, the Congress was instrumental in helping to bring that party into existence. However the CLC, as such, has no formal constitutional ties with the NDP, and its affiliates and their members are free to decide individually whether or not to support a political party.

The CLC has taken the position that, to encourage participation in public affairs, employees, including those of government bodies, should be free to seek office as political candidates.

The CLC is among the most ardent of those seeking full disclosure of the source of political party funds.

Other proposals include:

- — Greater facilities for absentee voters to exercise their franchise;
- — More adequate consideration of private members' bills;
- — More effective use of the time of Parliament through shortening of speeches and more efficient organization of business;

MEMORANDUM

to the

GOVERNMENT OF CANADA

by the

CANADIAN LABOUR CONGRESS

March 24, 1975

This is a general presentation by the Canadian Labour Congress on the most important issues facing the working people of Canada at the present time. The Congress therefore intends that further discussions should take place with the appropriate Ministers at times convenient to both parties.

Mr. Prime Minister and Members of the Cabinet:

Introduction

This coming year must not be a time for complacency. It must be a year for action by governments and the private sectors of our society. We are beset with difficult social and economic problems, aggravated by external developments which impinge heavily on this nation. Social unrest is already rampant, and there are no visible signs that it will subside during the course of the next twelve months. On the contrary, we foresee in the absence of appropriate policies, as we underline in our *Memorandum*, difficult times and outright hardships for many Canadians who do not have the means to protect themselves against the ravages of unemployment and inflation.

Complacency, which prevents the harnessing of talents abundant in this country, should not be permitted to allow us to travel the paths of other nations which, by default, have led to social tensions, unrest and ultimately to unmitigated violent disorders.

We do not share the view that social disorders taking place elsewhere cannot happen here. This is an attitude which is out of touch with the Canadian reality.

We have so often taken pride in our belief that Canada was not vulnerable to the high incidence of crime experienced by other countries, that we were unique in creating conditions which prevented such anti-social behaviour. This is a myth which anyone who has access to crime statistics in this country will reject. We agree with the statement of the Prime Minister, as reported in the press, that "violence is coming to our land."

It is more than ever imperative that we begin to take a good look at ourselves, that we examine meticulously the economic and social problems which face us, and that we resolve to work hard to tackle them. This poses a formidable challenge, and national unity is indispensable if we are to meet this challenge.

Should we fail, then unfortunately the Prime Minister's reported prediction that "It's going to be a tough year in 1975" will come true. But it is our hope that Canadians will rise to meet and resolve our problems and prevent the fulfilment of that prophecy.

Unemployment and Inflation

When we appeared before you last year, we expressed our deep concern about two major economic problems in particular, high unemployment and rapidly increasing prices. We also indicated that barring unforeseen developments, it was almost inevitable that these problems would not disappear in the next twelve months and that, furthermore, they would worsen by comparison with 1973.

Unhappily, that forecast turned out to be correct. Canadians experienced the worst of two economic situations, serious unemployment and severe inflation. It was the worst year of the entire post-war period, with thousands of men and women losing their jobs and at the same time compelled to pay higher and higher prices for housing, food and clothing.

As we look ahead over the next twelve months, it appears to us that the probability, and some might say inevitability, is that 1975 will be even worse. All the key economic indicators to date point up very clearly that the trend towards higher unemployment and higher price increases will afflict Canadians to an even greater degree than in 1974. The recent figures on real growth of the national economy underline the fact that we are now definitely in a recession, and it is quite apparent that given present economic policies and external economic developments, we are unlikely to pull out of this recession before the last quarter of 1975. Even the latter may be only wishful thinking on our part.

It is extremely unpleasant to contemplate the strong possibility that we may have an inflation rate of about 12 per cent accompanied by an unemployment rate of over 7 per cent.

It is almost certain that there will be virtually no real increase in economic growth for the year as a whole to create and sustain the necessary increase in jobs to accommodate our still rapidly expanding labour force, let alone reduce the high unemployment rate which we experienced last year as well as in previous years.

Furthermore, exports of goods and services, upon which we have relied heavily in the past to help offset weaknesses in domestic demand for goods and services, are dropping sharply and will continue to do so for much of 1975 and perhaps beyond. The sharp decline in the volume of exports, which started in the first quarter of 1974, is of course, directly related to the fact that the United States has been in a recession for the past year, and to a lesser extent to the extreme difficulties which Japan, our second major outlet for exports, and western European countries, have been experiencing.

This is a gloomy, but unfortunately realistic picture of what is likely to take place in 1975, given present trends. And we hasten to add that we find no comfort in statements emanating from government and other sources that real growth of the Canadian economy will fare better than almost any other western industrialized nation in 1975. Our reason for stating this is that we are only too well aware that the Canadian labour force will continue to expand at a much more rapid rate than that of other western countries. Many Canadians may already have been misled and lulled into a sense of complacency by reports in the media which often overlook the important fact that we need much greater growth and hence job creations than any other country in order to meet our problem of rapid labour force expansion.

Your government may point with pride to the fact that employment expanded considerably over the past twelve months. But past errors in policy, particularly in 1970-71, coupled with an extraordinarily high rate of labour force increase, have ensured high rates of unemployment which are not subsiding.

We are not impressed with the argument, advanced in some quarters, that the published monthly unemployment rate is unduly high because of higher women's participation in the labour force, and that many younger people have either adopted the non-work ethic or remain unemployed because they cannot find the "right" kind of jobs. Canadian women still have a lower participation rate than that of women in most other western industrialized countries, and this has always been the case. As for our youth, the reason for the high incidence of unemployment among them is very simple: there are no jobs for them.

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Nor are we impressed with the contention increasingly expressed these days, that unemployment insurance benefits and other assistance are acting as a deterrent against hard searching for jobs. We see no evidence that these have been responsible for any significant increase in the unemployment rate. Given a serious unemployment problem, it becomes an easy temptation for politicians in power to rationalize away its real causes and to try to implant in the minds of the public, fancied explanations which have no reality behind them.

Furthermore, we are not at all convinced that the concept and measurement of unemployment should include only the so-called breadwinners of families and ignore "secondary" family income earners. This runs contrary to the principle which our labour movement has long espoused, namely, that every able and willing man and woman should have the right to employment. It also overlooks the fact that in the case of many families in this country, more than one breadwinner is essential in order to provide the family with a reasonably decent standard of living. This has always been the case, but it has become even more so as a result or rapidly rising prices for daily necessities such as housing, food and clothing.

The present monthly labour force survey, in our opinion, is reasonably accurate in measuring local, regional and national unemployment rates. Our only reservation is that it tends, if anything, *to understate* actual unemployment when the country is suffering from economic slack or is in a period of recession. The obvious reason for this is that many people become discouraged in their search for jobs and withdraw from the labour force. They are therefore not counted in the unemployment statistics, even though they are in reality unemployed.

We recognize the technical difficulties in measuring the number of people who fall into this category, but it is surely a logical assumption that at any time when there is a serious unemployment problem, the official unemployment rate is understated and not the other way around as some would have us believe. It is our intention to do everything within our power to resist any change in the concept and measurement of unemployment which would serve no purpose other than to gloss over the realities of the problem in order to take heat off governments and thus retard the development of policies to deal with it. Years ago, when we had reasonably full employment in this country, the question of measuring unemployment rates never arose. It only arises when the published figures indicate an alarmingly high unemployment rate.

We also want to emphasize, as strongly as we can, that we do not accept the argument that there are all kinds of jobs going begging, that there is a real overall shortage of labour in this country. Our reasoning for making that statement is based on figures issued by Statistics Canada. At the end of 1974, full-time job vacancies in Canada numbered 71,200 while the total of unemployed persons was 597,000. In other words, the number of vacancies was only 11.9 per cent of the number of jobless workers. Had every one of these vacancies been filled, the unemployed roll would have come to a still very high total of 525,800 or 5.4 per cent of the labour force.

Furthermore, an examination of the job vacancy figures indicates that while there are some job shortages across the country for pipefitters, specialized welders, nurses, auto mechanics, heavy-equipment operators, electricians and carpenters at major construction sites, the labour shortages predominate in areas where there are major construction projects, such as the Sarnia area, James Bay in Quebec, Saint John, N.B., northern Manitoba and northern Alberta.

While we appreciate the need to fill these job vacancies, any attempt to dismiss the whole unemployment problem on the ground that we have a "serious" labour shortage, is simply indulging in a futile exercise. Also it should be noted that the job vacancy rate in the last quarter for Canada as a whole showed for the first time since the survey was launched in 1970 that there was no year-over-year gain. The 71,200 vacancies were

6,200 fewer than the number for the last quarter of 1973. This is one other economic indicator of the levelling off of the economy, and it is probably safe to assume that when the next figures become available the number of job vacancies will have declined both absolutely and as a percentage of total unemployment.

The solution to the unemployment problem is a complex one, admittedly. We fully recognize that there are no easy, simplistic overnight measures which could be implemented to erase this problem. But a longer-term approach, which we regard as highly essential, and which we have stated to you before, is the urgent need to get on with the task of expanding our secondary manufacturing industry in order to process a much larger proportion of primary and semi-processed products before they enter export markets.

While some progress has been made in this direction over the past ten years, the glaring fact still remains that far too high a proportion of our industry is concentrated in highly capital-intensive undertakings, which employ relatively few workers. With such a rapidly expanding labour force, and with a fast rate expected to continue until at least 1980, it is inevitable as night follows day that we are not going to make much headway in getting unemployment under control until we develop more secondary industry. It reflects on the intelligence of our country when it is constantly exporting jobs to other nations when those jobs are needed here.

The development of more labour-intensive industries and their consequent impact on the expansion of service industries would help pave the way to the attainment of a full employment goal. We therefore urge that an all-out effort be undertaken with the object of getting on with this as quickly as possible.

Another matter which requires serious consideration, which we have repeatedly asked for in the past, is that greater efforts be directed towards improving manpower policies and programmes. This is important in promoting healthier labour markets and thus reducing unemployment, and at the same time easing inflationary pressures.

In this connection, much more effective measures are needed to improve mobility, to improve facilities for training, retraining and upgrading of members of the labour force. Better manpower adjustments to technical and *other* change would improve productivity, increase employment and at the same time help safeguard the welfare of workers. Likewise there is a need for special policies to cope with bottlenecks in product markets which give rise to unemployment and specific price and cost pressures.

There is an urgent need for improved capacity on the part of manpower authorities to anticipate bottlenecks in labour markets. In this context, we welcome the step which you are about to undertake, according to the information which we have, and that is forecasting, based on comprehensive data, of the country's manpower needs for years ahead. We understand that the Manpower and Immigration Department has been working on this for about four years and that it will soon forecast the needs of about 250 industries and 500 occupations up to 1983. If it proves to be successful, it should greatly benefit young people in particular in choosing their careers.

There must be more effective programmes to reduce structural imbalances between demand for and supply of labour in all industries and regions. Until manpower centres across the country are fully capable of matching unemployed workers with vacant jobs for which they are eligible, imbalances between demand and supply will continue, and thus contribute to maintaining a high unemployment rate.

A short-term approach to reducing unemployment is to stimulate consumer purchasing powers by granting additional tax reductions over and above those which came into effect on January 1 of this year to those in the middle and lower income ranges. This would not only help compensate these groups for the erosion of their earnings, but would have the additional effect of promoting economic growth.

We further urge an *immediate* increase of $50 a month for old age pensioners. These are among the people who are the neediest in our society and who would, therefore, help stimulate the economy through increased expenditures.

Your last budget, in our view, was quite generous in its tax concessions to corporations. Those concessions, together with large profits, were more than ample to provide corporations with the wherewithal to expand their productive capacity. What is now quickly needed is a much larger concentration of effort in promoting consumption of goods and services.

There should also be prompt adoption of an adequate Guaranteed Annual Income (GAI) to cover all individuals and families who are deprived of a decent standard of living. At the same time, the resultant increase in purchasing power would have a valuable stimulating effect on the economy.

There are those who would oppose such measures on the ground that they would contribute to inflation. We believe this to be faulty reasoning. One effective way to prolong a static economy and thus reduce productivity increases and add to production costs, as well as prolong high rates of unemployment, is to put a damper on incomes of those who have a high propensity to spend any additional money which they receive. Middle and lower income groups have this high propensity, and if stagnation of economic growth is to be overcome in the shortest possible period of time, increased purchasing power should be placed in their hands.

Both organized and unorganized workers and lower income groups on fixed pensions especially have been hard hit over the past couple of years by inflation. Their real incomes, and hence their standard of living, have sharply deteriorated, and it should come as no surprise that there is so much discontent among these groups.

What is particularly aggravating and frustrating is that real incomes were declining when the economy was expanding and corporate enterprises were making unprecedented profits. Real wages and salaries per paid worker declined by $3.96 weekly from the fourth quarter of 1972 to the fourth quarter of 1974, a drop of 2.7 per cent. Over the same period, corporate profits per unit of output rose 43.6 per cent. The result was that income distribution became even more inequitable than was traditionally the case, bad enough as that has always been in this country. Labour's share of the national income went down and down, while the share of national income going to profits and other non-wage and salary forms of income went up and up.

During the early stages of an economic upswing, profits normally take the lead with wages and salaries lagging behind. This is the way our economic processes work. But what was surprising and unprecedented this time around in the business cycle was that profits continued, and still are continuing, to show a strong lead much longer than in previous cycles, with the lag in wages and salaries stretched over a longer period of time than ever before.

This leads to the logical conclusion that workers are entitled to try to "catch-up" in 1975 to compensate not only from inflation which has eroded their wages and salaries, but also to begin to redress the inequitable shares of income as between wages and salaries on the one hand, and corporate and other forms of income on the other.

We have taken a strong position that wages of all workers, whether organized or unorganized, should be fully indexed in relation to the consumer price index. In the case of organized workers, it is our view that if they negotiated contracts prior to the onslaught of this inflationary period, they should seek to re-open their contracts for the purpose of making cost-of-living adjustments.

But we are not impressed with the arguments advanced by those who, while agreeing that workers are justified in "catching-up" to compensate for inflation, they should not attempt to achieve changes in their relative shares of the total "pie". The rationale behind this argument again is that this would create inflationary pressures on an economy which is likely to have little or no growth in 1975. We have already indicated above why we find this kind of reasoning to be erroneous.

In spite of the fact that wage and price controls have failed miserably wherever they have been tried, there are still some who continue to advocate them without remotely understanding the futility of such an exercise. We again commend your government for its continuing outright rejection of wage and price controls to combat inflation. We are reminded of a statement made by the Prime Minister more than a year ago when he stated, and quite accurately, that they have proved unworkable where they were tried.

One has only to remember the recent experiment in the United States where a controls' programme proved to be a colossal failure. The rate of inflation in that country today is almost identical with ours, but because we did not follow their course, we escaped their difficulties. We are also reminded of the statements made by the Prime Minister in which he said that controls would be discriminatory against blue collar workers but would not affect others who have ways and means of circumventing them. There is an overwhelming amount of evidence to substantiate those statements.

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"THE FUTURE OF A LABOUR PARTY" by GAD HOROWITZ

The purpose of the change from CCF to NDP was to increase labour's involvement and support and to "broaden the base" of the party in the general public. The trouble is that these purposes may not be easily compatible. While the NDP was being formed in Canada, there was increasing discussion in Britain of the disadvantages of the close association of the Labour party with the unions in view of the numerical decline of the working class and the rise of the new white-collar middle class:

> The closeness of the unions and the Labour Party in the public mind have injured the latter in the last few years The party suffers in the public's eye from being tied too closely to the trade unions—both directly in its decision making and indirectly through being associated with some of the more unpopular facets of trade unionism. . . . Looking ahead, a loosening of the present links seems inevitable. . . . the party still depends, to a larger degree than is healthy in a country with a fast growing bourgeoisie, on the manual workers' vote.[13]

If it is true that in Britain, with its heavily unionized, class-conscious, and politically disciplined working class, the powerful socialist party is harmed by its close links with the unions, what must one say of Canada, where the white-collar class is growing just as rapidly, the working class is relatively smaller and less class-conscious, only one third of it consists of unionists, and only one quarter of these vote for a minor socialist party?[14] The formation of the NDP would appear to be a serious mistake. On the other hand, this analysis ignores one iron fact: a party of the left in any developed country in the West must of necessity depend for funds on the labour movement and must be at least partly controlled by trade unions. A socialist party may be harmed, when unions are unpopular, by its close association with them in the public mind. But without them it cannot exist, it has no basis for existence. The solution to the problem, in Britain and in Canada, lies not in the loosening of union-party links, but in the improvement of the image of the unions. As David Marquand points out in relation to the British problem:

> The future of the Left in this country will depend less on what the Labour Party does than on what the unions do. The Labour Party's links with the unions are, at present, its greatest strength and at the same time its greatest weakness. It is sometimes said that the moral is that the Labour Party should abandon its working class image. That is nonsense, for it cannot do so without destroying itself altogether. What can happen, however, is for the unions to change their own image independently of the Labour Party. . . . The fact is that the unions need the support of the new "white collar" public just as much as the Labour Party does.[15]

Increased union support and increased middle-class support will become compatible goals for the NDP if and when the *unions* learn how to project a good image among the middle classes in general and the white-collar workers in particular. In the meantime, the NDP is doing all it can to minimize the harmful effects of its association with labour. It is trying to create an image not of a "labour party" but of a classless party of all "liberally minded Canadians," of "all the democratic left."

Though the NDP has substantially improved the electoral performance of the CCF in Ontario and British Columbia, the hope that it would rapidly become a major party has not been realized. During the party's formative period, its leaders hoped that it would win forty or fifty seats in its first federal election and go on from there to become the official opposition.[16] The groups of nineteen, seventeen, and twenty-one elected in 1962, 1963, and 1965 fall far short of this goal. It seems unlikely that the NDP will be able to achieve the purpose for which it was created: the rescue of the socialist party from its position as a minor party. As Duverger points out, "all Anglo-Saxon socialist parties [have had] to organize themselves on a trade union basis [because] it alone could put at their disposal sufficient strength for the 'take-off' "[17] to major party status. In 1943, it appeared for a moment that the CCF would reach Duverger's "take-off" point *without* being organized on a trade-union basis. That appearance was misleading. By the late fifties, the leading CCF unionists had convinced first themselves and then the non-unionist CCF leaders that the party could not take off unless it were reorganized on a trade union basis. The party has been reorganized. The take-off is yet to come.

One important obstacle to the take-off may be labour's own "success psychology." The CCF's deceptive pseudo-take-off in 1942–43 *preceded* the CCL's endorsement of the party. Who can say whether or not the take-off was an indispensable prerequisite for the endorsement? Today many labour leaders seem to be waiting for another take-off before they commit their unions to participation in the NDP. Union support is necessary for the take-off; but the take-off is a prerequisite for support from these unions. Their leaders want to back a winner; they want some assurance of large profits before they make their investment.

It would be unfair, however, to blame labour leaders for the NDP's failure to become a major party. The reasons for that failure are to be found elsewhere—in the past, especially in the 1940s. Even if the Canadian labour élite were unanimously and enthusiastically supporting the NDP, it would not be doing very much better, in terms of votes, than it is without such support. Voting habits are not easily changed. The NDP seems to have the near-permanent allegiance of something like 15 per cent of the electorate; the remaining 85 or so per cent seem to be rather solidly attached to the other parties. The failure of the New party experiment indicates that nothing the socialist party *itself* does can greatly increase its strength. Unless there is a startling new development, some sort of crisis, *outside* the socialist party—a crisis severe enough to shake up Canadian voting habits, a crisis like the First World War which provided the Progressive party with its take off, or the Second World War which provided the CCF with its pseudo-take-off—the NDP will probably not achieve major party status. Rather, it will consolidate and probably moderately strengthen its present position as a significant minor party. If an external crisis does come and if the NDP is capable of appealing to the new mood which will be generated by the crisis, the events of the forties *may* be repeated: the party will score a few startling successes, success will breed further success, apathetic labour leaders will smell victory, craft union affiliations will quadruple, Frank Hall's successors will make speeches, money and men will pour into the party, the voters will lose their fear of "wasting" their votes—and then, perhaps, an NDP official opposition.

If there is no external crisis and no take-off, the socialist party may go through another reorganization within the next decade or two. The CCF's big disappointment came in 1945. By 1956 its leaders, especially the unionists among them, were tired of failure and looking for a "new vehicle." If the NDP does no more than tread water, there may sooner or later be talk of another "new vehicle." There is another possibility. The socialist politicians and their friends in the unions may become resigned to minor party status. It is better than nothing. For consolation, the socialists need only look southward.

LABOUR STUDIES UNITS

prepared for the

ONTARIO FEDERATION OF LABOUR

by

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Unit 9 of 9 Units

USERS ARE FREE TO

DUPLICATE MATERIALS

EXCEPT FOR

COMMERCIAL PURPOSES

LABOUR AND THE FUTURE

Rationale

One of the main themes throughout the entire LABOUR STUDIES PROGRAM has been the concept of CHANGE AND RESPONSE. The changing concept of "work" and the response of labour and management is the subject of this unit. Labour and its institutions are not static but is in a continual state of flux and change

Organized labour as well as management recognize that society is changing drastically. The question remains: how to adapt to it. These changes are not only economic in nature but social as well. As far as organized labour is concerned many economic goals have already been achieved and perhaps a return to the goals of some of the early trade unionists (Knights of Labour) and reformers (J.S. Woodsworth) is now necessary (see units II, III, VI, VIII). For labour, a number of questions arise: have all of the economic objectives been met? should labour emphasize non-monetary items in collective bargaining? should labour concern itself with leisure-time alternatives? In the light of widespread social change, perhaps the future calls for a return to the goals of the past.

This unit is not intended to give answers, although it does offer some possible solutions. Instead, it asks students to "crystal ball", to raise issues and problems concerning "work" today and the future. For the most part the materials used are not of an historical nature but are more contemporary. Newspaper articles, periodicals, films and people in the community are the resources for this topic.

Teachers may find this unit applicable not only in the history area but also in Man in Society or Future Studies in a Family Studies course.

Finally, some of this unit uses material that is not directly related to labour. As much as possible the teacher should relate the discussions to the position of the working man.

CONTENT	STRATEGY	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
A. Where is Canadian Society Going?			
A short summary of some of the issues presented by the concept of "future shock" should quickly orient the students with the thrust of this unit	Several strategies may be used to introduce this unit. Students may examine slides and hypothesize about some of the challenges of modern life. (see unit #4 Workingman - Appendix IV-A)	20 slides - Appendix IV-A (unit #4)	1. To hypothesize about some of the challenges of the future by analyzing slides
	or students may view film "Future Shock" and then hypothesize	Film: "Future Shock" Alpine Productions, 1972 Released by McGraw Hill Co.	1. To analyze the content of a film 2. To use the film data to hypothesize about challenges of the future.
	or students may read the short article entitled "Future Shock" and then hypothesize	Appendix IX - A "Future Shock: will Canadians be able to adjust to ever faster change?" from Canada and the World, Dec. 1973, pp.16-17	1. To hypothesize about challenges of the future using magazine article for basis of analysis
	Form groups of 4-5 students. Have each group develop a series of hypotheses about what major changes will occur affecting Canadian society. (Have each group appoint a reporter/recorder). (15-20 minutes). Reporter/recorder from each group should report results back to class and a comprehensive list of hypotheses should be drawn up.		1. To practice group skills 2. To practice developing hypotheses 3. To develop a list of hypotheses about the challenges to man presented by the future.

CONTENT	STRATEGY	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
B. Where are Unions Going?			
Some of the questions which may arise from this section are: (i) Is money the real issue any more? (ii) Is worker democracy the answer? (ii) Are unions too big and too powerful?	Form groups of 4-5 students and appoint a reporter-recorder. Given the list of hypotheses developed in previous lesson concerning future problems have students form a half a dozen hypotheses concerning the demands and problems of unions in the future.	List of hypotheses concerning "future shock" in previous lesson	1. To develop a list of hypotheses about the demands and issues facing unions in the future
1. Student hypotheses:	Have groups report to class as a whole and list hypotheses on board		
2. Preparation of Interviews:			
Some suggestions for rules for good interviewing technique follow: (i) know what information you are after - have a definite reason for the interview (ii) prepare well in advance - research topic	A socratic type lesson may be taught in order to develop the purpose and style of conducting interviews. Some of the questions which may be asked in this lesson follow: 1. Develop a list of rules for good interviewing 2. What is necessary before you make up any questions?		1. To develop the skills and style of interviewing individuals. 2. To prepare students for an assignment in which they will interview individuals.

CONTENT	STRATEGY	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
B. Where are Unions Going? continued			
2. (iii) Write out questions beforehand. The right question is the only way to get the right information.	3. What should be done to prevent a situation where they don't understand a question?		
(iv) Think of secondary or follow-up questions to get deeper explanations			
(v) Write down information in shorthand notes or take a tape recorder	4. How will you remember what was said? A standard interview form should be developed by the class which all individuals will use and which will facilitate the collation of answers		
(vi) Expand notes as soon as possible after interview			
3. Interview representatives of labour and management, parents and friends. An interview assignment should be given to determine what demands labour is making or will be making in the future.	An assignment should be given to students for which they should prepare some primary and secondary questions. Students should choose an individual to interview. Half the class should interview representatives from labour and management. The other half of the class should interview their own parents or friends	For representatives suitable for interview contact the local labour council, for management contact the local Chamber of Commerce	1. To practice the skills of interviewing. 2. To use the expertise available in the community. 3. To gather information concerning labour demands and problems in the future.

CONTENT	STRATEGY	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
B. Where are Unions Going? continued			
4. Report to the class	Each student should report back to the class the results of their interview. The teacher may appoint one or several students to build a chart on the blackboard of results [see Appendix IX -B(i)]		1. To build a chart of demands of labour
	Once all students have reported and the chart is completed on the board, students should form conclusions from chart, i.e.	Appendix IX - B(i) suggested sample chart	2. To analyze the chart and form conclusions on the basis of the data
	(i) Labour and management see demands differently		
	(ii) Parents and friends see demands differently than labour and management		3. To compare their conclusions with their original hypotheses.
	(iii) List the demands and problems which are apparent in the chart		
	Students should then compare their conclusions with the hypotheses made at the beginning of the unit. What are the similarities and differences? Why are there these similarities or differences?		4. To discuss why there are similarities and differences in the results

CONTENT	STRATEGY	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
B. Where are Unions Going? continued			
5. Summary	Examine the article by Ed Finn [Appendix IX - B(ii)] and answer the following questions:	APPENDIX IX-B (ii)	
A summary article by Ed Finn will ensure that students cover most of the issues and demands of labour	1. What groups were represented at the symposium?	"Can a worker and his job live happily ever after?" by Ed Finn	1. To determine which groups are working on solutions to labour's problems in the future
	2. What issues or problems came out of the symposium concerning the working man?		2. To identify issues and problems
	3. What solutions did each of the groups seem to offer for the problems?		3. To identify demands affecting labour
	4. Which groups were closest in their viewpoints? Which groups were farthest apart? Why?		4. To compare the demands of the groups
	5. What demands should unions be making in the future?		5. To hypothesize about what demands labour should be making

CONTENT	STRATEGY	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
C. Collective Bargaining and the Future			
1. Collective Bargaining in the Present a) Objectives Economic goals - wage improvement - fringe benefits, e.g. health care, holidays, insurance, etc.	Unit VII should be quickly covered as a review or reference may be made to the accompanying resources. An approach might be to have students read the resources and conduct a socratic lesson to determine the objectives and process. This method would be particularly appropriate if the students have been through Unit VII and are only in need of recall.	Refer to the Ontario Labour Act clauses reproduced in Unit VII. The instructor should carefully check Unit VII to determine key features	Summarizing key points from earlier data
Worker protection - working conditions - job security - grievance procedure	If they have not been through Unit VII, more time and analysis may be required to establish the basic concepts.	Film: Automation, available from UAW, 205 Placer Court, Willowdale The Counting Starts With One available from USWA, 55 Eglinton Avenue East, Toronto	
b) Process Negotiating the collective agreement Implementing the collective agreement: the legal approach to settlement of issues during the life of the agreement - grievance procedure - arbitration, the impartial element	Once the basic readings have been completed, the instructor could break the class into small groups to summarize the key features in the objectives and process and then lead the class in a summary session	Appendix IX-C(i) Film: Arbitration available from USWA, 55 Eglinton Avenue East, Toronto A Case of Insubordination available from CLC, 15 Gervais Drive, Don Mills	

CONTENT	STRATEGY	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
2. Collective Bargaining - is the adversary system effective?	Identify the strengths and weaknesses of the system attempting whether or not the system is outmoded?	See Unit II for data on the frequency of industrial disputes and their settlement by strike or lockout.	
Problems of the adversary system - strike and lockouts: are they still valid methods of settling disputes - costs of the adversary system: the loss of income to both parties, the loss of production, the social costs to the worker and the community	Have the students list the advantages and disadvantages of the system. Subsequently the students could debate the question whether or not the adversary system in labour relations is effective. Students should be cautioned that the problem of strikes and lockouts is not their frequency, rather the problem is one of impact on employees, employers and society.	Appendix IX-C(ii) Appendix IX-C(iii)	Analysis and evaluation of conflicting viewpoints Identification of point of view
- the emphasis on monetary issues and the neglect of social issues	In addition the instructor could in the process of the discussions raise the issue of de-emphasis of monetary issues in collective bargaining and the emphasis of social issues.		
3. Collective Bargaining and the future			
a) Industrial democracy - its meaning: involvement of the worker in decision making	Present the students with articles - the instructor may wish to break them into groups to discuss each article concerning the nature and effect on the industrial system.	Appendix IX-C(iv) Appendix IX-C(v) Appendix IX-C(vi) Appendix IX-C(vii)	Identification and definition of concepts.

CONTENT	STRATEGY	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
3. Collective Bargaining and the future - continued			
b) Industrial democracy - its impact - on the worker - on management - reconciling involvement and profit	When this phase is completed, invite spokesmen from labour and management into the school to present their viewpoints on the subject. At this point students would be in a position to debate the merits of industrial democracy. The instructor should be certain to make students aware of the difficulties of implementation of this concept.		
c) Debate: Is the concept of industrial democracy a practical answer to labour management problems	On the surface it appears that it would be the answer to all problems, but industrial democracy would require a massive change in attitudes by both parties.		Debating process: structure of the debate, identification and substantiation of argument
d) Government involvement: - what are the views of labour on government involvement? - what are the views of management on government involvement? - what are the views of political leaders on government involvement?	All the resources need not be used or they may be divided among the class with various groups representing the viewpoints of a particular group. In the case of the CLC Manifesto particularly the instructor may wish to digest the key concepts and facts prior to use.	Appendix IX-C(viii) Appendix IX-C(ix) Appendix: Labour's Manifesto for Canada	
e) Where do Canadians go?	Debate: What must Canadians do in the future? Are existing systems enough or must we change?		

CONTENT	STRATEGY	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
D. Automation: Is Work Disappearing?			
Technology and automation has changed man's relationships with each other and with the planet. As this change continues, man's anxieties and fears of The Machine seem to have increased.	To clarify terms, the teacher can show the two pictures from Appendix IX-D(i) and ask students to define automation. If a suitable working definition can not be agreed on students can go to the dictionary or other sources.	Appendix IX-D(i) 2 pictures: - horses and early 20th century farm - tractor on modern day farm	To determine what is meant by technological change. To develop a working definition of automation.
This segment of the unit suggests some of the reasons for these reactions and how unions and the working man might attempt to meet the challenges of a changing working environment.	Once a definition is established have students list some of the changes automation might have caused for the farmer and his family. Use the two pictures of Appendix IX-D-(i) to stimulate thought for discussion.		To compare two historical periods using visual evidence.
Automation: a word now used to describe the many electronic devices now used to control industrial processes - the process of machines taking over repetitious tasks formerly done by hand	Using the same pictures have students list what they think would be the advantages and disadvantages of each way of life. The role of the family unit, job satisfaction, physical labour, degree of self-sufficiency, security etc. might be discussed. Students might discuss why many people gather antiques and relics from the earlier period and try to simulate part of that existence.		To see how many facets of life are affected by technological development

CONTENT	STRATEGY	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
D. Automation: Is Work Disappearing continued			
Student Reactions to "The Machine"	Have students list other examples of technology reducing work for mankind.		To relate automation to the student's environment.
Students have seen one example of the affects of technology. They should now begin to clarify their own feelings about such change, the impact it is having on them and on the work environment.	Place students in groups and have each group list the five changes that have had the greatest affect on man in relation to his working world (place of employment) and then list these five in order of importance.		To allow students to examine their views on automation.
Students will be aware of labour saving devices in the home, of modern forms of transportation and many who have had summer jobs can relate the technology seen here,	Different values should begin to emerge as some students stress positive results while others look at negative affects. The teacher can later make students aware of this and let them discuss reasons for these different views. This section, by its nature, stresses negative affects automation has had on the working environment.		
Most students will have seen timetables and reports prepared by computer.	Let the class discuss whether man needs to fear automation in the work place. Does its benefits outweight its negative aspects. The teacher can point out that many articles today seem to express a fear of "The Machine". Other parts of this unit will look at how man can take advantages of some of the benefits. For the present, students will examine some of the fears and concerns that man has.		

CONTENT	STRATEGY	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
D. Automation: Is Work Disappearing continued			
Fears of the Machine by the worker:	Give students the list of quotations found in Appendix IX-D(ii)	Appendix IX-D(ii)	To be able to list and understand the fears and concerns of the worker as they relate to automation.
threatens job security;	Let them discuss the meaning of each and whether they feel the anxiety expressed is a serious one.	List of quotations	
threatens man's identity as a producing member of society; depersonalizes human relationships; threat to self sufficiency, privacy and individuality;	Now let students make a practical application of these thoughts by listing ways in which automation might affect a man or woman during their 8-hour work day at the factory or office.		
impinges on personal areas; and it can make man meaningless; alienation	The teacher might refer students to Industrial England to show that these problems are not new.	Appendix IX-D(iii) "Is this Jo's job the most boring?"	
Negative affects of Automation on the worker: loss of security, dehumanizing, fatiguing, physical isolation, boring, no reward but money, no chance for creativity, noisy, feeling of bondage	Have students read Appendix IX-D(iii) and Appendix IX-D(iv) Ask students to answer these questions: 1) List the complaints these people make about their jobs. 2) Is work disappearing for these people? Explain Teacher should stress that work is not disappearing but that its characteristics and demands are in a constant state of change. Students might also view Appendix IX-D(v) to help clarify views.	Appendix IX-D(iv) "You go numb doing the same thing 346 times a day."	To be familiar with the feelings many take to their place of work.

CONTENT	STRATEGY	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
D. Automation: Is Work Disappearing continued			
Human Needs as Related to work: Chance to be creative, to be able to see where one fits into the entire system, job satisfaction, interesting work, motivation, choice of work, to be able to communicate with upper management, etc.	Now have students discuss these two questions: 1) What is necessary to make work, even new types of work caused by automation, worthwhile for men and women. 2) Why might the characteristics listed in #1 have been easier to achieve in earlier time periods? (might refer back to picture of horses and family).	Appendix IX-D(v) Film: "Man on the Assembly" from Canadian Labour Congress, 15 Gervais Drive, Don Mills, Ont.	
Possible Goals for Unions: - free weekends - to be able to say no to overtime - workers to have a say in plant environment, e.g. noise, heat, etc. - communication between worker and management - team approach - rotation of jobs - explain job in relation to total operation - retraining	Finally, the class should answer the question of how work around machines can be made worthwhile and satisfying? To answer this arrange class in groups and give each an article from Appendix IX-D(vi). Have them pick out information that might assist in answering the above question. Have the groups rejoin the class and have the entire class make a list of suggestions of how managers and workers can deal with automation and the new types of work so that it can be meaningful. (Some articles are longer and more difficult. Groups might be arranged accordingly or more than one article could be given to some groups.)	Appendix IX-D(vi) a) Autoworkers fight assembly line drudgery b) How can we automate without killing jobs c) The dignity of work d) Technological change and retraining e) Humanizing the workplace a high priority objective	To gather information from primary sources. To be able to compile some goals for unions and management that might make work more meaningful.

CONTENT	STRATEGY	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
E. Leisure: Free Time Options			
Ancient civilizations had their slaves and modern man has his machines. In ancient times a few could benefit from leisure time as slaves did the work. Today, more people are able to enjoy the luxury of free time. Historical examples show us that, as a civilization, we should use this time wisely. Some periods, such as the Renaissance, show men achieving in cultural pursuits. Yet, other civilizations, such as Rome, can decay and decline as man became an observer rather than a participant in his leisure time pursuits. Our problem is: which option is modern society going to choose?	The teacher can find several pictures in school library of the Roman gladitorial contests or can use Appendix IX-E(i). The following questions might be asked: which ancient society is represented here? what entertainment is depicted? why were activities at the Colosseum so popular in Rome? what does the popularity of activities such as gladitorial contests reveal about Roman society? As Rome became a society of observers, rather than participants, what happened to the Empire? Students might now disucss why free time is also prevalent in our society.	Appendix IX-E(i) Picture of Roman games	To analyze characteristics of Roman society from a picture of their entertainment
	The teacher can use Appendix IX-E(ii) or a picture of a football game and discuss the following: How might this entertainment be compared to the gladitorial contests of Rome? Why is hockey and football so popular today? What problems does our society face as leisure increases?	Appendix IX-E(ii) Hockey game	To analyze characteristics of modern society from a picture of a hockey game

CONTENT	STRATEGY	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
E. **Leisure: Free Time Options continued**			
Types of Leisure Activities Students will be able to quickly compile a list that can include hobbies, travel, cultural pursuits, sports, reading, etc.	Have students list types of leisure activities available to man today. Take the list and categorize under two headings: a) those demanding active involvement b) those that are passive entertainment		
	Discuss which list attracts more people today? Why?		To allow students to set their free time priorities.
	Have students suggest and list what they feel should be the aims of man in his leisure hours.		
A pessimistic view of modern man's use of free time:	Now have students read Appendix IX-E(iii) Discuss the following questions	Appendix IX-E(iii) Atrophied Muscles and Empty Art.	
By 1984: - passive entertainment - larger stadiums - more T.V. - gambling - less reading - no poetry - no friction - no composers - art with no skill - man will lose creativity!!	How does the author define: work? play? What type of play does he talk about? Do you agree with his view? Suggest how the dangers predicted in this article might be overcome. At this point students should discuss the role of unions in planning to negate these problems.		To be able to understand how incorrect use of leisure time could destroy man's creatove abilities.

CONTENT	STRATEGY	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
E. Leisure: Free Time Options continued			
An optimistic view of modern man's use of free time:	Read Appendix IX-E(iv) entitled an Optimistic View.	Appendix IX-E(iv) An optimistic view	To challenge students to consider how they will use free time.
The author suggests the future holds:	How does this article fit with your view on the role of leisure in the future?		
- games and tests to challenge psyche of man	Which article of the two you have read is more realistic?		
- free musical instruments			
- concerts, festivals, poetry, dancing	Which holds the greater hope for our society? Why?		
- science playground - lectures, films, discussions - arts			
	As a final strategy, have students work in groups to plan a list of suggestions on how a union local in their town might assist its workers in planning for the constructive use of leisure time or Students could draw up a time chart in which they outline how they might use their free time to constructive ends over the next six months.		

CONTENT	STRATEGY	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
F. **Work and Education**: This section attempts to make the link between work and education: to bring out the concept of education as being a life-long process. Ideas which will be discussed include education as a key to jobs and job improvement and the obsolescent worker and retraining.	An introduction to this section may include the following questions: 1. What types of jobs/occupations are you interested in? 2. What type of education is needed for these types of jobs? 3. How many students plan to attend university? community college? quit after high school? why?		1. To introduce the link between education and jobs.
a. Education as a key to a job.	The teacher should list the student responses on the board.		
	Read article Appendix IX-F(i) and answer the following questions in class discussion: 1. What is the significance of the heading? 2. What jobs are in demand? Why? 3. Does education guarantee a job?	Appendix IX-F(i) "32,000 vie for 17,000 jobs" Toronto Star, April 5/76	1. To determine that competition for certain jobs is becoming more severe. 2. To demonstrate that students do see a link between education and jobs.
	Read article Appendix IX-F(ii) and discuss the following questions: 1. What is the significance of the heading? 2. What link is established between community colleges and jobs? 3. Does education guarantee a job? 4. What other factors influence whether an individual gets a job.	Appendix IX-F(ii) "College students want jobs not diplomas" Toronto Star, April 5/76	3. To determine how much influence education has on jobs.

CONTENT	STRATEGY	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
F. Work and Education contd.			
b. Education as a key to job improvement. Suggested list of proposals: 1. The government might institute a program of paid educational leave to provide opportunity for disadvantaged groups. 2. Government subsidies should be made available to companies who could then introduce paid educational leave.	Read article Appendix IX-F(iii) and discuss the following questions: 1. The public often attributes the inability of these individuals to improve their job situation to what? 2. Define "homogenous labour market". 3. What is the "dual economy" theory? 4. Develop a proposal to the government which might help the disadvantaged labour market.	Appendix IX-F(iii) "Many in work force trapped in poor jobs" Globe and Mail, August 9, 1973 Appendix IX-F(iv) "Paid Educational Leave"	1. To define "dual economy theory" 2. To hypothesize how to help the disadvantaged labour market.
c. Technological change and the retraining of the obsolescent worker. Question for discussion: "To maintain price stability and control inflationary trends, employers are required to increase productivity in the work force, often by introduction of new technologies and automation. Who is responsible for the displaced or obsolescent worker?"	Students should be divided into groups of 4-5. Each group should appoint a chairman and a reporter/recorder. Students should discuss the question with the following tasks in mind: 1. Define "obsolescent worker". 2. For the obsolescent or displaced worker what should be done by i) government ii) labour iii) management		1. To define "obsolescent worker" 2. To hypothesize about solutions by government, labour and management.

CONTENT	STRATEGY	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
c. Technological Change contd.	All groups should report the results of task #2 to the class. The teacher may write these down on the board. The class should discuss the proposals as to which is best, which is most practical. Students should then examine Appendix IX-F(iv) and compare the proposals in this document with their own. It should be made clear to students that the proposals in Appendix IX-F(iv) came from labour leaders all over Ontario at a conference.	Appendix IX-F (v) "42nd Couchiching Labour Conference" Technological Change and Retraining.	1. To compare student hypotheses with those of Ontario labour leaders.

CONTENT	STRATEGY	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
G. Post-Economic Motivation - Guaranteed Annual Income:			
This section includes a brief introduction to present income-maintenance programs and the concept of guaranteed annual income. Through summary articles, a debate and class discussion it is hoped that an understanding of the strengths and weaknesses and of the ramifications of a guaranteed annual income will take place.	Students should begin this section by attempting the vocabulary test [Appendix IX-G(i)]. It should not be taken up at this point but saved for later reference. This should direct the reading and questions of the students. Teachers and students together should read through the introductory article. Appendix I[illegible]G(ii)	Appendix IX-G(i) "Guaranteed Annual Income - Vocabulary Test"	1. To acquaint the students with some of the terms used in a discussion of guaranteed income. 2. To direct the reading and questions of the students.
	The teacher should ensure that students understand; "work-income link", the breakdown of this link and why, our present income-maintenance programs and their weaknesses and guaranteed-annual income. After a discussion of these ideas the student should hypothesize about what some of the changes might be concerning work as a result of guaranteed annual income.	Appendix IX-G(ii) "The work-income link: toward post-economic motivation"	1. To define such terms as: - work-income link - income-maintenance programs - guaranteed annual income 2. To hypothesize about the weaknesses and ramifications of a guaranteed annual income.

CONTENT	STRATEGY	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
G. Post Economic Motivation continued	Students should read the article by Paul Samuelson Appendix IX-G(iii) and do the following assignment: 1. List the weakenesses of our present welfare system from the point of view of: the taxpayer the welfare recipient 2. Why does Samuelson dislike the term "negative-income tax"? What does "incentive-guaranteed income" mean? 3. Who are "the working-poor"? How would the negative income tax give them incentive to work? 4. What are the advantages of negative-income tax?	Appendix IX-G(iii) "Guaranteed Income today: an idea whose time has come" by Paul Samuelson	1. To define such terms as: - negative-income tax - working poor 2. To determine the weaknesses of the welfare system from two points of view. 3. To determine some of the advantages of the guaranteed annual income

CONTENT	STRATEGY	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
G. Post-Economic Motivation continued			
	The teacher should arrange for a debate between individuals from the community who would be for or against the concept of guaranteed annual income. Some agencies which may be helpful in getting resource people are mentioned in resources. Time should be given for a question and answer period after the debate.	Local Labour Council Chamber of Commerce Family Service Bureau Children's Aid Society	1. To use the expertise available in the community 2. To listen to differing points of view concerning guaranteed annual income
	A de-briefing session or summary discussion may follow to summarize the strengths and weaknesses of guaranteed annual income and also to discuss its effects on the concept of work.	Contact Canadian Labour Congress, 15 Gervais Drive, Don Mills for information on labour views of Guaranteed Annual Income	3. To practice questioning techniques 4. To summarize the strengths and weaknesses of guaranteed income 5. To hypothesize about the influence of guaranteed income on the concept of work.

CONTENT	STRATEGY	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
Summary:	A summary of this unit may be done in several ways. The teacher may choose one of these according to the nature of his students and the time he wishes to spend.		
A) A summary article identifies the historical stages of work (Greek, Feudal, Renaissance, Industrial Revolution, etc.) and some of the problems associated with work today. Then suggests some possible remedies (i.e. job enrichment, profit-sharing, guaranteed income)	A) Students should read the summary article Appendix IX-H(i) and answer the following questions for discussion. 1. List the historical stages of work and their accompanying attitudes 2. Identify some problems with "work" today 3. What are some suggested remedies to these problems? Can you suggest other remedies? In class discussions, students may debate the value of these remedies. For instance, students may discuss the likelihood or value of "paid housewives" or "guaranteed annual income."	Appendix IX-H(i) "The Future of Work" by Dwight Botting in December 1973, Canada and the World.	1. To list the historical stages of work 2. To identify attitudes which accompanied these stages 3. To identify some problems with "work" today 4. To suggest some remedies to these problems 5. To reflect and summarize ideas gathered in the unit through class discussions

CONTENT	STRATEGY	RESOURCES	OBJECTIVES
Summary continued			
B) "The Job" from the Human Journey Series. This excellent film put out by London Life discusses Man, the Worker, the Ideal Job, job satisfaction, the assembly line, education, and the changing work force. Profit sharing and increased leisure are discussed and finally it looks at the job and the future	Students may view the film "The Job" which summarizes many of the things covered in the unit. This film may be used as the basis for class discussions on the nature of work and the role that management and unions will play in this changing concept of work.	Film: "The Job" from The Human Journey Series. Films in The Human Journey series may be borrowed free by non-profit organizations. For information write: London Life Insurance Company, Box 5560, London, Ont.	1. To view a film with the intention of summarizing some of the concepts in the unit. 2. To use the film as a basis of class discussion

FUTURE SHOCK

Will Canadians be able to adjust to ever faster change?

by CHARLES A. WHITE

IN YOUR OWN lifetime you are going to see more change than in all the 800 lifetimes of man that stretch back 50,000 years into prehistory.

Since the day you were born, knowledge has doubled two or three times, man has walked on the moon, and new generations of computers have multiplied machine memory and problem-solving many times over. Ninety per cent of the scientists ever born are still living, new books are streaming off the presses at the rate of 1,000 per day, and half of all the energy ever consumed by man has been consumed in the last 100 years. For humans who must live in an era of ever faster change it all adds up to a thing called "future shock."

The phrase was made popular by Alvin Toffler, who used it as the title of a best seller first published in 1970. Toffler defines future shock as a psychological disease afflicting modern man because he cannot adapt to the bewildering speed of change.

The Industrial Revolution was a major step for mankind. Now, two centuries later, we are taking a second major step of history – the Super-Industrial revolution. Man's brain has created today's technology and now, according to Toffler, technology threatens to engulf him.

(1) TRANSIENCE

Future shock, he reasons, is a product of three forces rushing together on a collision course. The first of these he calls *transience*. Nothing lasts any more. We are living in a throw-away society where everything from diapers and non-returnable bottles to buildings and automobiles is thought of as disposable.

Nautrally we develop a throw-away mentality to go with the products. We favour renting instead of buying, not only houses, but cars, tools, boats, almost everything. Unlike our grandparents, we're no longer rooted to one home, one town, or one province. Since distance means little, we travel staggering mileages every year in our search for still more freedom and still more wealth. We are the new nomads.

Our frequent moves from city to city and school to school mean that our friendships are likely to be more shallow and fleeting. The new style may be to "plug in" to that aspect or module of personality in a person which suits us at that moment, avoiding a total relationship.

People who think and live in this way have discarded many of the old values. They no longer feel committed to one place or obliged to form neighbourhood ties and take on community responsibilities. Children of parents on the move tend not to get involved in extra-curricular activities at a school – team sports, chess clubs, camera clubs, or drama clubs; they suspect it's unwise to get emotionally attached, since they may soon be loading the station wagon for another safari.

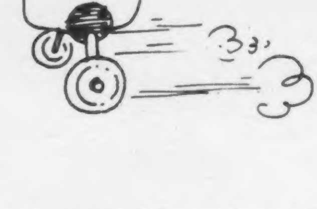
In the same way as it invades our personal lives, transience is rocking the boat in business and industry. Here we have been used to a chain of command reaching from the top down which we call bureaucracy. Technology is breaking the chain. Instead of vertical top-to-bottom structure, modern businesses are organizing sideways by bringing in technical experts at every level.

These specialists often make the real decisions, leaving the executives to co-ordinate their efforts. More than that, industry is beginning to assemble teams of experts to attack specific projects, dissolving one team and forming another as each new project shows the need for different skills.

(2) NOVELTY

If we understand transience, Toffler's second force, *novelty*, is a natural sequence. Novelty will bring freedom, but have we the wisdom to control it? Man may one day be able to make his own weather, but has he the foresight to realize that tinkering with a drought in India may trigger a typhoon over the Pacific?

What about the scientific technique of "cloning" by which biologists well within your lifetime expect to be able to create carbon copies of human beings? Cloning would make the creation of an Einstein or a Frankenstein's monster equally possible. By juggling the genes of heredity, man could manipulate height, weight, diseases, lifespan – he could tailor the embryo to his own specifications. Bio-engineers may go even further: in this brave new world we may see the fusion of man and machines into a reasoning being called a cyborg.



All this raises value judgments we have never had to make before. As Toffler asks, "Who shall live and who shall die? What is man? Who shall control research into these fields? Might we not unleash horrors for which man is totally unprepared?"

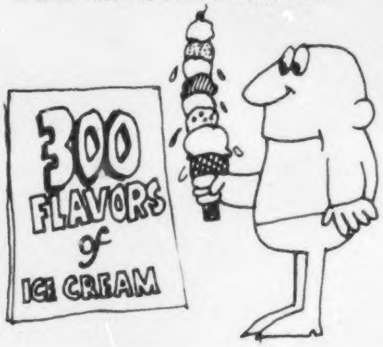
The speedup of technology, particularly in communications, has put us in the middle of another novelty, a startling shift away from family life. Already streamlined families with one or two children instead of five or six are becoming common; parents want fewer home ties, greater mobility.

With scientists predicting the ability to program sex and IQ and the possibility of test tube babies we may soon have unusual questions to answer. What is motherhood? Who is a parent? Will we see the end of "amateur" parenthood and child-rearing taken over by "professionals"?

(3) DIVERSITY

With transience and novelty has come *diversity*, the problem of too many choices. Far from becoming dehumanized robots squeezed into a single mold, we may in future have a dizzying number of options. Even today auto makers, by "customizing" a car with extras ranging from engines to upholstery, can give us dozens of choices on a basic design.

The credit system is reaching down into Canadian high schools, uprooting the old rigid courses and by the year 2000 each student will likely follow a personal timetable as individual as a thumbprint. The more sophisticated technology gets, the easier and cheaper it is to cater to individual needs.



Transience, novelty, and diversity crowding us at constantly increasing speeds put an almost unbearable strain on mind and emotions. some seem to thrive on change, and these are the "people of the future"; others reject it and seek escape by retreating into the past (nostalgia), by joining some cult or commune that shuts out the world, or by over-simplifying (seeing everything as either black or white, never a shade of grey).

But for even the most adaptable there is an upper limit for future shock, a limit which no one as yet has measured. Beyond that limit even people of the future show symptoms which may be as intense as hostility and senseless violence or as mild as apathy and withdrawal.

SOLUTIONS

To survive, Toffler says we must learn to control change both personally and in society. The individual can cope to some extent by first recognizing the signs of trouble and then regulating the pace of his own life. But only so much can be done at this level; beyond that, we must use social tactics to manage future shock.

A good place to start is with education. Timetables must be more flexible, less oriented to past. Along with "History" we could teach "Future." Increasingly the community should be brought into the classroom and the student prepared for the lightning changes of the super-industrial age. Education must prepare us for the shock of tomorrow.

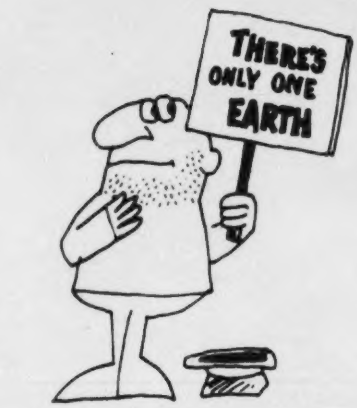
Technology today is the slave of technocrats, people who feel that engineers can solve everything. The technocrats are backed by most economists whose slogan seems to be, "More production is the key to human happiness." We must change this thinking, not to stop technology but to humanize it, make it selective.

Toffler thinks governments must substitute for the chaos of today a science policy not run by a special group but responding to what he calls "town halls of the future." He sees a chance for the revival of popular democracy in these town halls whose aim would be to subject the process of evolution to conscious human guidance.

OTHER TECHNOLOGY PROBLEMS

Three other outcomes of technology are outside the scope of future shock and yet are just as urgent.

■ The environment, a world population explosion, and fast diminishing resources on the planet may plunge us into another kind of crisis.



■ Man's inventions are spewing garbage into the oceans, polluting air and earth, threatening balance of nature.

■ Medical science by stretching old age at one end of the lifespan, reducing infant mortality at the other, and wiping out the old scourge of contagious diseases, is multiplying population on every continent.

■ The greedy appetite of super-industrial states for energy and non-renewable resources is quickly using up petroleum and minerals.

The technology of today thus calls for a new technology of tomorrow which will find answers to these threats. Even as industry begins to clean up its own mess, radioactive wastes from nuclear power plants pose a new problem. The pill offers the key to family planning, but education lags far behind. As known energy sources dwindle, science searches for new ones in solar heat and in the oceans. The technology of the future must constantly develop ways to counter the technology of the present.

As for man, if he can escape the effects of future shock by learning to manage his machines, will he become still more dehumanized in great cities which are doubling in size every 11 years? Or will he, as Toffler thinks, have a staggering number of options for an individual lifestyle?

Whatever the future holds, we can be sure that humanity in the coming generation will have to face more social, political, and moral questions than in all the centuries that have gone before.

FOR DISCUSSION:

Divide your class into three groups which will discuss the science and technology, the politics, and the social structure of the future. In each area what new values will have to be weighed?

Charles A. White is Contributing Editor of CANADA & THE WORLD

SAMPLE CHART

GROUP	LIST OF DEMANDS OF LABOUR	BIAS (Pro-Labour) (Pro-Management)	CONCLUSIONS
MANAGEMENT			
LABOUR			
PARENTS			
FRIENDS			

Star Apr 2/73

A labor man speaks

Can a worker and his job live happily ever after?

★ *Ed Finn, legislative director of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport and General Workers, in this column presents a unionist's point of view. His opinions do not necessarily reflect those of his union or of The Star.*

By ED FINN

Are large numbers of workers today unhappy with their jobs? If so, can the jobs be altered or "enriched" to make them more satisfying? Can unpleasant jobs be eliminated, or is the answer simply to make them more rewarding financially?

These were the key questions that occupied a recent two-day symposium in Ottawa on "the quality of working life," sponsored by the federal department of labor. The delegates were predominantly sociologists and government officials, with a sprinkling of labor and management leaders.

It was evident that the happiness of workers, per se, was not of much concern to the non-academic delegates.

"Governments aren't particularly worried about the work force being unhappy," said Gil Schonning, former Canadian labor attache to Britain. "They only take notice if workers' unrest leads to anti-social actions."

A management spokesman, Robert Fortier of General Electric, felt that happiness in the workplace was probably an unattainable goal, and that the emphasis should be on making work more "effective." Management becomes concerned, apparently, only if employees' discontent impairs productivity.

Is there a problem?

Seppo Nousianien, assistant research director of the Canadian Labor Congress, doubted that the alienation and despair attributed to many workers really existed. "If unions are not more concerned about this problem," he said airily, "maybe it's because they don't see that there is a problem."

Unions recognize the problem only when workers' unhappiness begins to manifest itself in anti-union as well as anti-company pressures.

Nousianien's scepticism reflected the prevailing view held on this issue by most union leaders. They tend to dismiss the sociologists' job enrichment ideas as impractical day-dreams. As William Winpisinger of the Machinists sarcastically put it, "The best way to enrich the job is to enrich the paycheque."

Even the United Auto Workers' union, which is striving to "humanize" the work place in its upcoming negotiations, is careful not to define that objective very broadly. The emphasis is on improving the working environment and reducing managerial autocracy, not on trying to reform existing work methods.

Union leaders are fearful that all the talk about job enrichment will raise false hopes among workers stuck in onerous jobs, ultimately disillusioning them and deepening their frustration instead of relieving it. They also see possible threats to seniority rights and job demarcations in a more flexible work system.

Most managers are just as resistant as the unions to proposals for job enrichment. They see them as threats to their authoritarian rights and as implied criticism of the way they have been operating their business.

The combination of managerial opposition and labor's refusal to mount a strong campaign to overhaul production techniques exasperates the sociologists. They deny that their ideas are unrealistic, or that they are based solely on theoretical concepts.

"We do get into the plants and offices and talk to the employees," said Prof. Raymond Bauer of Harvard, author of one of the papers presented at the symposium. He pointed out that another academic activist, Prof Richard Walton, also of Harvard, had actually designed the self-managing work team system put into effect at a new General Foods plant in Kansas a few years ago.

The academics insist that worker alienation is increasing, that they can prove it from their surveys, and that it should be obvious in any case from the snowballing consequences: Lower productivity, increased absenteeism, alcoholism, personnel turnover, poor workmanship, crumbling morale even incidents of outright sabotage.

As Prof Walton sees it, it's the union and the employers who are being unrealistic, blinding themselves to a growing problem that calls for radical, innovative solutions.

"They'd better re-examine their thinking on this issue," he warned, "before it blows up in their faces."

Unfortunately, it is not in the nature of unions, governments or companies to change their methods or values unless they are forced to do so. Unions in particular are crisis oriented, and as yet—apart from the car factories and other big assembly line plants—job dissatisfaction has not yet reached crisis proportions. Or, if it has, it is still perceived as something that can be remedied by negotiating a fatter wage increase.

Want a revolution

What the behavioral scientists are advocating is in effect a revolution, and like most revolutionary movements, it runs smack up against a barrier of vested interests and traditional values. No matter how unhappy workers at the shop-floor level may be, the managers, politicians and union leaders remain fairly content with established practices.

Apart from a few experiments with work teams, their reactions to rank-and-file grumblings have been singularly inapt. Managers crack their whips harder, politicians pass more restrictive laws, and union leaders try to placate their rebellious members with better wage settlements.

If the sociologists are right—and they probably are—these purblind policies will not keep the lid on worker discontent much longer.

VI

The Collective Bargaining Process

THE DISCUSSION thus far has indicated the central role of collective bargaining for workers and trade unions.

In order to represent employees in a given "appropriate collective bargaining unit" a union must satisfy a government-appointed labour board that it represents the workers involved. For example, in Ontario, a union must show that it represents over 55% of *all* employees in the unit and that each has paid one dollar on his own behalf to join the union. If a vote is ordered the union must obtain the support of over 50% of *all* employees eligible to vote, not 50% of those who vote, in order to be certified as the collective bargaining agency.

Once organized, workers must be able to bargain with their employer with a view to arriving at mutually acceptable terms of employment.

Then machinery must be established for implementing the contract terms so that the respective rights and obligations of the parties are enforced. While the administration and enforcement of collective agreements seldom receive much attention from the public, these duties occupy a major portion of the time and energies of many union and management officials.

For most organized workers, the enforcement of their contractual rights constitutes the principal benefit which they feel they derive from union affiliation.

Where agreements are reached through bargaining the terms are usually embodied in a written contract signed by the parties. The contract will spell out the respective rights and responsibilities of the parties indicating the areas reserved to exclusive control by management and those to be dealt with jointly.

Provision will also be made for resolving disputes over contract interpretation. The general practice is to have such matters appealed up through the various levels of both the company and union hierarchy until they are resolved by mutual agreement. If this process fails, the Labour Act prohibits work stoppages and provides a final settlement clause which imposes the decision of an impartial arbitrator on the parties.

We have already mentioned what happens if negotiations fail to result in agreement. First, the parties may submit to conciliation. Where this fails to result in a settlement, they are generally free to engage in a work stoppage. Workers in some public services are barred from striking and disputes in these cases are settled either by compulsory arbitration or government fiat. In recent years government employees increasingly reject unilateral government determination of their working conditions. While many public employees accept arbitration, a growing number of them are insisting on the right to strike to enforce their demands.

UNION INITIATIVE

During the course of a legal work stoppage, the parties attempt to coerce each other to compromise by inflicting economic hardship on one another. Generally, because the union is the challenger in demanding changes in the existing employment terms, the union takes the initiative in calling the strike. This does *not* mean that the union is *responsible* for the stoppage.

There is no objective way of assessing responsibility for a failure to agree on contract terms. Your notions of blame will tend to reflect your own sympathies and bias regarding the respective positions of the parties.

The parties enter negotiations and stoppages with environmental constraints on their ability to win concessions. The nature of the employer's products, the technology used in the process of production and competitive conditions in the product market are critical.

Thus, for example, when the product can be stockpiled in advance of a strike or produced temporarily at least by supervisory personnel or has no close substitutes so that buyers must simply postpone purchases, then the employer's bargaining power is greater than it would be if these conditions did not apply.

Labour market forces are also important. Where the union can control the total supply of at least some of the workers essential to the firms involved and can assure an employer of its ability to impose comparable demands on rival employers, this enhances union bargaining power.

EFFECTIVE PERSUASION

The relative financial resources of the parties are also important. Often the attitude of other employers and unions can be significant and the parties seek to make helpful alliances. The opinions of the public and the mass media are sometimes influential. Finally legislation can be crucial in establishing the permissible tactics of bargaining as well as in altering some of these environmental factors.

Legislation and common law governs the permissible range of tactics during work stoppages. Thus employers are free to replace the strikers and operate their businesses if they are able during a strike.

The union may advertise the dispute and attempt to persuade other workers as well as customers and suppliers of the struck firm of union grievances. They are not permitted to engage in violence nor are they to organize concerted refusals to work by workers in other firms to promote their objectives.

Generally most Canadian employers make no effort to operate during a strike and the test of strength is typically peaceful. However, there are always some well publicized instances of violence during strikes particularly in cases where employers decide to exercise their right to operate their businesses during a strike. In such cases, it is the responsibility of local law enforcement agencies to enforce the legal rights of the parties.

The outcome of a strike must be either by an agreement, the destruction of the union or bankruptcy of the employer. By and large strikes result in collective agreements which preserve the bargaining relationship.

Cases of union demise are rare and instances of employer bankruptcy as a result of strikes even rarer. In most instances peaceful settlements are the general rule with work stoppage an infrequently used tactic in bargaining.

Strikes

As explained in the previous sections of this submission a great deal of the irritation which brings on strikes in this province is due to the inequalities and prolonged delays built into the existing legislative and administrative procedures. Unless some very serious thought is given to correcting these problems, then looking at what happens after a strike takes place is simply beclouding the real issues.

Presently the right to strike in Ontario is greatly curtailed.

(a) The right to strike for union recognition is now outlawed.

(b) Unions cannot strike during the negotiations for a first agreement until after all of the procedures have been complied with, regardless of how long this may take (this can take months, even years in some cases).

(c) Unions cannot strike during the life of a collective agreement, although many grievances arise which cannot be arbitrated.

(d) Unions cannot strike during the negotiations of a renewal of a collective agreement until all the procedures have been complied with.

(e) Firemen, hospital workers, most public employees, and railway workers cannot effectively use the strike weapon because of restrictive legislation.

When a legal strike takes place, it is seriously hampered by the use of injunctions and the courts (which we will deal with later). It is further hampered by the use of strikebreakers.

We believe that in a free society everyone should have the right to withdraw his labour either individually or collectively. Any encroachment on this right is a denial of individual freedom. If, for one reason or another, a worker voluntarily gives up this right, it is his choice and there may be circumstances where this is desirable both from the individual's point of view and the welfare of society as a whole. However, having such prohibition forced on him by the state is another matter indeed. We are greatly disturbed by the trend in this country towards eroding this right by one means or another and for various reasons.

Even with all of the hue and cry about strikes, we should point out that they are the exception rather than the rule. The ratio of strikes to amicable settlements of collective agreements is somewhere in the order of one or two strikes in a hundred settlements. It is fair to say that most major strikes, or threatened strikes, take place where no real bargaining is done because the parties realize that in the end the government will intercede and bail them out.

A feature of strikes that is usually bandied about by lead editorial writers and some employer-oriented economists is that unions with excessive demands and use of the strike weapon are ruining the economy. This cry is as old as time. It is not our intention to get into an economics argument in this submission. It is worth noting that economic circumstances in this country have never been better than they are today. Much of this credit must go to the unions who have put the necessary purchasing power in the hands of the low income people which enables them to purchase the necessary goods and services.

We realize that there have been strikes that have been ill-advised. Others have caused considerable inconvenience to the general public, but this is no reason to suggest that they be outlawed. Just because some Minister of a church runs off with the collection plate or some Judge or Magistrate decides to run off with a blonde is surely no reason for even suggesting that we should do away with the churches or the courts. The free trade union movement, with all of its imperfections, is one of the recognized fundamental institutions of our free society. It is our belief that it works best when it is not dictated to or made a servant of the state.

We have, on several occasions, suggested to the government that in Sweden and other European countries employers and unions meet on an equal footing and work out their differences free from government interference. Over the years these countries have been relatively free from strikes. While all of the details of the Swedish system may not be applicable to this country, we are convinced that the basic principle is sound and should be emulated here.

APPENDIX IX-C(iii)

Arbitration in Essential Industries

WHY SHOULD STRIKES CONTINUE TO BE THE FINAL TEST OF STRENGTH?

by J. C. ANDERSON

The right to strike has traditionally been viewed by unions as the ultimate weapon through which organized workers can use their collective power to obtain justice and equity from their employer. But now, **questions are being raised as to whether the right to strike, or the employers' right to take a strike, can continue to be the final test of strength** between employees and employers in industries in which the public cost and inconvenience of a prolonged work stoppage are high. Responsible persons on both sides of the bargaining table are sincerely searching for new approaches that hold out the promise of equitable solutions to contractual differences without the need to endure the costly disruptions of a strike.

Society has developed an orderly system for resolving differences in most areas of human relationships—but not so in the field of industrial disputes. When the courts must be called upon to rule on complex socio-economic issues, it seems unreasonable to continue to rely solely on raw economic strength to resolve conflicts in industry.

Whether in an essential industry or in the public service, a strike can cause great harm and impose heavy costs that the public at large will no longer tolerate. Public safety is jeopardized when a work stoppage is called by policemen, firemen, hospital workers, and certain public employees. Strikes by railway, airline, and post office employees, and dock workers, for example, create substantial discomfort and inconvenience for the public, and can result in severe economic loss.

If the strike can be interpreted as a minority right in these cases of public involvement, then it cannot be justified when it adversely affects the safety or economic well-being of the majority, or even its convenience and comfort. **The costs having to be borne by the majority are becoming well-nigh intolerable.** For these reasons, it is incumbent upon management and labour to look for possible alternatives to strike action, particularly in situations in which the cost to the public at large is too heavy to bear.

Keeping in mind the fact that most free collective bargaining results in settlements, what is the purpose of the right to strike? Should the strike continue to be a right? And if so, what can be done to minimize the devastating effects of work stoppages in essential industries?

Surely we all recognize that free collective bargaining as we know it today, including the right to strike, cannot be maintained unless management and labour accept the responsibility for making the system work. Assuming this premise to be self-evident, it would be helpful if both parties, assisted by objective government experts, were to examine the various opportunities for voluntary recourse to third-party assistance, including arbitration.

Could arbitration prove satisfactory as an alternative to our present negotiation-conciliation system for settlement of industrial disputes? I believe it is possible, provided that the following criteria are met: (1) arbitration must lead to the resolution of the dispute between the parties; (2) the dispute must be resolved with little or no inconvenience to the public; (3) the parties to the dispute must be satisfied that they are not suffering through the arbitration process: employees should believe that they are being treated fairly, and the employer should believe that the economic viability of the industry is not being jeopardized; and (4) the arbitrator must have the confidence of the parties, and be free of political influence.

When measured against these criteria, it is not at all certain that arbitration on a compulsory basis is superior to our present system. If a process of third-party assistance is voluntarily accepted by both parties, however, **arbitration—on an experimental basis—may provide a satisfactory alternative.**

Let us look at the virtues and pitfalls of arbitration, and consider also the prospects for arbitration in cases in which contract renewal must go to arbitration because of the inability of the parties to reach a voluntary settlement.

Arbitration offers three desirable features to the parties to a dispute. First: it provides **a form for presentation of factual material.** Negotiations are a process whereby considerations of power and strategy tend, within limits, to override factual considerations. By contrast, arbitration is an impartial process, designed to elucidate the facts and merits of various positions.

Second: provided that an arbitrator adequately understands the technical matters facing him, **arbitration may be the only way to deal with certain sensitive issues.** Proper consideration of the merits and consequences of these issues may require the rigorous, fact-finding approach that arbitration affords.

Wages and work rules should be weighed on a factual basis. On the wage issue, an appropriate wage standard for a group of employees can be examined, and an assessment made of the position of the employees in relation to that standard. Similarly, work rules—including the impact of new technology, elimination of contractual manning requirements, featherbedding, and the effects of changes on seniority—can be considered in an unemotional, factual manner. There are circumstances in which issues of this complexity are best handled in the arbitration format. In fact, arbitration may be the most effective forum in which to explore fully and fairly the economic and technical aspects of such matters.

Third: arbitration provides an open forum in which the parties can present their views. Successive agreements based on the accommodative quid pro quo of negotiations may induce stresses and dissatisfactions in both management and labour representatives. Over time these stresses may exert pressures on the labour relations relationship itself, and frustrations will develop—frustrations that will demand an airing and adjudication. When these occur, arbitration should provide a beneficial catharsis for both parties.

If we consider the use of arbitration on an ad hoc basis, we must bear in mind a major flaw that emanates from the context in which the arbitration takes place. In the recent railway dispute, arbitration was the final stage of a four-stage process in which each stage started from a higher "floor" than the previous one.

The escalation to successive wage plateaus in the evolution of a dispute is a severe liability from the standpoint of management. I can think of **no surer way to destroy meaningful collective bargaining than to place management in a position in which offers made in good faith become a floor from which demands are escalated.** Consideration should therefore be given to involving the arbitrator at an earlier stage in the bargaining process, when there is greater scope for creative package-basis determination.

The major problem in respect of re-planned arbitration is the danger that **arbitration** as the final means of settlement **may undermine the negotiation process by shifting the locus of decision making from the parties to the arbitrator.** No responsible management would advocate arbitration as a substitute for a freely negotiated collective agreement, so it is wrong to suggest that an employer would prefer to have his lot dictated by a third party, even a skilled one. To the extent that an employer accepts arbitration, it is purely in lieu of the public inconvenience and overall economic loss that accompanies a strike.

Arbitration on a compulsory rather than a voluntary basis might hinder the development of responsible action and constructive relationships between the parties. Such an outcome would clearly be contrary to our present public policy of developing a mature, consultative relationship based on mutually responsible attitudes.

Another problem with **compulsory arbitration** is that it **is a forced denial of the right to strike.** Even if the strike right becomes an illegitimate form of pressure in the tension-filled environment of collective bargaining, it may still be exercised. **Strikes may continue to occur, whether they are legal or not.** And if they occur, the system will be faced with the dilemma of either having to close its eyes to illegal strikes, thereby creating a legal anomaly, or having to penalize the offending parties.

Although the law must be upheld as the alternative to anarchy, **we should avoid creating further unrest by bringing the precepts of crime and punishment unnecessarily into the industrial relations environment,** and thereby seriously impairing the growth of continuous working relationships between the parties.

On an experimental basis, voluntary arbitration may offer a forum in which to examine sensitive issues, to review the facts, and to clear the air in an industrial relationship. But skilled judgment is needed to determine at what point in the dispute arbitration should be initiated.

Arbitration should not be the last of several steps in a dispute. If management were to endorse the idea, arbitration would have to be initiated without a floor—or worse, with a series of successively higher floors. To achieve this, and still encourage the development of a responsible industrial relationship, all parties—management, labour, and Department of Labour experts—must exercise precise judgment to ensure that arbitration is not initiated too soon, thus choking off the negotiation process, or too late, after the ratchet effect has occurred.

Serious consideration should be given to combining the role of mediator with that of arbitrator. Mediation is currently an informal, voluntary stage in the railway collective bargaining framework. The role of the mediator could be combined with that of arbitrator, should the dispute demand it. But no doubt the availability of a skilled mediator for an extended period of time is a major difficulty.

Should the parties fail to reach an agreement in free bargaining, a mediator could, on the basis of his judgment, and in consultation with the parties, assume the role of arbitrator, with authority to resolve all matters in dispute.

This approach would ensure that the arbitrator understand the social, economic and technological fabric of the industry. It would also **link the function of arbitration to the goal of building a long-term maturity into the collective bargaining relationship.** From the standpoint of good industrial relations, this last advantage may be the most important.

Industrial relations comprise the forum in which the social and economic aspirations of the employees are reconciled with the economics of the employer. Given the contradictions between these two forces, it is only natural that disruptions—perhaps in the form of strikes—will occasionally occur. **My hope is,** however, **that the present debate will help us to minimize these disruptions,** and to develop a means of dispute settlement that will satisfy the legitimate needs of employees, companies and the Canadian people.

We must face the fact that **the free collective bargaining process in essential industries will survive only by public consent.** Public consent will be severely strained if minority interests impose undue hardships on the majority, either by work stoppages or by economic burdens created by unjust settlements.

(Mr. Anderson is Vice-President, Industrial Relations, Canadian Pacific. He is a member of the Board of Directors and Executive Committee of the Québec Hospital Service Association, the Canadian Railway Club and of the Board of Directors of the Québec Mutual Life Assurance Company. His article on the theme of arbitration in essential industries is the third in a series.)

Should workers help run your company?

Europe is split on giving employees voting seats as directors on boards

By Donald Rumball

BRUSSELS

THE SLOW-BURN debate in the European Community over worker participation in corporate decision-making is fascinating in its own right — but it is also highly relevant to Canada's troubled labor scene.

There is widespread agreement that labor relations in Canada need more than Band-Aid treatment. Yet, with almost equal unanimity, approaches developed abroad are dismissed as "foreign" and irreconcilable with Canada's culture and traditions.

That argument will be severely tested in the EC context.

Most of the continental EC member states are adopting co-determination, with workers on the board of directors and significant limitations on the powers of management and shareholders.

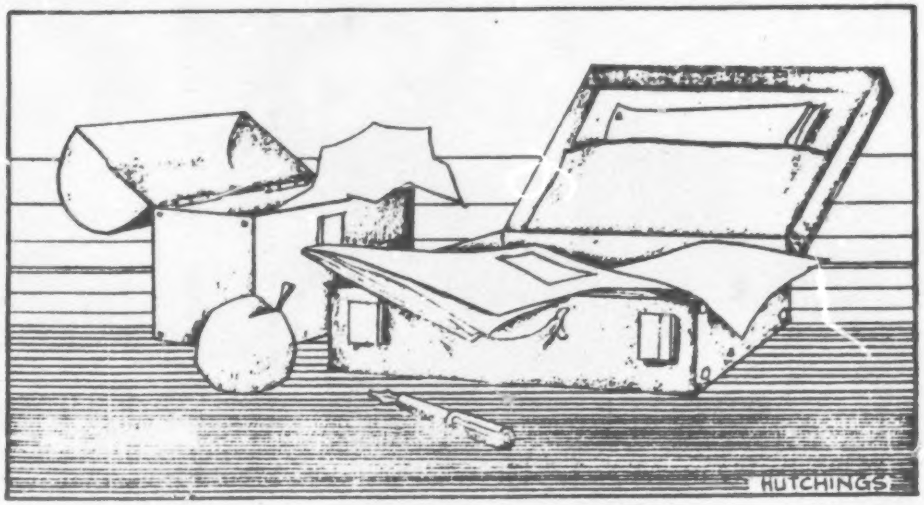
On the other hand, Britain and Italy reject co-determination and want to funnel most of the labor relations process through collective bargaining.

Canada, of course, is firmly in the latter camp. It also shares with Britain and Italy the dubious distinction of being world leaders in the number of man-days lost through strikes.

Will the Canadian attitude change?

Higher levels of education are leading inexorably toward greater emphasis on the human aspects of work. This has taken the form in Italy of collective bargaining agreements that deal with corporate investment and development policies including the maintenance of employment levels in reorganization and modernization schemes.

In Canada, examples of similar extensions of collective bargaining are beginning to appear — union involvement in health and safety in the mining industry and agreement clauses mitigating the effects of technological change in the post office, to name just two.



Steady trend

In Britain, the process is going further with government proposals to involve the unions in "planning agreements" between the government and selected large corporations.

In all three countries, the trend is toward a steady paring of "management rights" through collective bargaining. More important, worker rights are exercised by the unions which are, of course, the representatives of the workers — but also are entirely separate and distinct from the enterprise with their own priorities.

This puts the two sides in a confrontation mold, in which the ultimate means of resolving disputes is normally the strike or the lockout. This situation is by no means necessarily bad — the white-heat of tension in the shadow of a strike has frequently generated creative solutions to labor relations problems. The strike can also serve as a useful opportunity for workers — particularly those with boring jobs — to let off steam.

Indeed, strikes are still common in countries where the main emphasis in employer/employee relations does not lie in collective bargaining. But the incidence of strikes in those countries is clearly less than it is in Canada, Britain or Italy.

Moreover, the gap is widening and, as the scope of collective bargaining increases, the proliferation of points of conflict can lead only to still more strikes.

As the European Commission observes in its Green Paper on the fifth directive (see article on this page): "Industrial confrontation is wasteful and, if it occurs too often in a society, every member of that society is the poorer, including those who are employees."

It is also becoming increasingly apparent that collective bargaining has some severe limitations:

- A union's bargaining power rests heavily on the credibility of its threat to hit the bricks — and that credibility too often rests on a number of arbitrary factors that may have little bearing on the importance of the issues involved.

Chief among these is the potential damage of a strike. Some groups of workers can inflict enormous consequences on their employer with a relatively small strike. Other very large groups are almost powerless because no one would care much if they did strike.

Other factors include the general economic situation (witness the paper workers in Canada who struck just when inventories were at record levels), the viability of the employer (no risk of permanent loss of jobs after strikes against governments), and the sophistication of the union and its members.

- A growing number of issues at stake between employers and their employees are simply not amenable to settlement through collective bargaining. If, for example, a company decides to switch production levels in a number of its plants, its employees would be drastically affected. The company may negotiate a salve to the injured employee interests *after* the decision but collective bargaining offers no opportunity for altering or amending the decision itself to minimize damage to the employees.

Each time a corporate decision has this affect on its employees, the unions can only reply by upping the ante in demands for more union *control* over these decisions. In Britain, for example, where there have been many decisions adverse to employees, the Trades Union Congress is now proposing that half the members of every board of directors should be worker representatives appointed through trade union machinery.

Mutual interests

The issue boils down to how unions exercise their power. The "us and them" approach has the advantage of simplicity — the interests of the two sides are clearly defined and mutually exclusive. Little scope for conflicts of interest here, and few delicate choices to maximize the interests of all parties concerned.

Significantly, the worse an organization's labor relations, the more vehemently does the union reject the concept of sharing in management decisions or responsibility for those decisions.

The Canadian Union of Postal Workers, for example, has rejected resoundingly overtures by Postmaster General Bryc[illegible]kasey for union participation in certain ma[illegible]nt decisions.

Equally, the more entr[illegible]d a union is in confrontation with an employer, the more it will resist employee representation on the board of directors unless it is done through union machinery. Union leaders in this situation fear, quite naturally, that a German-type system would erode their influence with the employees and reduce their effectiveness as representative organizations.

By the same token, employers on the other side of the table resist trends toward co-determination with equal vigor. With the abrasive flavor of collective bargaining fresh in their mouths, they see paralysis as the inevitable result of worker participation in corporate decisions.

British and Italian — and Canadian — managers see, too, the arrival of the worker director as signaling the end of the coherence, cross-fertilization and easy communication of the present corporate structure.

The EC Commission, in its green paper, observes gently in reply to these criticisms: "The reluctance of those concerned may be attributable more to fears deriving from their present lack of knowledge of the system proposed than to any actual disadvantages of the system."

It has somewhat stronger medicine in reply to criticisms that worker directors would diminish industrial efficiency through too great an emphasis on the status quo of a company's structures and jobs: "If one compares different member states, it certainly cannot be said that there is an apparent correlation between regimes of employee participation and situations of low efficiency, low profits and inadequate investment. If anything, these problems seem more closely associated with the existence of industrial relations systems in which there is little or no formal employee participation, and a relatively high incidence of industrial confrontation."

True for Britain and Italy now. And true for Canada in the future?

The thrust of the commission's argument resolutely opposes systems relying exclusively on collective bargaining. It sees dualist boards, work councils and other forms of employee representation as a package of mutually supportive institutions that can reduce industrial conflict and enhance productivity in contemporary Western society.

The commission also argues that a dualist board system provides better protection to small shareholders than the Anglo-Saxon unitary board system, because the supervisory board has a broader input from diverse interests and its supervisory function is more clearly delineated than is the case in the close identification between directors and management in our corporate structure.

The case can be argued — but the commission has a point. It has little to do with labor relations but it does attack a problem that is becoming increasingly apparent in Canada and elsewhere.

The major argument that should be tackled by Canadians is the contention that our system is similar to that in the U.S. and, since the Americans have a powerful and successful economy, the blame for labor strife in Canada should not be laid at the door of our system's design.

Following Britain?

That may well be true but few Canadians hesitate to expound on how different we are from the Americans. Our system *may* be admirably suited to American culture and traditions and quite inadequate for us.

Our system is also modeled on Britain's, and in recent years British immigrants have played a significant part in union activities in Canada.

Does that mean that Canada is heading in the same direction as Britain? And is the U.S. going to follow our lead, in turn? A leading British trade union leader told FP last year that, if he had to pick one country in the world which was most likely to follow Britain's example in industrial relations, he would choose Canada.

It's not up to the unions to change our system — they are essentially reactive and cannot be expected to forego their present role without being offered something substantial in return by management.

Whichever way the debate goes in the EC, Canadian managers should think about the implications for Canada.

Senior Editor Donald Rumball, who has special responsibility for FP's management-labor relations coverage, visited key European centres fo[illegible] report on what's happening in worker[illegible]ticipation, and the implications for Canada. See also pp. 19, 24.

More on worker participation, pp. 19, 24.

German-led trend runs into trouble

THE GALLOPING trend in the European Community for employer participation in corporate decision-making has slowed to a studied walk.

In a series of power-plays that make Canada's federal-provincial wrangles look like teatime doodling, plans of the European Commission (the EC's civil service) to legislate democracy in the corporate board room have been halted.

The commission's original proposals, presented in 1972 but now withdrawn, would have made a two-tier or "dualist" board structure mandatory in the EC. The supervisory board (which appoints the management board) would have been required to give one third of its seats to representatives of the company's employees.

These porposals were closely modelled on Germany's highly successful system, which has been a Pied Piper as other countries rushed to follow its example.

The Germans, moreover, as the cutting edge of the employer participation trend, had given added impetus to the commission's initiatives in a fierce two-year debate over demands to extend worker-power in the supervisory board still further.

But in a surprise compromise late last year, Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's Social Democrats caved in to their coalition partners, the Free Democrats, with a formula that reduces shareholder control of the supervisory board but leaves the owner/manager group in firm control.

Union leaders, with support of the Social Democrats, had wanted the supervisory board to be split evenly between representatives of the shareholders and employees. This situation already exists in the German coal and steel industry but the proposal to extend it to all companies employing 2,000 or more people was strongly opposed by businessmen and the Free Democrats.

The Free Democrats wanted (and have largely achieved) half of each 12-man supervisory board to be elected by the shareholders and one third by employees, with the remaining two seats to be drawn from management ranks. The compromise formula gives one board seat to management and five seats to the blue-collar and salaried employees.

Equally important, the shareholders will have the right to ap[illegible] the chairman of the board (the unions [illegible] both shareholders and employees to have a [illegible] the chairman's appointment).

Fina[illegible] appointment of the company's manage[illegible] personnel and social affairs will not be

(Continued on p. 19)

Canada urged to copy Germany's labor democrac

May 27/76

By PAT McNENLY
Star staff writer

Federal Deputy Labor Minister Thomas Eberlee has endorsed a plan that Canada emulate West Germany's controversial works council program aimed at improving labor-management relations.

Eberlee told a seminar at Queen's University industrial relations centre recently that it makes sense to undertake a periodic review of Canada's economy, as suggested in a 102-page report by Charles J. Connaghan. The report is being studied by labor department officials.

Eberlee forecast that suggestions advanced by Connaghan would enable economic decisions to be made on sounder knowledge of what the economy can handle over a short term.

Connaghan, vice-president of the University of British Columbia, credits worker participation in the management process as a reason for the success of German labor-management relations and that country's impressive economic performance.

Connaghan points out that in 1974 West Germany experienced only about 1/30th of the number of days lost through strikes in Canada, had only half of Canada's inflation and saw its production rise slightly while most Western countries' production dropped.

"That kind of successful economic performance raises questions about an economic system which can bring a country from a state of complete ruin in 1945 to the point 35 years later of becoming one of the world's most stable economies during a period of serious world recession.

"One of the easily identifiable reasons for the republic's economic success was the positive contribution of its labor-management and collective bargaining systems. These are key contributors to West Germany's economic stability," says Connaghan.

THOMAS EBERLEE
Plan makes sense

Connaghan makes points that will probably make both union and management leaders see red.

He says that German unions have never attempted to establish the union shop or the closed shop principle, considering the closed shop "a violation of the individual rights of workers" because workers shouldn't be coerced into union membership.

Connaghan also says the German labor movement has close affiliation with all political parties, and union check-off of dues to political parties is forbidden. The Canadian Labor Congress, Canada's major labor organization, considers the New Democratic Party as its political arm and many affiliates encourage check-off of dues to the party.

The report is being studied by federal labor minister John Munro.

"I was quite impressed with his report and his recommendations," said Eberlee in an interview. "It is one of those things which will guide us in recommending future policy."

Connaghan reports that fringe benefits last year in West Germany accounted for almost [illegible] per cent of an employee's income. He says the average Christmas bonus is the equivalent of one and one-half month's pay.

He reports that works councils can be established in businesses with as few as five employees giving workers equal voice with management in determining policy covering such subjects as staff recruitment, job grading, regrading or transfer.

"The dismissal of an employee is also a matter of co-determination and a council must be informed before a person is dismissed," says Connaghan.

Connaghan's study points out that in 1975 and indeed for a number of previous years, the German workforce had the lowest incidence of lost man-days due to labor-management disruptions of any Western industrialized country.

Second, during those years its industrial productivity levels have remained consistently high in relation to workers in other countries within the European Economic Community.

Third, in 1975 German workers enjoyed one of the highest living standards in the world while experiencing the second lowest inflation rate within the European Economic Community.

Fourth, West Germany, while maintaining a free market economy has developed a costly and comprehensive social security system, partly through the collective bargaining process and partly through social legislation.

The success of the West German labor-management approach has caused Canadians to seek reasons for the failure of their own industrial relations system in terms of strikes and lockouts when compared with the successful West German record. A comparison of the elements of both systems shows six major areas of difference.

1. One striking difference is the attitude towards the adversary approach in collective bargaining. Both systems have a built-in adversary approach in collective bargaining, complete with the right to strike and lockout. The contrast, however, is in the willingness to apply the strike as the ultimate economic weapon. German workers and trade unions do not consider the strike as the most effective inducement with which to enforce their demands on management. Instead, they regard the power to intervene in day-to-day management affairs as more important for the protection of their members.

2. A second difference is the degree of sophistication to which the collective bargaining system has developed in Germany.

German union leaders are highly trained individuals who see themselves as professional union leaders rather than ad-hoc labor negotiators. They have been trained in a variety of disciplines such as economics and political science and they employ modern business techniques in carrying out their duties in a professional manner.

In developing their collective bargaining policies both parties examine such economic factors as the ability and desirability of a particular industry or company to pay wage increases above a certain level; the ramifications to the general economy of providing higher fringe benefits; and the effect of specific collective bargaining agreements on the country's balance of payments and trade.

3. Another difference is the obvious identification that the unions have with their country's political process. Since 1945 successive Federal German governments have involved the unions and management groups in political decision-making by seeking their views on all changes in legislation that affect the collective bargaining process.

Proposed labor law is carefully examined and debated so that the legislation that emerges reflects all viewpoints and it has the acceptance of the parties who must make it work. In addition, union leaders have been asked to assume positions of importance such as cabinet ministers in successive national governments.

As well as their involvement in the political arena, the unions have assumed prominence within the business community by the large-scale investment of union funds in a wide range of business ventures. This participation, as shareholders, in the commercial life of their country has given the workers and their union leaders an appreciation of the problems of a free market economy as well as an understanding of the external influences that affect their country's economy that is so heavily dependent on foreign markets.

The workers, too, have been given the opportunity to participate in the management of the companies that employ them through their involvement in Works Council activities and company Boards of Supervision.

4. Another important feature is the obvious desire of the collective bargaining partners to make their system continue to operate effectively and successfully.

5. There is no doubt that a first-class working relationship exists between the union and the contractors in the German construction industry. One reason given for this peace is that the collective bargaining process has been stabilized by the presence of only one union to represent employees, and only two major management bargaining groups. This kind of collective bargaining structure overcomes many of the weaknesses of the North American model that during negotiations has upwards of 15 craft unions representing employees, and with a few exceptions a myriad of trade associations representing management.

6. Finally, an examination of union demands and the collective bargaining approach used by the unions shows that the realities of the market place are much more important to German workers and their unions than ideology.

APPENDIX IX-C(vi)

controversy in Ottawa

Fin. Times
Apr. 17/76.

38

Lots for Canada to learn about running companies from West German labor

By Nicholas Hills

VANCOUVER – The federal government is studying a highly controversial report which proposes that major elements of West Germany's extremely successful industrial relations system be incorporated into Canada's economic structure.

Concerned about the rising number of strikes that were damaging the domestic economy, Ottawa commissioned Charles Connaghan, a vice-president of the University of British Columbia, to conduct the study last summer. His findings are going to prove very uncomfortable for both business and government – and to a lesser extent, organized labor.

Partners

His portrait of labor relations in West Germany projects a near-Utopia. And he makes it clear that the sophistication and good sense of the unions is the main reason why that country – in industrial ruin only 30 years ago – today has one of the world's most successful and stable economies.

Mr. Connaghan, 44, who was president of the Construction Labor Relations Association of B.C. before going to the university (*Times*, Feb 23), suggests that lasting industrial peace was established in West Germany because the unions were treated as insiders, not outsiders, in the reconstruction of their country.

In fact, his detailed and expert outline of the present system suggests that labor runs West Germany in almost equal partnership with business and government.

Painful

His report which has gone to the deputy labor minister, Thomas Eberlee, will be painful reading for anyone involved in the workings of the Canadian economy because it makes this country look so juvenile in comparison to West Germany. And Germany, of course, is ruled by democratic socialists.

Mr. Connaghan's major proposal is that the federal government study the German concept of works councils and then perhaps experiment with them in the public service or selected Crown corporations.

These councils are the ultimate in industrial democracy. As Mr Connaghan puts it "A works council is intended to act as the mechanism for providing each employee, whether a union member or not, with a voice in the business affairs of his or her employer."

The German legislation allows works councils "a role in codetermination in all matters affecting the employment of an employee." It has ". . control equal to management in such matters as setting rates of pay, starting and finishing times, vacation, health and safety regulations . . . bonus pay rates."

The council must also be informed before an employee is dismissed and his dismissal can be referred to a conciliation committee or the country's Labor Court.

Although he does not say this in so many words, it is clear that Mr. Connaghan's major proposals are aimed at getting organized labor into the mainstream of economic life in Canada.

Evolution

"Worker involvement," he says of the German system, "is now an accepted fact by both union and management groups . . the works council approach has served in Germany as a vehicle for developing trust between the collective bargaining partners."

However, he warns that a lot of education and preparatory work will have to be done in this country before the concept is accepted, if it is at all.

"The full German model . . . would have little chance of being accepted in the contemporary Canadian industrial relations milieu because of its historical development and its social and political evolution."

Mr. Connaghan also says that key groups within Canadian society must be made more aware of the economic milieu in which the country exists – and the federal government could do this by forming a consultative group from all major economic units.

Banks, financial institutions, business organizations, trade unions and all levels of government should be brought together periodically to review the economy. "It would be the intention," he says, "to influence these groups to realistically evaluate the true state of the economy before placing undue pressure on it by the imposition of higher interest rates, increased prices or high wage demands."

In order to give this program credibility, it should be under the direction of the finance minister.

Wise Men

Mr. Connaghan also suggests that Canada should duplicate Germany's Council of Economic Advisers, called the Five Wise Men. The members of this council are academics from West Germany's five leading universities, and they represent the views of the left, the centre, and the right of the political spectrum. The council provides factual and credible economic data and is credited with consistently giving labor and management a "realistic evaluation of the state of the economy . . . .

"The economic panel should be staffed by independent and reputable economists drawn from the academic sector. It would be important that the findings and forecasts of the panel should be given widespread publicity by the government."

Uniqueness

Mr. Connaghan says that one of the unique features of the German labor-management system is the involvement of both parties in the political process.

"Nowhere is this involvement more noticeable than in the procedure used in making changes to legislation which affect labor-management relations. This approach could assist in removing the sense of alienation on the part of either labor or management when changes in labor legislation are introduced in the various jurisdictions . . . ."

". . . federal and provincial jurisdictions should be encouraged to review their existing legislative procedures and make whatever changes are necessary, so that full consultation can be held with the collective bargaining partners in advance of that legislation being introduced and passed into law."

In the most delicate language, he also says that something has to be done to better educate labor-management practitioners. "The degree of sophistication and professionalism exhibited by the German trade unions is worthy of duplication." He suggests the federal government could provide money to encourage the establishment of economic research institutes to be administered by labor and management.

Mr. Connaghan says that one of the other reasons for West Germany's success is that the country has well-established bargaining structures. On the union side it has been accomplished by having only one in each industry, while the emergence of a strong, highly centralized management bargaining agent in each industry has added to the stability

It works

"Within the German construction industry, the existence of only one union has overcome many of the inter-union jurisdictional disputes which have become commonplace in the Canadian construction industry."

He proposes that a Commission of Inquiry – drawn from both labor and management of provincial organizations should be appointed to study in depth the labor-management relationship in the German construction industry.

Mr. Connaghan, while being very careful about his own enthusiasm for the whole German system, shows conclusively, through statistics, that it works.

Performance

He points out that during 1975 when most western countries saw their gross national product decline, Germany's rose by 0.4%. And while double-digit inflation gripped North America, West Germans enjoyed the second-lowest inflation rate within the European Economic Community and the third-lowest among the 24 countries belonging to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development.

"It is interesting to note that the inflation rate for West Germany during that period was approximately one-half the Canadian rate and one-fifth the British level . . . .

"For some observers the most interesting statistics were those dealing with the Federal Republic's labor-management record. Since 1972, German workers have had fewer strikes than workers in other countries. By 1974, the difference between the West German record and other countries had increased to the point where for every 48 days lost by germans because of strikes, French workers lost 201 days, British workers 650 days, Canadians 930 days and Italians 1,283 days."

Hammering home

Then, he hammers home the lesson for Canada.

"That kind of successful economic performance raises questions about an economic system which can bring a country from a state of complete ruin in 1945 to the point 30 years later of becoming one of the world's most stable economies during a period of serious world recession. One of the easily identifiable reasons for the republic's economic success was the positive contribution of its labor-management and collective bargaining systems."

Mr. Connaghan reminds the government in his report that the German trade unions started from scratch again in 1945 after Hitler had dissolved them. This may have been a blessing in disguise because literally everyone had to cooperate in rebuilding the shattered economy.

He makes these revelations about the nature and practice of unionism in Germany:

- There is no legislation giving a union a closed shop and German unions have never attempted to establish this principle.

"It appears that the closed shop is considered to be a violation of the individual rights of workers since, according to the unions, workers should be free to join a union but should not be coerced to seek union membership. This is a fundamental attitude."

- As a labor lobbyist, the Federation of German Trade Unions has close affiliation with all political parties. Indeed, during 1975 two vice-presidents were members of the Conservative Party (CDU), and seven vice-presidents were members of the ruling Social Democratic Party (SPD).
- The union movement has reached such a level of maturity that it has established a large bank with branches in almost every major city in Germany. The federation also owns one of the largest construction companies in the country.

The report also reveals that collective bargaining settlements are generally based on pattern bargaining – with one industry normally setting the pattern for all other industries in the country. In 1975, the construction industry set the wage pattern at 6.6% and this was followed by other groups.

Pattern bargains

In the same year, however, it was estimated that fringe benefits totalled almost 60%, $40 of an employee's income. This meant that for every $40 paid out in wages or salaries, the average employer paid an additional $24 to provide fringe benefits.

The most notable benefits are vacation and Christmas bonuses. The holiday bonus is an additional 20% to 50% of pay. The Christmas bonus varies from one to two months pay; an individual will receive 13½ months pay for 12 months work.

There is no legislation which covers illegal strikes and there is no specific legislation on picketing. This may be because the Germans have a different attitude towards the strike, compared with Canadians.

B 10 THE TORONTO STAR, Mon., May 31, 1976

Unions want say in how to slice economic pie

★ Ed Finn, public relations director of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway, Transport and General Workers, in this column presents a unionist's point of view. His opinions do not necessarily reflect those of his union or of The Star.

By ED FINN

Opinion on labor

The concept of centralized power is frightening. It conjures up visions of giant de-humanized organizations trampling on individual rights and liberties.

Perhaps that is why the proposal that the labor movement join with industry and government to build a more equitable and orderly economic system has encountered such adverse reaction in the press.

Almost all editorials commenting on the tripartite concept proposed at the recent Canadian Labor Congress (CLC) convention have focused on the dangers of concentrating power in such a triumvirate. It has been pointed out that neither unions nor companies represent all the people, and so do not merit equal status with governments, which do.

That is irrefutable. But the CLC is not asking for a role in governing the country. It is seeking a voice, on behalf of Canadian workers, in the shaping of a new kind of economy: one in which the distribution of income is determined at the summit instead of in thousands of disorganized and disruptive disputes throughout the country.

Now they flinch

The same editorial writers who now flinch in horror at the prospect of that kind of centralized decision-making are the same ones who regularly denounce unions for all the strikes and lost production caused by the present system.

"There must be a better way," they have plaintively cried, over and over again. But now that a better way has been put forward by labor, they protest that it will give the unions too much power.

Well, they can't have it both ways. The conflict that has marked industrial relations in Canada is attributable in large part to the diffusion of labor's power. Collective bargaining rights are held not just by each union, but by all the many bargaining units within a union. Under that system, with its adversary relationship between labor and management, strikes, lockouts and other forms of conflict are unavoidable.

The only effective way of reducing such hostilities is through top-level agreement on how the economic pie is to be sliced. That wouldn't eliminate local bargaining, but would confine it to issues peculiar to each industry. Strikes might still occur, but would be far fewer and shorter.

The price to be paid for this centralization, of course, is the restriction of local autonomy. Not only unions, but individual companies, would have to make the sacrifice.

There is always the risk that power thus concentrated will corrupt. But no change of any magnitude can be made without risk. The question is whether the benefits to be derived from a tripartite system are worth the gamble.

Legislation blamed

It is nit-picking to object to the concept, as some editorials have done, because the labor movement embraces less than half the country's work force. That is not of labor's choosing, but results from legislation that discourages union organizing. More to the point, any benefits "negotiated" by organised labor in a tripartite system would spill over to non-union workers as well.

The prospect of transferring more power to the CLC is not a pleasant one for most unions. They have jealously guarded their autonomous rights, as they are forced to do under the existing setup. The CLC has thus far served only as a convenient mouthpiece for its affiliates, and as a handy forum for their joint efforts. The last thing the individual unions want is to reverse that situation, converting the CLC into a power centre and themselves into its satellites.

Nevertheless, they have gone on record as favoring such a transfer of power. Some may balk if they have to live up to that pledge, but most will honor it. Whether the same could be said for the nation's employers is questionable: but if they turn out to be the holdouts, the blame for a continuation of economic chaos will then rest with business, not labor.

It's a big move

The central issue is surely whether Canada is ready to move from a crude, almost barbaric system of sharing the national wealth to a more civilized, more equitable, more rational system. Labor has indicated its willingness to make that change, despite the tremendous structural and reorganizational problems it will entail.

Are government and business equally prepared to move to that stage of maturity in their economic roles? Or has the CLC called their bluff? That is what the newspapers should be asking, rather than wasting ink questioning labor's sincerity and fomenting unfounded fears of increased labor power.

Munro to labor: Let's plan economy together

Garvey: Let me ask you about the prospect of a general strike which has been suggested by the CLC. How damaging would that be to the country at this time?

Munro: I don't think it would be the end of the world by any means, if it's a one-day strike. I believe that if the union leaders put their reputations and their credibility on the line despite the reluctance I talked to you about on the part of at least some of their rank-and-file membership, the members would feel compelled to get behind them on that type of commitment, for a day. I like to use the old example of the United Steel Workers of America.

They (Canadian workers) would get behind such a situation and bank all the furnaces to protect the industry and protect their jobs for the following day by assuring that there is not widespread destruction. So that it wouldn't be a strike designed to destroy the economic underpinning of Canada or anything. It would be a symbolic political display on a much wider national front than, but along the same lines as, the display they put on on Parliament Hill.

Q: So it's not going to bring the country to its knees, but it would appear to be a serious escalation of this apparent confrontation that the government and labor are locked into?

Munro: Yes, it would be a serious escalation.

State to flex

Q: You seem to feel that trade unionists could support it, but at the same time you do feel, I know, that the rank and file of labor basically is sympathetic to the wage and price controls program. The two are not incompatible?

Munro: My assessment of that is constantly in a state of flux but I don't mind saying that a certain element of responsible trade union leadership and membership may be sympathetic is too strong a word. I think that they are going along with the program. That's my perception. They're going along with the program for a temporary period.

They have lived through, and so have their wives and kids, a period where they've seen their wage gains just totally eroded, and in terms of an essentially pragmatic point of view — which I think many in the trade unions are most capable of — they want to see that brought down, and stability restored. And they are prepared to pay a certain price.

A following

If the present selective wage and price controls is that price, they are prepared to reluctantly go along. But that's not to say, in my own understanding of the thing, that if their leadership, totally committed itself, put their reputations and credibility on the line to call, say, a one-day strike . . . I don't think they'd leave them exposed to ridicule. I don't think they'd leave them vulnerable to belittlement for a day especially in the summer or the fall. They'd get a following. I'm not underestimating the potentiality of such a display.

Q: That's what it would be, a display? What would it do politically to the government?

Munro: My own feeling would be that the government would have to reaffirm its commitment to this policy, not only because I'm convinced it's right, and we are, but from the point of view that if we seem to yielding to any techniques that would be interpreted as intimidation, then of course we're not giving the leadership in this inflationary struggle. I think the credibility of the government, aside from the political complexion of the government, is very much undermined so that the ultimate objective is to somehow get the government to change its mind. It's a bankrupt policy in that context.

Q: Let me ask you about your suggestion that this confrontation situation between the government and labor is leading to a class war, a polarization of the working class against the rest of the country?

Munro: Well, I don't think that the strike will change the whole social fabric of Canada, but what I really meant when I said that was it could be the first step in a process that, thankfully, Canada has by and large been free of. You know, the U.K.'s problem's been compounded. Not only is there a political polarization within the confines of two major political parties, which has not occurred here to any real degree, (but) they have a very marked class overlay with a feeling of the workers against the rest, which is historic in the U.K.

Political weapon

One of the reasons why — and I would hope that it never happens in Canada — is that once you use the strike weapon as a political weapon instead of a bargaining weapon then you make the first step down that road. I think, for instance, that many Canadians' fathers and forefathers came to this country basically to get away from that sort of thing.

I regret that we're starting the strike as a political weapon along the lines realized in some of the European countries . . . in Quebec to a degree in the last year or two, and now the CLC is considering this. Mind you, I think it is doing so with some real reluctance on the part of the leadership. To quote Dennis McDermott, about a month or so ago he said, talking about this general strike, that the labor movement could well be picking up the pieces for 20 years. So I think they'll think pretty seriously before they utilize that technique.

Q: So in the long term, it could be counter-productive for the labor movement?

Munro: No question about it.

Q: Labor fears, of course, that since the imposition of wage and price controls they probably will never return to a free collective bargaining system. Do you think that once the controls program is over we can go back to unrestricted collective bargaining?

Savage instrument

Munro: You can talk about that for an hour, and we haven't got an hour. The problem we have in this concept of free enterprise, as the Prime Minister and some others have talked about, is that we can't have unfettered free enterprise. The perception on the part of a lot of people that somehow those two basic institutions, free enterprise and free collective bargaining, are somehow sacred, is simply fallacious and I think the labor movement knows it in terms of collective bargaining.

It reminds me of Churchill's saying that democracy has got its imperfections but, you know, it's still the best system we have. I feel that about free collective bargaining. It's got so many imperfections in it, and inflation was undermining it in terms of the faith of Canadians — it was eroding it as a concept. It's a savage instrument in terms of income redistribution because it can be based on an irrational element at a given time that doesn't carry with it any equality in terms of fairness.

I can quote an example: There can be a guy across the street, you know, doing the same job as somebody else on the other side of the road and if he has a union in a weak position arguing against a company in a strong position because it's got large inventories or something, then of course he doesn't get a very good settlement. On the other hand, if you've got a company with short inventories, they will feel that they must settle (for more), even though the employees in that firm may have precisely the same job content.

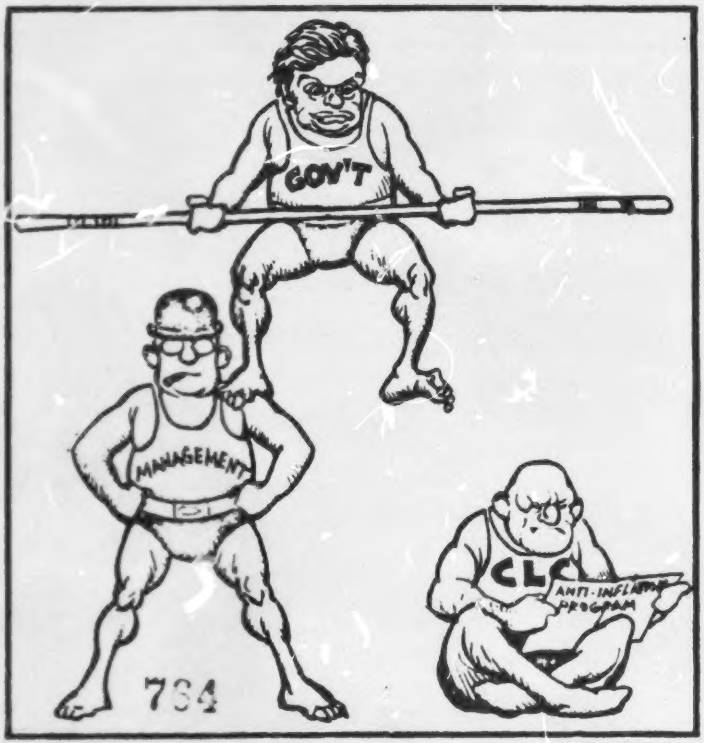
That has further compounded what has happened in the public sector. The weapons in the employer's hands there are not strong in terms of the profits he makes so that leapfrogging occurred and labor leadership is very vulnerable to its membership. They were getting to the state where they couldn't possibly be recommending long-term commitments, two- and three-year settlements, simply because they leave themselves and the membership exposed to a runaway inflationary situation that militates against any stability in the work force.

Prepared to concede

So in that sense I think that there are certain labor leaders, at least privately, who would be prepared to concede that something has to be done to restore stability, for the preservation of the essence of free bargaining and the trade union movement itself. They find it difficult to ever publicly endorse this program, but certainly this government has always been committed and always will be, as a Liberal government, to free collective bargaining in the broad sense and as an institution. We agree with many in the labor movement who have said that an awful lot of improvements have to be made; many, many, items that could be injected so that as we move into a control period, the institution itself will be preserved.

Q: Labor is asking for, in effect, equal partnership in the economic planning of the country. Are they asking for too much?

Munro: Well, that's an area that I think we'll have to explore with them. To have full and real participation in economic and social policy formation is one thing, to say it should be equal with government is a rather strange philosophy for a labor movement to espouse. That's



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real corporatism there, and that's . . . granting what we all really know is true, that labor, of necessity, is a self-interest organization — and so it shoud be in terms of interest of its membership and as an adequate balance to the business community.

Now to say that one, however powerful, group in the country that has self-interest to further its objectives should have an equal voice to a democratically elected government is going quite far. So I tend to think, having read the manifesto, that they may very well mean, "Don't make this participation cosmetic, make it real — certainly we want an equal footing with the business community."

Equal participation

And they have a feeling — you can see it all through the manifesto — that governments have been far more responsive to the business community than to themselves. Well, if they want equal participation vis-à-vis big business I think we can positively accommodate that. If they meant equal with government, I have some considerable hesitation on that score, so I think we have to explore what they mean by the word equal.

Q: What role do you see for labor in the post-control period? We are all looking at that period now, aren't we?

Munro: For instance, I would hope to see develop structures that we should have had years ago because it takes a lot of maturing to make effective a really tripartite co-operation . . . something along the lines that we had with the Canada Labor Relations Council until labor, I hope just temporarily, withdrew. The very restricted terms of reference in the Canada Labor Relations Council dealt with improvement in the institution of collective bargaining and reducing the adversarial elements and so on. Now they're talking about participation across a broad front of social and economic policy.

Okay, now let's develop that type of tripartite structure that has worked quite effectively in many West European countries. Let's develop that and have it in place at the end of a post-control period. It seems to me that our discussions with labor will deal with so many policy areas that (we will in effect be creating) a consolidated council tripartite in nature, that would be firmly and permanently in place once the controls are over.

Q: Of course labor is really saying that it won't seriously discuss any of these things with you as long as controls remain.

Munro: Well, there are several interpretations on what is happening now in Quebec city. I'm getting reports all the time and I don't think it's that stark. I don't think, at any rate not at the moment, that labor is saying, "Lookit, until you get rid of the control program we're not even going to meet and talk with you about post controls." I think it's a two-prong thing with a clear line of demarcation between them. They're saying: 'We're going to do everything to defeat controls but while we're in the process of doing that we'll talk to you about post controls; we won't talk to you about improving collective bargaining systems while controls are on because we think that controls have degraded it, so we'll talk about the other."

We'll meet them

So we'll meet them and meet that challenge and co-operate with them on that prong of their approach and I don't think they made the one so fundamentally conditional on the other that they're not going to meet at all. And I think that makes sense because it's against their interest to do so.

Q: Because the manifesto itself, you could say, is directed towards the post-control period.

Munro: Yes, it is. It's the first document that the CLC has come out with that lays on the table some specific concepts from labor's point of view as to what they would like to see in place for the post-control period. So it's something for us to grapple with right now.

Q: The root of it all is wage and price control. Is it really unfair to labor? They are convinced that it is.

Munro: I've been convinced, and still am, that it is not, because I saw what was happening in the latter part of '75. I believe there was so much unrest with regard to the inflationary situation at that time that if we had not taken drastic action then, the labor leadership would have been very, very vulnerable — and in fact was experiencing it. The upheavals in the collective bargaining system, the leapfrogging, the fact that they were more into comparative bargaining just on the merits of their given industry, was making the leadership very fragile indeed and you were seeing the demise of a lot of leaders, which is a sign of unrest. You were seeing a lot of negotiating committees recommending acceptance (of an offer) but not getting it ratified.

Causes havoc

That causes havoc with the system. If management starts to perceive that every time you sit down for months at a bargaining table and work out an agreement, only to have the point not ratified and they're back at the table, then management, sooner or later, isn't going to play its last card for settlement. They know there's one step further.

So this was happening to a great degree and if we'd not brought in some policy of stabilization then the labor movement was vulnerable as an institution, as it's been in any country where inflation has been more or less uncontrolled. So I was convinced it was in the best interests of the labor movement and the workers, and I still am.

Q.: Getting back to the overall situation. There is a possibility of a general strike which obviously isn't good, but it's not all gloom and doom. Can you sort of see a light at the end of the tunnel?

Munro: I see a light at the end of the tunnel in the terms of this manifesto. This is something we can work out with labor. I can see this leading to some really beneficial discussions as to what labor expects as its legitimate share of the country's wealth in an economic sense — its share of the gross national expenditure and what its share should be of national incomes. And if we get to that type of discussion in Canada, it seems to me then that we'll inject some rationality in terms of adequate sharing throughout the entire national economy.

No-strike pledge could guarantee labor share of wealth

Star July 21/76

Opinion

By WILLIAM DIMMA

A new social contract must be an integral part of any lasting solution to inflation. Any social contract to be worth its salt in the Canadian milieu, must meet four tests:

— It must be rooted in the private sector.

— It must encourage productivity—the more efficient creation of wealth;

— It must deal explicitly with the issue of income distribution; and

— It must make strikes obsolete.

A social contract means shifting the emphasis in labor-management relations from confrontation to collaboration. But this means there must be more sharing of power between labor and management. The creation and distribution of wealth must be viewed as the integral problem it is, not as two separate problems with management and labor each failing to examine the totality or to recognize the legitimate interest of the other side.

The concept of social contract begins with the assumption that the use of the strike weapon should be sharply curtailed or, better, eliminated for some agreed-to trial period like five or even 10 years. During that period, the conditions to permit a more permanent elimination would be developed. The crucial issue is finding the best way to satisfy labor.

Two approaches

There are at least two approaches worth considering. One is to gain freedom from strikes over a given period of time for distribution to labor of a bargained share of the wealth created during that period. In effect, a bargain is struck in which everyone gains. Strike obsolescence plus incentives to productivity improvement mean more wealth to distribute.

The other approach, and perhaps both approaches are needed, is to gain productivity improvements and freedom from work stoppages for a larger voice to labor in managing the economy. This will not be popular with many businessmen nor even with many union leaders. Nevertheless there can be no long-run industrial peace and no escape from inflation so long as unions hold power but lack responsibility.

There are different ways to bring labor into the industrial decision-making process. Labor involvement on boards of directors is one direction. Another is participation by unions, along with corporations and governments, in a tripartite sharing of responsibility for income distribution.

★ William Dimma becomes president of Toronto Star Ltd. on June 1, after serving as dean of administrative studies at York University. This is an excerpt from a speech to the University of Western Ontario school of business administration.

This suggestion raises hackles in some circles and is given pejorative labels like syndicalism or quasi-corporatism. Perhaps it should be called co-operative economic management in contrast with the adversary system with which we are all sadly familiar.

I realize full well that these are large and untested changes for a country which prides itself on gradualism and evolution. But unless the issues of income distribution, a larger role for labor in economic management, productivity improvement, and the elimination of strikes are dealt with, not separately but together, through intensive dialogue between business and labor, government will do it for them.

And, that could be in a way involving more pervasive and permanent controls than we have yet seen.

Another series of issues, which will be more front and centre in the next decade and which has profound implications for the future of our economy, involves corporate size, problems of legitimacy, and the role of regulation by government.

There is a need for bigness in our business organizations and financial institutions. Our domestic market is small and in many fields can support only a few world-sized companies if we are to remain cost-efficient in competition with the large institutions of our major trading partners, most notably the U.S.

To break up bigness in this country would be unwise. For only bigness provides us with the ability to survive against the low costs of the giant corporations of our neighbor to the south without reverting to high tariffs and over-insulation from world prices.

Private capital operating in highly competitive markets is admirable and should be encouraged. It is the part of our industrial society which has descended, largely unscathed, from the laissez-faire economic system which Adam Smith admired.

Big decisions

But the big decisions in all modern industrial societies are made by big corporations, big unions, big government. We cannot restore free markets in the great majority of those cases where they have ceased to function. Nor should we want to turn back the clock, for large corporations serve us well, certainly better than their critics realize or admit.

There is, however, a problem. While we need bigness in our corporations, there is always a risk that bigness, and the power which goes with it, will not be used responsibly. Thus the role of government regulation.

Coming at it from another direction, there must be, in a democracy, concern for the legitimacy of institutions with power. There is a perception in some circles that corporate power does not meet sufficiently the tests which can be applied.

For better or for worse, society has turned to government regulation to cope with the twin problems of role conflict and legitimacy. But the high price is the inefficiency of regulation by bureaucracy and the distortion of markets, which frequently results.

For the future, the best solution may be a mix of regulation at no greater level than at present plus movement to a tripartite sharing of responsibility for economic management among the three major participants: Business, labor and government.

This approach merely recognizes more formally that power is divided and that only shared decision-making can avoid the sterility of fragmented powers nullifying one another. The alternatives are economic stalemate or drift to more autocratic government, whether of the left or the right.

Over the past two or three decades there has been a sharp increase in the share of the Gross National Product consumed by governments at all levels in Canada. Including transfer payments, the figure in 1960 was 22 per cent. By 1976, the figure has risen to an estimated 42 per cent.

The reason is simple: There has been a greater increase in the kinds of services which the public sector traditionally provides than in the kinds of goods and services which the private sector supplies.

Not unnoticed

Over the past couple of years, this escape from restraint has not gone unnoticed and some discipline is in the process of being reapplied.

This may cause consumers on average to press for a higher ratio of private-sector goods and services to public-sector services. Then again, it may not.

Research on lung cancer will and should expand faster than cigarette use. Health care for the aged will and should expand faster than disposal diaper and bassinette consumption.

Does this suggest that, despite temporary setbacks, government expenditures in Canada will go on rising as a per cent of the Gross National Product? It need not, it must not and indeed it will not if we learn how to assign roles to the two sectors more in line with their distinctive competences.

Only government can formulate policy as, for example, set national goals or develop an industrial strategy.

At the same time, the private sector is demonstrably superior at implementing policies. There are many government programs which could be handled much more efficiently by the private sector once we sort out our national objectives and priorities.

The potential effectiveness of goal and strategy-formulation by government coupled with the efficiency of private-sector implementation is a relationship which I believe will become more significant over the next decade.

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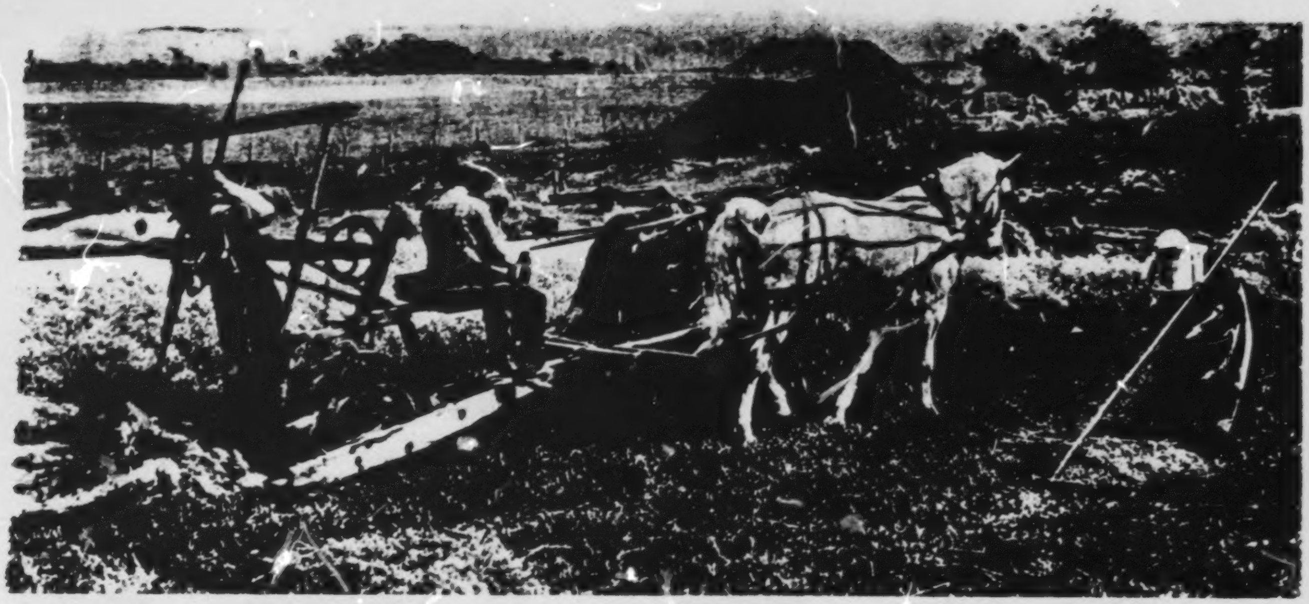

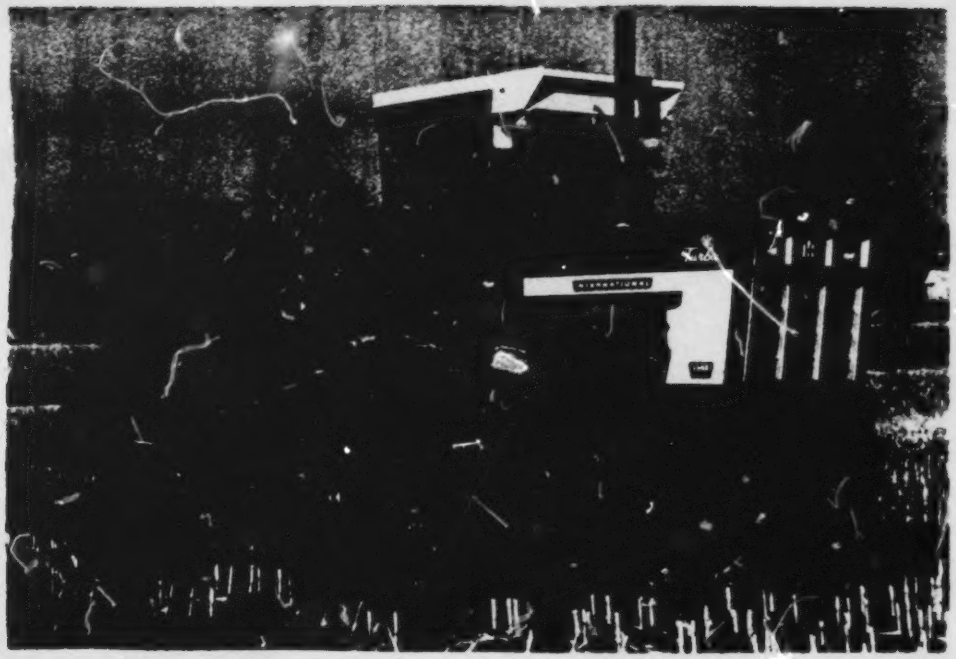
INTERNATIONAL
Turbo

SOME FEARS OF THE MACHINE

1. "I am afraid a machine will take over my job. Then what will happen to me?"

2. "In a sense, when work is reduced, as it almost certainly will be, there is a very real crisis of values for people generally. Great groups of people have been trained by nothing in their whole culture, background, religion, and philosophic conceptions for anything other than work as a meaningful activity."

Leo Cherne
Nation's Business

3. "Machines get between me and other people. They make me feel less human. I send a letter and receive an I.B.M. card."

4. Dear Computer: After the three dates you matched me with, I have decided to give up and let my mother find a nice boy for me after all.

Jean C.

5. "Machines get between me and nature. Will I have to live in a man-made world and never even see a tree?"

6. "I am losing my self-sufficiency, my privacy, my individuality. I am dependent on machines and the people who control them. I have less influence on the development of my own children than the T.V. set."

7. "I have less and less influence on society. Computers calculate the results of an election before I even cast my vote."

Is this Jo's job the most boring?

The Sunday Sun, September 30, 1973 B21

By JOAN BARFOOT
Staff Writer

The gleaming piles of three-foot strips of tin are always there beside Jo Laing's punchpress. Every 15 seconds she picks up one; puts it beneath the press; steps on a pedal; watches the press descend and — presto! — there's another bucket bottom.

Then she picks up another strip of tin; puts it beneath the press; steps on a pedal . . .

Jo Laing does that maybe 1,300 times a day at Vulcan Industrial Packaging, in Rexdale. Somewhere along the line the bottom she made becomes part of a completed pail, but Jo can't see them from where she sits.

What she knows is that she takes a strip of tin; puts it beneath the press; steps on a pedal . . .

Boring? You bet. Ontario Federation of Labor officials say working a punchpress is about the most numbing, unstimulating, repetitive, just plain boring job you can find.

And like thousands of other assembly-line workers, she's stuck in a boring job that offers little reward but the paycheque.

"You need the money and you just continue to work," says Jo, who has done nothing but factory work since leaving school at 16.

There are about 3,000,000 blue collar workers in the Canadian labor force of 9,610,000. Most spend a minimum of eight hours a day, almost one-third of their lives, at unrewarding jobs.

Gord Wilson, director of education for the United Auto Workers in Toronto and vice-president of the Ontario Federation of Labor, says of assembly line jobs in auto plants:.

"It's a ball-breaker.

"There's no way you're going to make the job pleasant or stimulating for a guy who has one-and-a-half minutes to paint a car door, sometimes for 56 hours a week.

"I don't think an auto worker works for creativity. It's mind-boggling, tiring, boring, repetitive work. And he gets paid reasonably well to make up for it.

"What are his alternatives? He trades off half of his life as a human being for a paycheque It's a stinking bargain, but it's necessary."

Many workers, especially the young, are wondering how necessary that "stinking bargain" is.

Some of them are sabotaging the products they make, deliberately building in faults. A psychologist describes this syndrome as "striking out blindly at their bondage."

Some frequently skip work: Absenteeism has became a major headache to industry. Some almost eagerly walk out on wildcat strikes. And some are pushing their unions for more than wage increases in their contracts.

They want, as Chrysler negotiators have discovered, free weekends. They want to be able to say no to overtime so that they can plan to do things with their families. They want choice, some control over their work and leisure time.

And some people simply aren't working.

They're looking and waiting for jobs that mean something, eight hours that will stimulate, not numb them. The Canadian government, with its Opportunities for Youth and Local Initiatives Programs saying "You find a rewarding occupation for yourself and we'll pay you." is probably the first government in the world to recognize that there's more to work than work.

Impatience, anger and frustration on production lines where the Jo Laings of the world work may push unions and companies into new areas of making workers' lives better

If not, some sociologists say, there will be a revolution on the lines one of these days.

Somehow, it's hard to think of Jo Laing as a revolutionary. But then who knows what she might start thinking about tomorrow when she gets back to the business of confronting that ever present pile of tin that she must pick up, put under the press, step on a pedal . . .

Jo Laing's job may be the most boring in Metro. Is it? Or is yours the most boring job of all? Write The Sunday Sun, 322 King St. W., Toronto. Mark the envelope: Boring Jobs.

APPENDIX IX-D(iv)

'You go numb' doing same thing 346 times a day

By ROBERT REGULY
Star staff writer

OSHAWA

Every 80 seconds, Robert Tapp attaches a frame to the right side of a metal sculpture on its way to becoming a Chevrolet car. He does the same thing 346 times a day, five days a week.

Tapp works in the "jungle," a vine-like maze of hoses that feed the welding machines and racketing tools on assembly line B at General Motors' Oshawa south plant.

"You go numb in the head," Tapp says on his 42-minute lunch period. "I feel the job is lousy."

But he's been sticking with it for 10 years. For Tapp and his workmates—average education Grade 10—it comes down to this: Where else can I make $12,000 a year?

The main complaint of the "jungle's" denizens was the inexorable demand to do a bit of work in time to catch up with the next car 80 seconds later.

Better product

"If we had more time to work on the job we'd make a better product," Tapp said, and his mates nodded agreement. "We buy the same cars too."

But the automobile assembly line, the epitome of mass production and mind-bending boredom for half a century, has no time for time.

At the end of the lunch break a horn blows, the line starts again and the men dash to their posts. "We're 10 units ahead at lunch," said a worker, gulping his coffee.

"If we were 10 units behind, the foreman would be on our necks."

In the final body assembly, a worker on one of his two 10-minute shift breaks says: "The best part of this job is 30 and out"—retirement on full pension after 30 years.

"Young people stay a few days and quit," says a body line repairman. "They're mostly vets here."

Given this relative stability—the company claims average length of service is about 12 years—"we don't have the terrific problems they have in the American GM plants," the repairman said.

"At least here they're still willing to work."

Benefits good

George Jacobs has been at the plant 21 years. "It's as good as any place to work, considering the benefits," he says. "But I wouldn't do it ever again. I'd start a store."

Assembly line workers get $4.60 to $4.75 hourly plus an 11-cents hourly cost-of-living bonus and a five-per-cent night shift bonus. There are two shifts. GM Oshawa has about 14,000 employees and produces more than 1,800 cars and trucks daily.

General Motors, stung by absenteeism, job turnover and a don't-care attitude at some of its United States plants, notably at Lordstown, Ohio, is launching a program of worker "involvement."

The basic idea is to get workers to care, and thus to turn out better cars, or at least autos with fewer defects.

"We're trying to get more participation through people programs," says Robert Carroll, director of organization and development at Oshawa.

Cost millions

Studies that cost millions of dollars discovered, Carroll says, "there was a direct correlation between motivation and operational environment and good results." Translation: A happy worker produces a good car.

As part of the studies, Oshawa workers were asked to fill out questionnaires, anonymity assured, on how they felt about their jobs.

What drew lowest marks was "receptivity of upper management"—in plainer words, the way the administration listens to the worker. To the company's surprise, the foremen were more upset by this than the workers they bossed. The ordinary worker at least could complain to the foreman, but the foreman felt he couldn't beef to anyone.

Time to explain

So General Motors is training "utility trainers"—32 so far in Oshawa—men who can perform any job on their section of the line. The purpose is to give the foreman time to explain to his men how they fit into the grand system.

The company is finding out that automation has reached the stage of diminishing returns, Carroll says. Now they must return to consider the satisfaction of "the human resources."

The human resource away down there on the assembly line often knows a better way, as the company has happily discovered in its new attempts to ask him how the job, and thus the product, can be improved.

The whole idea, Carroll says, is "to make the job more interesting, turn out better quality, cut down absenteeism and turnover."

But although the system is beginning to realize that the assembly line worker is human, he will remain basically a cog. The system of mass production is based on a division of labor where the worker performs short and simplified tasks repeatedly.

There seems to be no easy way out for the Oshawa worker doing the same chore every 80 seconds.

How Can We Automate Without Killing Jobs?

The following is based on an article by Ed Finn, Labour writer for THE TORONTO STAR, *which appeared in December 1971.*

Ask the average Canadian worker about his hopes and fears for 1972, and his answer would relate to one paramount issue: job security.

He would be happy if he could be sure, on New Year's Day, that he would still have his job and income at the year's end. Observing plant shutdowns, layoffs, lengthening lineups at the Unemployment Insurance and welfare offices, he is gripped by apprehension.

This insecurity is causing much of our current labour unrest. As workers' ranks are decimated by unemployment, they turn the heat on their unions to stop the disappearance of jobs. The unions, in turn, try to make it more difficult for companies to reduce personnel.

So we have more conflicts over the introduction of technological change, more disputes over contracting out of work, more wildcat strikes over the elimination of jobs, more opposition to the hiring of strikebreakers.

Unless effective measures are taken, by governments as well as employers, the prospect is for a sharp rise in industrial strife.

Canada has the world's fastest growing labour force with an estimated 2.5 million more job-seekers expected in the next decade. There is no assurance our economy will expand enough to create that many more jobs. If not, Canadian unions will be forced by their members to become more rigidly "protectionist", to stand firm against new methods and machinery, to fight for some form of guaranteed income or employment.

Unions are constantly being lectured on the need to abandon archaic work rules, to remove jurisdictorial limits, to stop make-work practices. "We have to increase productivity if we are to remain competitive," they are told repeatedly.

But when greater efficiency is achieved solely at the workers' expense, it is expecting too much of unions to ask their cooperation in automating their members out of work.

"If I agree to more productivity when it could put my members on the street", said one steelworker official last week, "I'd be out on the street politically."

Labour Minister Bryce Mackasey has shown in his new labour code that job security is one of his primary concerns. As Mackasey has remarked: "The basic cause of insecurity among workers is technological change." He has tried, in his proposed legislation, to provide safeguards against the most disruptive and inhuman aspects of such innovations.

Canadian employers, however, fiercely resist these proposals. They are unwilling to share the social and economic costs of automation. Most still insist that workers bear the entire burden. Nine out of ten Canadian companies don't even give employees advance notice of technological changes that will harmfully affect them. Even fewer employers provide ways of easing the blow of layoffs.

If an economic system is to continue, then means will have to be devised for modernizing and increasing production without destroying jobs.

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The Toronto Star INSIGHT SECTION

Auto workers fight against assembly line drudgery

By DAVID PIKE
Star staff writer

"Humanizing the work place."

This will be an emotional issue in contract talks when negotiators for the United Auto Workers of America (UAW) and the Big Three automakers sit down at the bargaining table this summer.

The Canadian leadership of the union already is emphasizing humanization as an issue. pointing out that increasingly more of its members, particularly assembly line workers, are complaining that their work is depressing drudgery that requires no personal initiative and imparts little feeling of fulfilment.

About 80.000 Canadian UAW members are employed by General Motors, Ford and Chrysler at plants in 10 centres in Ontario and one in Quebec.

Humanizing the work place, as UAW Canadian director Dennis McDermott saw it in an interview. doesn't necessarily have a great deal to do with the physical activity of the worker. "It has to do with the environment, the entire discipline procedure, with human variables," he said.

McDermott's point is that "industrial society ought to be changed to conform more or less to normal society.

"A guy 18 to 22, he's lived all his life in a relatively free and permissive society. He goes into this work force and suddenly, for eight hours a day, he's treated virtually like a prisoner or at best a chattel."

By humanizing the work place, McDermott means alleviating the monotony of the job, not by eliminating the work that has to be done but by changing how it is done so that it is not so mind-numbingly repetitive.

He means management liberalizing its attitudes toward workers and enforcement of discipline. "It's almost like working in a prison," he contends. "The fences, the security guards, like they're there as much to keep the workers in as to keep intruders out. And the time clocks and the silly and anachronistic rules and regulations that dictate every second of an employee's life on the job."

Plant too noisy?

Meet the Premier

Assembly line workers who feel dehumanized might get a chance to convey their depression to Premier William Davis on Monday when he visits a General Motors plant in Oshawa.

Davis will visit the plant on one of his regular "meet-the-people" tours.

A spokesman for the premier said Davis wants to have a first-hand look at plant conditions and chat wherever possible with assembly line workers.

"I can't get all that desperate," adds the company official.

The case for the companies was stated in a recent New York speech by General Motors chairman Richard C. Gerstenberg, in which he said that "for management to ignore the increasing public concern about the quality of life in the work place would be foolish and naive.

"Some of our employees, like others in our society, are experiencing frustration and unrest. No one will deny we have serious problems here. Although the plight of the worker has indeed been magnified by political leaders, union officials and social critics, it would be unwise for us to rationalize inaction merely because the case has been overstated to the public."

What the public doesn't comprehend is that greater worker control over jobs involves "an extra cost—a direct cost to the manufacturer which must inevitably be reflected in the price of the product; that is, the price the consumer must pay," he said.

Not just profit

"But so what if it does," argues McDermott, referring to the higher cost to the manufacturer. "The concentration has got to be on people and not just pure profit."

Union leaders refer to Lordstown, Ohio, as an example of what can happen when workers become fed up with the assembly line.

At Lordstown, a production speedup prompted a 23-day strike last March which idled GM's 7,800-man

He means a bigger voice for local plant employees in decisions affecting their working environment—is this plant too noisy? Does that one need better air conditioning?

McDermott says the union won't sign master agreements with General Motors, Ford and Chrysler until its locals reach agreement on their own local plant demands.

So far no single issue appears contentious enough to warrant a strike.

McDermott has already served notice on Ford that the UAW will be pressing the humanization issue.

A Ford spokesman told The Star the company is reluctant to discuss the issue for fear of polarizing the two sides before talks even begin.

Just how far the UAW will press the issue with the Big Three is still uncertain.

American and Canadian production workers will air their opinions on contract goals when they meet at a preliminary bargaining conference in Atlanta, Ga., Feb. 15 and 16.

But the union leadership will be waiting for the international bargaining convention of production, skilled trades, and office workers in Detroit March 22 to 24 for definite directives from the rank and file.

Using these directives as guidelines, the union will draft its list of demands at a June conference of bargainers. Actual negotiations usually begin about two months prior to the mid-September contract expirations.

Put it on line

The humanization issue had its genesis in Canada last summer at a meeting of the Ford union bargaining council.

It turned out later that the rank and file were serious about it too.

At the Canadian UAW council meeting in Port Elgin last October, resolution No. 1 put it on the line:

"It is increasingly clear that the work in the assembly plants, i.e., automobile, aircraft, implements and parts, has become a critical problem because increasing numbers of workers find their work fundamentally dissatisfying and dehumanising. The intrinsic physical nature of the assembly line denies man the opportunity to think about, let alone take pride in, his work.

"The assembly line alienates, bores, depersonalizes and dehumanizes. In the present terms, worker dissatisfaction is expressed in drugs, alcoholism, fury and hopelessness."

"It's a fairly immoderate statement," was the comment of one company official. "They're pretty strong words."

McDermott says: "The whole thing is alarming enough to expose to the auto companies that unless they do something fairly soon they're not going to have a viable work force 10 years from now."

[illegible]. But it became apparent that it was more than the speedup—it was a feeling among many of the workers that they were "controlled" by the constantly moving line.

GM and the union reached an accommodation at Lordstown, but Local 1112 president Gary Bryner is reported as saying the unrest has not been resolved.

Some union leaders and social psychologists, reinforced by the make-up of the Lordstown work force, tend to attribute the growing discontent among the UAW rank and file to a growing youth revolt against discipline and the work ethic in general.

McDermott says that in Canada the discontent perhaps is sparked by younger workers, many of them well-educated and turning to the high-paying assembly line jobs because of high unemployment, but he claims it is prevalent at all age levels.

Team approach

Union negotiators will probably cite Volvo's radical experiment in Sweden when they get down to the actual nuts and bolts of the job. However, the weight of rank and file pressure is likely to determine how far they can go in pressing the Big Three to adopt some form of Volvo's team approach to assembling cars.

The Volvo concept involves a team of 15 to 25 employees responsible for assembling a section of a car, such as the electrical system. The team, in co-operation with the foreman, assigns its own members particular tasks and decides when to rotate them.

The team has a daily quota, and the pace of work is determined by the workers themselves.

Jobs might be rotated every few hours or every day, as opposed to the North American operation in which a worker performs the same task day after day on each unit as it passes by him on the line.

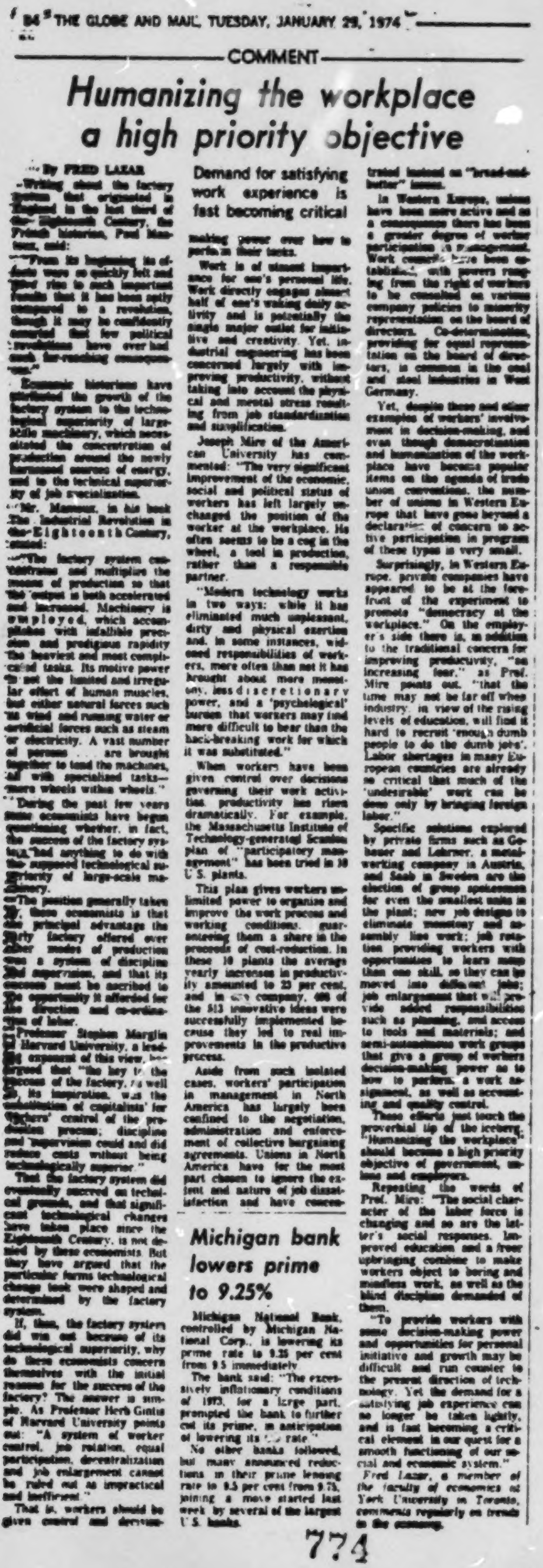
So far GM is the only North American automaker actually experimenting with group assembly, at Pontiac, Mich., where it is starting production of a new type of motor-home.

But by the end of April, only 1,300 motor homes will have been produced—far from the 1,000 cars a day or 200,000 a year one plant can turn out.

By comparison, the new plant geared to team assembly which Volvo will open next year at Kalmar, Sweden, will have an annual capacity of only 30,000 cars.

The consensus of Big Three officials appears to be that converting large-volume, high-speed assembly to the Swedish method, or some variation of it, doesn't make economic sense.

McDermott says the union feels it doesn't make sense of any kind not to change the 65-year-old line, and the sooner the better.



B4 THE GLOBE AND MAIL, TUESDAY, JANUARY 29, 1974

COMMENT

Humanizing the workplace a high priority objective

Demand for satisfying work experience is fast becoming critical

By FRED LAZAR

Writing about the factory system that originated in England in the last third of the Eighteenth Century, the French historian, Paul Mantoux, said:

"From its beginning its effects were so quickly felt and gave rise to such important results that it has been aptly compared to a revolution, though it may be confidently asserted that few political revolutions have ever had such far-reaching consequences."

Economic historians have attributed the growth of the factory system to the technological superiority of large-scale machinery, which necessitated the concentration of production around the newly harnessed sources of energy, and to the technical superiority of job specialization.

Mr. Mantoux, in his book The Industrial Revolution in the Eighteenth Century, stated:

"The factory system concentrates and multiplies the means of production so that the output is both accelerated and increased. Machinery is employed, which accomplishes with infallible precision and prodigious rapidity the heaviest and most complicated tasks. Its motive power is not the limited and irregular effort of human muscles, but either natural forces such as wind and running water or artificial forces such as steam or electricity. A vast number of persons . . . are brought together to tend the machines, all with specialized tasks—mere wheels within wheels."

During the past few years some economists have begun questioning whether, in fact, the success of the factory system had anything to do with the supposed technological superiority of large-scale machinery.

The position generally taken by these economists is that the principal advantage the early factory offered over other modes of production was a system of discipline and supervision, and that its success must be ascribed to the opportunity it afforded for the direction and co-ordination of labor.

Professor Stephen Marglin of Harvard University, a leading exponent of this view, has argued that "the key to the success of the factory, as well as its inspiration, was the substitution of capitalists' for workers' control of the production process; discipline and supervision could and did reduce costs without being technologically superior."

That the factory system did eventually succeed on technical grounds, and that significant technological changes have taken place since the Eighteenth Century, is not denied by these economists. But they have argued that the particular forms technological change took were shaped and determined by the factory system.

If, then, the factory system did win out because of its technological superiority, why do these economists concern themselves with the initial reasons for the success of the factory? The answer is simple. As Professor Herb Gintis of Harvard University points out: "A system of worker control, job rotation, equal participation, decentralization and job enlargement cannot be ruled out as impractical and inefficient."

That is, workers should be given control and decision-making power over how to perform their tasks.

Work is of utmost importance for one's personal life. Work directly engages almost half of one's waking daily activity and is potentially the single major outlet for initiative and creativity. Yet, industrial engineering has been concerned largely with improving productivity, without taking into account the physical and mental stress resulting from job standardization and simplification.

Joseph Mire of the American University has commented: "The very significant improvement of the economic, social and political status of workers has left largely unchanged the position of the worker at the workplace. He often seems to be a cog in the wheel, a tool in production, rather than a responsible partner.

"Modern technology works in two ways: while it has eliminated much unpleasant, dirty and physical exertion and, in some instances, widened responsibilities of workers, more often than not it has brought about more monotony, less discretionary power, and a 'psychological' burden that workers may find more difficult to bear than the back-breaking work for which it was substituted."

When workers have been given control over decisions governing their work activities, productivity has risen dramatically. For example, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology-generated Scanlon plan of "participatory management" has been tried in 10 U.S. plants.

This plan gives workers unlimited power to organize and improve the work process and working conditions, guaranteeing them a share in the proceeds of cost-reduction. In these 10 plants the average yearly increases in productivity amounted to 23 per cent, and in one company, 400 of the 513 innovative ideas were successfully implemented because they led to real improvements in the productive process.

Aside from such isolated cases, workers' participation in management in North America has largely been confined to the negotiation, administration and enforcement of collective bargaining agreements. Unions in North America have for the most part chosen to ignore the extent and nature of job dissatisfaction and have concentrated instead on "bread-and-butter" issues.

In Western Europe, unions have been more active and as a consequence there has been a greater degree of worker participation in management. Work councils have been established, with powers ranging from the right of workers to be consulted on various company policies to minority representation on the board of directors. Co-determination, providing for equal representation on the board of directors, is common in the coal and steel industries in West Germany.

Yet, despite these and other examples of workers' involvement in decision-making, and even though democratization and humanization of the workplace have become popular items on the agenda of trade union conventions, the number of unions in Western Europe that have gone beyond a declaration of concern to active participation in programs of these types is very small.

Surprisingly, in Western Europe, private companies have appeared to be at the forefront of the experiment to promote "democracy at the workplace." On the employer's side there is, in addition to the traditional concern for improving productivity, "an increasing fear," as Prof. Mire points out, "that the time may not be far off when industry, in view of the rising levels of education, will find it hard to recruit 'enough dumb people to do the dumb jobs'. Labor shortages in many European countries are already so critical that much of the 'undesirable' work can be done only by bringing foreign labor."

Specific solutions explored by private firms such as Gebauer and Lehrner, a metal-working company in Austria, and Saab in Sweden are the election of group spokesmen for even the smallest units in the plant; new job designs to eliminate monotony and assembly line work; job rotation providing workers with opportunities to learn more than one skill, so they can be moved into different jobs; job enlargement that will provide added responsibilities such as planning, and access to tools and materials; and semi-autonomous work groups that give a group of workers decision-making power as to how to perform a work assignment, as well as accounting and quality control.

These efforts just touch the proverbial tip of the iceberg. "Humanizing the workplace" should become a high priority objective of government, unions and employers.

Repeating the words of Prof. Mire: "The social character of the labor force is changing and so are the latter's social responses. Improved education and a freer upbringing combine to make workers object to boring and mindless work, as well as the blind discipline demanded of them.

"To provide workers with some decision-making power and opportunities for personal initiative and growth may be difficult and run counter to the present direction of technology. Yet the demand for a satisfying job experience can no longer be taken lightly, and is fast becoming a critical element in our quest for a smooth functioning of our social and economic system."

Fred Lazar, a member of the faculty of economics at York University in Toronto, comments regularly on trends in the economy.

Michigan bank lowers prime to 9.25%

Michigan National Bank, controlled by Michigan National Corp., is lowering its prime rate to 9.25 per cent from 9.5 immediately.

The bank said: "The excessively inflationary conditions of 1973, for a large part, prompted the bank to further cut its prime, in anticipation of lowering its [illegible] rate."

No other banks followed, but many announced reductions in their prime lending rate to 9.5 per cent from 9.75, joining a move started last week by several of the largest U.S. banks.

Working Conditions

THE DIGNITY OF WORK

RESEARCH DEPARTMENT
ONTARIO FEDERATION OF LABOUR
15 GERVAIS DRIVE
DON MILLS ONTARIO

In spite of the notion in some quarters that automation will invariably make jobs less fatiguing and more interesting and exciting, or that it will eliminate work entirely, the concern of unions for the kind of work men do will continue and undoubtedly grow broader in years to come.

The quality of man's work has a profound effect upon his happiness and his feelings of personal worth and dignity. Unfortunately, however, for many, work is too often a source of frustration and discontent - a dreary, monotonous, unchallenging experience offering few satisfactions and little opportunity for personal growth.

In some cases, automation has reduced frustration by widening the worker's scope of operations and increasing his responsibility. However, there are many other cases on record in which its effect has been much less favourable.

Some automated jobs are more mentally fatiguing and create greater tension than conventional ones. When the machine-operator becomes a machine-monitor or a dial-checker, he must be constantly on the alert. Yet the need for action may arise only infrequently. The resulting tension is clearly reflected in the words of a worker in the steel mill described by Charles R. Walker in *Toward the Automatic Factory*:

> "On my old job ... my muscles got tired. I went home and rested a little bit and my muscles were no longer tired. I also had nothing to worry about. On Number 4 your muscles don't get tired, but you keep on thinking, even when you go home.
>
> "I'd rather have to work hard for eight hours than to do nothing physical but have to be tense for eight hours, the way I do now."

More recently another investigator, Dr. Ralph R. Coermann, a German industrial physiologist, found that control panel operators in the automated steel mills of Germany were becoming increasingly nervous and slower in responding to changing situations. Dr. Coermann noted, "It is no longer a source of surprise to us to find that the heart rate is higher for the man who operates a bank of machinery by the flick of a button on a control panel than for the man who does heavy physical work."

Observers have also reported an increase in nervous disorders, ulcers and eyestrain among operators of automatic letter sorting machines in the U.S. Post Office. And others have found that the noise level and the physical isolation of workers in some automated work situations add to the normal tensions and boredom of the work experience.

Studies in both the United States and Europe also reveal cases in which the work of office employees has become more boring and their freedom of movement more restricted after the introduction of new office machines. And there is some indication as well that the operation of computers during night shifts has added to the strains experienced by office employees.

Ideally, work should be satisfying and meaningful in its own right and not simply a means for obtaining satisfactions from other sources. And there are ways of making it so. Work methods are not rigidly determined by technological factors. Employers have a range of choice in the organization of work. They can do much to fit jobs to the physiological, psychological and social needs of their workers. And they have a moral responsibility, which they share with the scientist, the engineer, the union and others, to consider such needs.

Machines, tools, shop furniture and other work equipment can all be adjusted to people. For example, when the older workers in a chemical plant found it increasingly difficult to lift containers weighing up to 50 pounds to pour out required amounts of certain chemicals, the company placed the containers in a rocker and had siphoning devices attached. Another firm redesigned pliers used by women workers to conform to their hand structure and eliminate the strain in gripping caused by standard pliers. And in the Australian post office, automatic letter sorting machines help relieve neck and back muscle strains by carrying letters past the operator at eye level instead of at the level of a typewriter keyboard.

The sequence of work operations can also be designed to satisfy the need for greater interest and variety and to give workers a better opportunity to understand and relate to the total production process. Some companies have reversed the historic trend towards the atomized, assembly line kind of operation by enlarging job content and responsibility. And others have sought to achieve the same effect through a rotation process which permits the worker to move from one job to another at regular intervals.

There are other ways of humanizing the work environment as well. Giving the worker the opportunity to share in the process of revising work methods when technological changes occur can increase job interest and worker morale. And the same is true when workers are given the opportunity to mingle and talk with each other rather than being "placed in solitary confinement".

Frequently the argument is made that the recognition of human as well as purely production needs can lead to greater production and efficiency. This is no doubt true in many cases. Whether it is true in all or even the majority of cases, however, is irrelevant. An enormously productive society like ours ~~the United States~~, which takes special pride in its recognition of human values, can afford to adjust technology to human needs and should be constantly striving to do so.

Unfortunately, while we spend billions to promote technological change, we give very little attention to the problem of fitting jobs to workers. The time has now come to close the gap - to "demonstrate," as the Automation Commission has urged, "that the American way can give a new meaning and substance to that ancient phrase, 'the dignity of work.'"

"Technological Change and Retraining"

M. Griffin: Couchiching Conference, August 9, 1973

As long as man remains his seeking, social self, he will continue to try to adapt his environment to his needs. Attempts to slow the pace of change have resulted in dislocation, unemployment and insecurity more serious than technological change in any particular industry.

People are hurt by technological change when systems engineers do not take into account the whole system in their planning. They sometimes tend to forget the people involved in the system.

If this interaction between machines and people is not included in the design, not only will a lot of time and effort be wasted, but the credibility on which the operation of the system must eventually depend may be seriously impaired.

In an industrial economy machines are usually considered money well spent, but the tendency is to regard equivalent expenditure on people as unnecessary. Perhaps this is because people are considered easier to replace. More likely it is because we focus attention on capital investment where the risks of failure or the pay-offs of success are more immediately associable.

To be competitive, private concerns must be open to technological change, and because of an increasing customer demand for speed and reliability at reasonable cost, service utilities such as the railroads, airlines, telephone companies, electrical utilities, oil companies and the Post Office must also mechanize.

The primary reason for mechanization is to make the best possible use of human resources and not to save money by getting rid of people. We are leaving a generation in which managerial performance has been measured in dollars and body counts and entering an era in which related social and environmental concerns must be given priority. Nevertheless, a management responsible to its people will see that they have the tools they need and the skills to use them effectively.

The trouble with change is that it comes in two forms: functional, foreseeable change, for which plans can be made, and dysfunctional, unexpected change, which interrupts and interferes with plans.

Planned change, in which the planners can predetermine conditions within the scope of their knowledge and influence, may be functional to the planners, but quite dysfunctional to those who are affected by the plans. Yet management planners frequently expect employees to carry out their plans, hopefully without question or deviation, thus achieving the expectations of the planners, but not necessarily the expectations of those for whom the plans are made.

While well planned technological innovation often does not mean less workers in absolute terms, every new tool brings with it new methods, techniques, duties and responsibilities requiring structural changes from bottom to top of the organization.

These changes are far from peculiar to labour. They affect management just as drastically - maybe more so. Because machines tend to eliminate repetitive and mechanical work, they tend to displace the less skilled, less senior and less equipped marginal worker. On the management side, where the demands of the change process are more complex, it often is the older, more specialized, senior manager who is displaced.

A worker owns his skill at the level to which he has been able to develop it. Does he own his job? If the job is expropriated, to what compensation is he entitled? Rights are built on a foundation of obligations. If the worker has proprietary interests in a job, to what extent is he prepared to accept responsibility for the health of the organization which provides the job?

The principal concern of workers is less for job ownership than for some degree of control over their job situation. People are likely to accept machines as an extension of themselves, but not if they see themselves as an extension of the machine. Arthur Haley vividly illustrates this in the young workers' reaction to the automobile assembly line in "Wheels".

Nor do all workers want their jobs enriched - unless with money. But they do want some control over the time they spend at it, the context in which they do it, the value they put into it, and the way it influences the quality of their living.

While machines may replace certain operations in the micro-economy of a specific industry, the people displaced are replaced in a macro-economy by a host of engineers, designers, draftsmen, technicians and machine makers related directly to the machines, and a further host of accountants, methods, programming and clerical people required to deal with the changes resulting from new systems. An article by Professor E.F. Beach of McGill in Canadian Business, May 1970, suggests the employment created by technological change exceeds the unemployment by about 4½ times. The problem is that the employment and unemployment affect different people in different industries and sometimes in different countries.

Skilled workers may find skills acquired over a life-time no longer needed. Unions as well as management must share responsibility. Unions in their role of protecting the weak have successfully eliminated skill testing and work measurement which challenged the able. In doing so they have de-skilled jobs, and in the process demotivated the worker who identified with his skill. When rising costs exceed productivity, or service reliability is affected, management has little recourse other than simplifying the work process to the skill level available. The next step is mechanization and finally automation.

Our concern is to optimize functional change at the same time minimizing its dysfunctional counterpart.

There is a lack of good continuous information on the need for people with specific skills. Dr. Sylvia Ostry was working on a national job vacancy statistic in 1967. But a national approach is too clumsy. What we need is a local weekly newspaper listing of job opportunities in standard occupations on the principle of the stock exchange report. A weekly listing of major companies with vacancies and pay ranges would:

1. indicate relative social demand for such skills;
2. equate demand, price and availability;
3. accomplish, as a continuing public service, what surveys and advertising try to do now as a private service.

Displaced employees who have marketable skills may prefer to transfer, relocate, or seek employment elsewhere. For these people, ample advance notice of the change, help in finding opportunities at a relatively equivalent wage, time off for job interviews, and fully portable pensions, sick leave and vacation entitlement would be more helpful. For some close to retirement who can afford it, or who are unwilling to undergo the trauma of change, a good retirement counselling programme supplemented by a generous early retirement policy might be the answer.

Severance pay and supplementary unemployment benefits are stop-gap measures.

An organization's first concern is to make the most effective use of its resources. There is little excuse for the abuse, misuse or disuse of our human resources. Of all resources, people are the most flexible. They can learn, adapt, and contribute to the challenge of change given the reason and the chance. New methods of operation will require retraining. So will familiarization with the new equipment and facilities. But retraining is only one of many considerations in dealing with the effects of technological change.

One of the characteristics of this century has been the astounding growth in knowledge and its availability. Knowledge has produced technological innovation, and technological innovation has produced new knowledge. Both have produced new opportunities.

Our best defence against the dysfunctional aspect of change as individuals is in personal awareness and preparation - as employees it is in participation in the decision-making process on which our security depends.

This is the meaning of democracy and it is as important and as possible in the working community as in one's local neighbourhood.

Unions are one way of participation through representation, but unions as institutions often have the same hang-ups with centralized authority and autocratic power as bureaucratic managements.

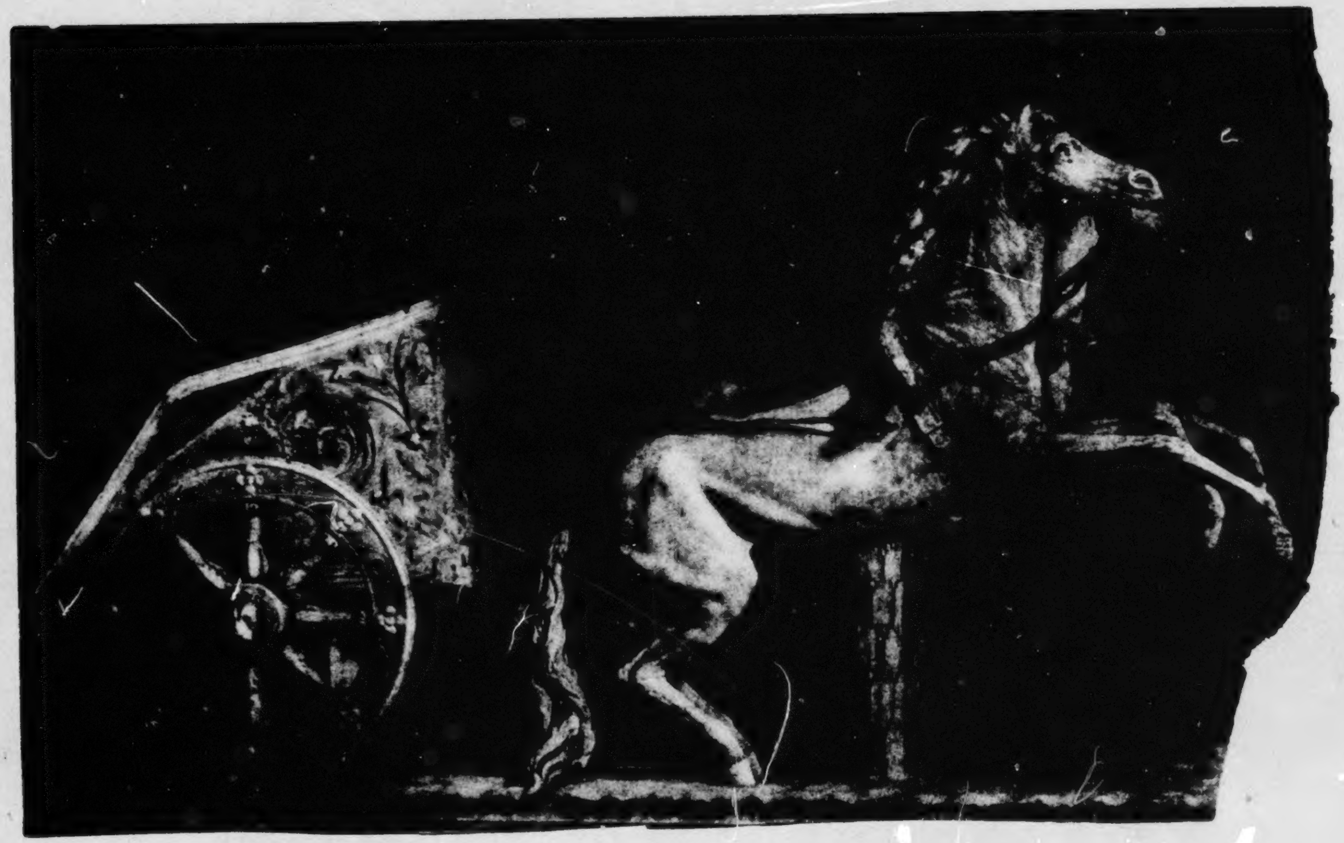
Participation means the active involvement of the worker in his work unit, making him aware of plans that affect him, seeking his advice on change, encouraging and supporting his contribution to organizational aims, accepting him as a responsible citizen in his neighbourhood.

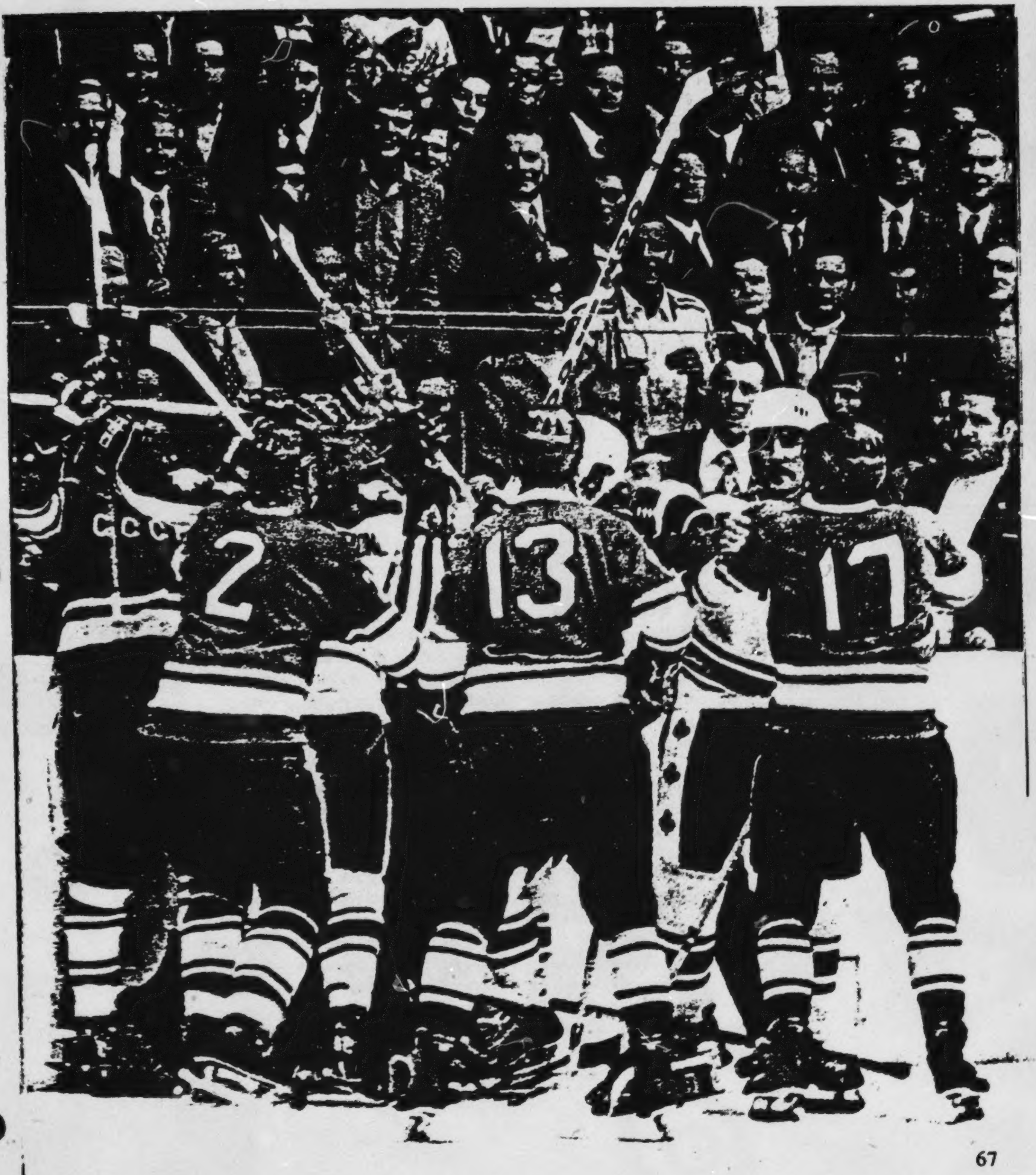
This may pose a problem for the union leader, particularly in the relatively young collective relationships. Unions generally play an effective role in opposition to management, not in co-operation. Making demands and winning concessions by criticism and confrontation may be more politically expedient than a policy of positive leadership. But if we are to meet the challenge of technological change to achieve the expectations of both the planners and the planned in the best interest of both the organization and those who contribute to it, we must learn to use our differences constructively in an atmosphere of co-operative problem solving.

Fortunately, there are few problems so great that we cannot solve them by working together. The flight to the moon was a wonderful demonstration of the power of teamwork. But even the simplest problem can also be used to promote conflict.

Adjustment to change is a necessary concomitant to life itself. No one can do it for us, but by working together with genuine care and concern for those persons for whom our plans produce problems, we cannot only alleviate the problems, but perhaps turn them to advantage.

APPENDIX IX-E(i)





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ATROPHIED MUSCLES AND EMPTY ART

...[W]hen we speak of leisure nowadays, we are not thinking of securing time or opportunity to do something; time is heavy on our hands, and the problem is how to fill it. Leisure no longer signifies a space with some difficulty secured against the pressure of events: rather it is a pervasive emptiness for which we must invent occupations. Leisure is a vacuum, a desperate state of vacancy – a vacancy of mind and body. It has been commandeered by the sociologists and the psychologists: it is a problem.

Our diurnal existence is divided into two phases, as distinct as day and night. We call them *work* and *play.* We work so many hours a day, and, when we have allowed the necessary minimum for such activities as eating and shopping, the rest we spend in various activities which are known as *recreations*, an elegant word which disguises the fact that we usually do not even play in our hours of leisure, but spend them in various forms of passive enjoyment or *entertainment* – not football but watching football matches; not acting, but theatre-going; not walking, but riding in a motor coach.

We need to make, therefore, a hard-and-fast distinction *not only* between work and play but, equally, between active play and passive entertainment. It is, I suppose, the decline of active play – of amateur sport – and the enormous growth of purely receptive entertainment which has given rise to a sociological interest in the problem. If the greater part of the population, instead of indulging in sport, spend their hours of leisure 'viewing' television programmes, there will inevitably be a decline in health and physique. And, in addition, there will be a psychological problem, for we have yet to trace the mental and moral consequences of a prolonged diet of sentimental or sensational spectacles on the screen. There is, if we are optimistic, the possibility that the diet is too thin and unnourishing to have much permanent effect on anybody. Nine films out of ten seem to leave absolutely no impression on the mind or imagination of those who see them; few people can give a coherent account of the film they saw the week before last, and at longer intervals they must rely on the management to see that they do not sit through the same film twice.

We have to live art if we would be affected by art. We have to paint rather than look at paintings, to play instruments rather than go to concerts, to dance and sing and act ourselves, engaging all our senses in the ritual and discipline of the arts. Then something may begin to happen to us: to work upon our bodies and our souls.

It is only when entertainment is active, participated in, practised, that it can properly be called *play*, and as such it is a natural use of leisure. In that sense play stands in contrast to *work*, and is usually regarded as an activity that alternates with work. It is there that the final and most fundamental error enters into our conception of daily life.

Work itself is not a single concept. We say quite generally that we work in order to make a living: to earn, that is to say, sufficient tokens which we can exchange for food and shelter and all the other needs of our existence. But some of us work physically, tilling the land, minding the machines, digging the coal; others work mentally, keeping accounts, inventing machines, teaching and preaching, managing and governing. There does not seem to be any factor common to all these diverse occupations, except that they consume our time, and leave us little leisure.

We may next observe that one man's profession or work is often another man's recreation or play. The merchant at the week-end becomes a hunter (he has not yet taken to mining); the clerk becomes a gardener; the machine-tender becomes a breeder of bull-terriers. There is, of course, a sound instinct behind such transformations. The body and mind are unconsciously seeking compensation – muscular coordination, mental integration. But in many cases a dissociation is set up and the individual leads a double life – one half Jekyll, the other half Hyde. There is a profound moral behind that story of Stevenson's, for the compensation which a disintegrated personality may seek will often be of an anti-social nature. The Nazi party, for example, in its early days was largely recruited from the bored – not so much from the unemployed as from the street-corner society of listless hooligans.

Scientific studies have been made of street-corner society, out of which crime, gangsterdom, and fascism inevitably develop. It is a society with leisure – that is to say, spare time – and without compensatory occupation. It does not need a Satan to find mischief for such idle hands to do. They will spontaneously itch to do something: muscles have a life of their own unless they are trained to purposeful actions. Actions, or rather *activities*, are the obvious reflex to leisure; they consume it, and leave the problem solved.

But work is also activity, and if we reach the conclusion that all our time must be filled with one activity or another, the distinction between work and play becomes rather meaningless, and what we mean by play is merely a change of occupation. We pass from one form of activity to another: one we call work, and for that we receive pay; the other we call play, and for that we receive no pay – on the contrary, we probably pay a subscription.

No doubt it is foolish to imagine that these tendencies can change before 1984. What is more likely is that passive entertainment will fill ever-expanding periods of non-employment. Bigger and better stadia will be built to accommodate vaster and vaster crowds of football fans. Cinemas will have disappeared because it requires less effort to view the same kind of programme on the television screen. But driven out by boredom and satiation the younger people will crowd into dives where they can expend their unused energies in dancing like dervishes to the jazz bands. Another form of excitement will find its outlet in betting shops, which will have proliferated in every city, in every street. By 1984 gambling will have been nationalized and will be the greatest single source of revenue.

Meanwhile, the arts, in any historical meaning of the word, will have disappeared. Already in 1964 few people read books for pleasure; they 'use' them, or even 'view' them (books will have more and more pictures and less and less text). Poetry, already an arcane activity, will have totally disappeared. Fiction, even now a dwindling form of entertainment, will fade out and the only writers will be script-writers for the television screen. Style, in any of the arts, will be regarded as an anachronism, like ornament in architecture. The stage may still exist as a training-ground for actors, but no poets will write for it; plays will be produced by involving the actors in 'situations', for which they must improvise 'solutions'. The lighter forms of opera will survive because they are entertaining but composers like Beethoven, Wagner, and Stravinsky will be forgotten.

It is doubtful if the graphic arts will survive the present phase of action-painting. Their practice involves skill, and skill is not easily acquired. Already the art schools have abandoned any pretence to teach, and even the passive enjoyment of art, as the picture-dealers know, is beginning to decline. It is not a cheerful prospect for the arts, though there will be more and more artists in the sense of the word used by the entertainment industry. It will be a gay world. There will be lights everywhere except in the mind of man, and the fall of the last civilization will not be heard above the incessant din.

Sir Herbert Read

An Optimistic View

Politicians and educators, talking about increased leisure, mostly assume that people are so numb or servile that the hours in which they earn money need be made little more than hygienically bearable, while a new awareness is cultivated during the hours of leisure. This is to underestimate the future. Those who at present work in factories, mines, and offices will quite soon be able to live as only a few people now can: choosing their own congenial work, doing as much or as little of it as they like, and filling their leisure with whatever delights them. Those people who like fiddling with machinery and pressing buttons can service and press buttons in the robot-manned factories.

In London we are going to create a university of the streets – not a 'gracious' park but a foretaste of the pleasures of 1984. It will be a laboratory of pleasure, providing room for many kinds of action.

For example, the 'fun arcade' will be full of the games and tests that psychologists and electronics engineers now devise for the service of industry or war – now it will be piped through juke-boxes. In the music area we shall have, by day, instruments available, free instruction, recordings for anyone, classical, folk, jazz, and pop disc libraries; by night, jam sessions, jazz festivals, poetry and dance – every sort of popular dancing, formal or spontaneous.

There will be a 'science playground' where visitors can attend lecture-demonstrations supported by teaching films, closed-circuit television, and working models; by night, the area will become an *agora* or *kaffeeklatsch* where the Socrates, the Abelards, the Mermaid poets, the wandering scholars of the future, the mystics, the sceptics, and the sophists can dispute till dawn. An acting area will afford the therapy of theatre for everyone: men and women from factories, shops, and offices, bored with their daily routine, will be able to re-enact incidents from their own experience in burlesque and mime and gossip, so that they no longer accept passively whatever happens to them but wake to a critical awareness of reality, act out their subconscious fears and taboos, and perhaps are stimulated to social research.

A plastic area will be a place for uninhibited dabbling in wood, metal, paint, clay, stone, or textiles, for the rediscovery of the childhood experience of touching and handling, for constructing anything (useless or useful, to taste) from a giant crane to a bird-cage.

But the essence of the place will be its informality; nothing is obligatory, anything goes. There will be no permanent structures. Nothing is to last for more than ten years, some things not even ten days: no concrete stadia, stained and cracking; no legacy of noble contemporary architecture, quickly dating; no municipal geranium-beds or fixed teak benches.

With informality goes flexibility. The 'areas' that have been listed are not segregated enclosures. The whole plan is open, but on many levels. So the greatest pleasure of traditional parks is preserved – the pleasure of strolling casually, looking in at one or other of these areas or (if this is preferred) settling down for several hours of work-play.

Besides the activities already briefly outlined, there will be plenty to engage imagination and enlarge experience. At various points, sheltered or open, there will be screens on which closed-circuit television will show, without editing or art, whatever is going on at a number of places in and out of London, and in the complex itself: it will be possible to see coal-mines, woodmen, and dockers actually at work; Monkey Hill, the aquarium, or the insect house at the Zoo; the comings and goings outside a local authority rest-centre, a Salvation Army hostel, the casualty ward of a hospital, or a West End club; newspanels will bring world and local news.

The curiosity that many people feel about their neighbours' lives can be satisfied instructively and with greater immediacy than in any documentary film ... and an occasion of major popular interest – a Cup Final, happenings of international interest, or a royal funeral – would be presented on screens of maximum size. The visitor can enjoy a sense of identity with the world about him.

Many who start by wandering half-attentively, or even sceptically, through the complex will be drawn into these and other elementary exercises in social observation. In what has been called the acting area, for instance, there will be no rigid division between performers and audience – a generalization of the technique used in Theatre Workshop for many years.

As I have described it, it may seem very busy, yet the general atmosphere will be one of relaxation and – equally important and now technically possible – there will be zones of quiet for those who don't feel like listening to music or taking part actively in all that is going on. Here they can watch, lounge about and find enjoyment in wasting time.

University graduates

32,000 vie for 17,100 jobs

By BRUCE WARD
Star staff writer

AT univeristy job placement centres the outlook is not promising.

The warning that jobs are scarce and graduates plentiful is being issued with diplomas, as an army of students prepares to leave Ontario's 40 colleges and universities.

A Statistics Canada survey for the fourth quarter of 1975 turned up 44,800 job vacancies across the country. In 1974, there were 71,200 and in 1973, 77,400.

In 1973-74, 87,735 degrees were granted at the 61 universities across Canada. There were 19,159 graduations in technical programs at Canada's community colleges in 1972-73. The figures are based on information supplied by educational institutions to Statictics Canada.

Statistics Canada also estimated that 17,100 jobs are now being offered in Ontario. And competition is fierce for the cream of these positions.

The Ministry of Colleges and Universities is projecting that 32,000 students will graduate this year from the 40 provincial institutions.

"We're telling students not to be too fussy or picky about accepting a job," Rivi Frankle, director of the University of Toronto's placement centre, said in an interview.

"We're telling everybody who registers to be aggressive and persist," a York University placement officer said in an interview.

"It is not enough anymore to sit home and wait for the phone to ring," she said. "Students are being told to read the job ads and to use friends and parents for leads."

Humility and willingness to work your way up the ladder are definite assets, Martha Casson, branch manager of the Manpower centre at Ryerson Polytechnical Institute said.

"That piece of paper is no longer the key to the vice-president's office," she said. "Ryerson students are still sought after because they're productive in the first three months."

At McMaster University in Hamilton, demand has been strong this spring for engineering and commerce graduates — but weak for three-year pass liberal arts graduates.

"Civil, mechanical and electrical engineering students have done well with the recruitment officers who've visited the campus," said William Thomas, branch manager of the university's Manpower centre.

"For the arts kids, the fields seem to be plugged," Thomas said.

"Sometimes we do find them places near the end of the summer," Thomas said. "Others just disappear."

The job outlook is similar at Queen's University in Kingston.

"Business grads are in demand and so are accountants and engineers," said Jim Kelly, director of Queen's placement centre.

Star photos by Colin McConnell

College students want jobs, not diplomas

By ANNE CAREY
Star staff writer

COMMUNITY colleges offer the promise of a job—not a sheepskin to hang on the wall that says graduates are a bachelor, master or doctor of a certain subject.

To find out how well the colleges supply the demand for skilled personnel The Star surveyed three community colleges in Metro: George Brown, Seneca and Humber.

Community colleges don't see themselves as rah-rah, old-school-tie outfits, although they're intensely proud of their graduates.

"We're not Joe College" said one placement officer at a Metro college.

Every year the colleges follow up their graduating classes of post secondary students and report to the Ministry of Colleges and Universities on job placement.

The ministry is pleased with the performance of all 22 of the colleges. In 1975, the placement rate for those seeking employment following graduation was 92 per cent.

Most found jobs

Gordon Fawcett, the ministry's co-ordinator of information systems and analysis, said 14,433 post secondary students graduated from the colleges in 1975. Of the 11,012 available for employment who were contacted, 10,178 had found jobs. And of that number 9,471 had found work related to their college courses.

The remaining graduates were either taking further education, untraceable, or seeking neither work nor further education.

But Humber, George Brown and Seneca placement rates for 1975 were even higher than the provincial rate.

In 1975, at Humber, 95 per cent of post secondary student graduates available for employment found work; at George Brown and Seneca, the rates were 94 and 93.2 per cent respectively.

"There is no question that we're pleased with the placement rates of the colleges," said Fawcett. "In the light of the fact that the colleges have as one of their principal missions the preparation of people for employment.

"The colleges are not a bargain basement version of the university. We think we've demonstrated the colleges provide a very viable alternative to university," he said.

The colleges won't turn an individual into a doctor, lawyer or Indian chief, but they will turn out butchers, bakers, candlestick makers and a long list of technicians and technologists.

They try to gear courses to the job market so there will not be too many nurses and not enough plumbers—if they can help it.

Barbara Serrett, director of student services at George Brown, said the province told the colleges "We need 5,000 nurses by 1976." The colleges have produced 4,000, she said, but hospital and health care spending cuts mean there just aren't as many jobs as predicted.

The numbers enrolled in any one course at any one college aren't a matter of whim, said Wayne Gartley, placement liaison officer at George Brown.

"If we trained everybody who wanted to become a child care worker, we'd flood the market and they wouldn't be able to get jobs. So, the Council of Regents for Ontario has set a limit on the number who can be trained each year.

"All our programs lead to employment. If they don't and we can't modify them to make them satisfactory, we cancel them," he said.

And the colleges don't just calculate the demand from employers, he added. "You also have to make sure that there's a demand from people to get into the course. You can survey industry and find out its needs, but there have got to be people who want to get into that field."

Graduates of the college's orthotic prosthetics techniques course are in demand right across the country, he said, but the nature of the work—making artificial limbs and braces — doesn't appeal to everybody, even though they could earn over $11,000 a year.

In the same way, not everybody wants to take Humber's funeral services course or its equine care and management course or its explosives technician course. And Seneca's underwater skills and fire protection technology courses aren't everyone's cup of tea either.

The colleges make it easy for employers to recruit graduates, said Ruth Matheson, Humber's director of career planning and placement. Recruiting by employers, both off and on the campus, is actively encouraged. Each year she sends out a list of Humber courses to over 1,000 prospective employers.

Get basic skills

Courses aren't arbitrarily given at the community colleges either. Industry advisory committees meet with the colleges to plan course curriculums so students get the basic, practical skills they'll need.

The students' needs are considered, too.

The colleges not only post available jobs, but also help prepare students for interviews. And if a course doesn't offer good long-range career prospects, it may disappear from the list of courses offered.

George Brown phased out its plastics research and development technology course, even though the industry said there was a need, because its graduates said the jobs offered provided neither challenge nor opportunities for advancement, said Gartley. "We don't want to be training people for minimum wage jobs they must keep for the rest of their lives. There's got to be some room for advancement."

The colleges also offer continuing education courses of general interest — everything from indoor gardening at George Brown to scuba diving at Humber.

In addition, they also work to retrain the unemployed through Canada Manpower sponsored short courses.

George Brown was formed in 1968 by the amalgamation of two trades institutes, the Provincial Institute of Trades and the Provincial Institute of Trades and Occupations. A year later the Adult Education Centres operated by the Toronto Board of Education were transferred to the college. And in 1973, five of the city's nursing schools were incorporated into the college.

So the composition of its student body is unusual. Gartley estimated about 45,000 full-time and part-time students attend every year.

But on any given day, the makeup of the student body is likely to be 39 per cent post secondary students, over 13 per cent apprentices to trades and over 36 per cent Manpower-subsidized trainees.

"We do the majority of the apprentice training in the province," he said. Electricians, plumbers, carpenters, steamfitters are among the college's apprentices. Other colleges specialize in specific trades. Centennial College, for example, offers the auto mechanics apprentice courses in Metro.

Gartley said Manpower trainees share the college's building and classrooms with its other students.

"We take real pride in them. That's why we haven't segregated them. These are people who may have failed at everything they tried."

From Sept. 1, 1974 to May 31, 1975, he contacted 1,471 of the 2,175 Manpower-course graduates. Of that number, 75 per cent had found jobs — 65 per cent in work related to their course.

Barbara Serrett added George Brown has about 250 students who already have a university education. "We have PhDs come and take our upholstery course.

"We haven't been able to do a complete study on why they come. But they keep telling us it's 'to get a job'," she said; "the word is now out that going to university is not going to get you a job."

COMMENT

G+M 5.8.73

Many in work force trapped in poor jobs

At present, a large part of our work force is trapped into dead-end, poor-paying jobs. The family incomes generated by these jobs are low or close to the poverty line.

The public often attributes the inability of these individuals to improve their job situations to laziness, individual preference or to poorly planned and executed government programs. For example, our currently more generous welfare system and unemployment insurance scheme are often identified as contributing to endemically high unemployment.

Recently a series of important economic studies were completed in the United States analyzing the impact of the structure of the economy on the labor market. The studies are important for us, as there are many obvious parallels between the operations of the labor market in both countries. A common thread running through the U.S. studies is the dichotomy between the advantaged and the disadvantaged in the U.S. labor market.

Much of this "dual economy" literature originally centred on the inner city problems of the black ghettos in the United States. The dual labor market approach rejects the textbook myth of one huge homogeneous labor market. At an aggregate level, there exists two major labor markets, a market for primary workers, where advantage, education, and skills are well rewarded, and a secondary labor market, where the unskilled and unmotivated are caught in a web of unstable jobs and substandard wages. Mobility of workers between these two markets is limited.

PAID EDUCATIONAL LEAVE

Trade union education, like other forms of education is a continuous process which never reaches a terminus either for the individual or society.

In recognizing the need for life-long education, it is also important to recognize the need for continuing economic security during the education or training period after entering the workforce. While this may be deemed an unfair economic burden on the company or the country, it is important to realize that we must compensate for the educational inequalities of the past and promote greater equality in the future. Education is a basic human right.

In today's fast changing society, we cannot afford to deny our population this right...a right that is theirs until 16 years of age and then a privilege for the next 50 or 60 years.

EDUCATIONAL LEAVE

The fact is, that Labour education has gained much greater recognition in Europe than in Canada. This is a reflection of the importance of and recognition by Governments for the need of such education. In European countries the financing of education for Union members while basically funded from union dues, is enhanced by legislative provisions that finance 50-100% of prescribed courses.

The concept of paid educational leave is no longer a dream but has now become a reality in many countries. European legislation has broadened the concept of workers education and has extended it beyond the vocational, technical training, upgrading of skills and job oriented training. Germany, Italy, England, Sweden, France and other countries have recognized the importance of a well-informed worker, one who is aware of the political, social and economic necessities of modern society.

In June 1974, the International Labour Organization (ILO) representing some 130 countries (government, management and labour) adopted both an ILO Convention and a very substantive recommendation on paid educational leave defined as leave granted to a worker for educational purposes for a specific period during working hours with adequate financial entitlements. The preamble of the newly adopted instruments express the objectives of these documents:

> *"Considering that the need for continuing education and training related to scientific and technological development and the changing pattern of economic and social relations call for adequate arrangements for labour for education and training to meet new aspirations, needs and objectives of a social, economic, technological and cultural character and,*
>
> *Considering that paid educational leave should be regarded as one means of meeting the real needs of individual workers in modern society."*

The implications of this are quite evident, namely that working people should have the right to educational opportunities without having to give up their jobs or sacrifice their income or any other benefits. It should however, be recognized that paid educational leave is not a substitute for adequate education and training early in life and that it is only one of a variety of means for continuing education and training.

****

For workers, paid educational leave is a means of continuing education intended to facilitate their adaption to contemporary needs and to enable them to participate more effectively in the national effort towards economic and social development.

Paid educational leave should not be limited to encouraging the training, retraining and further training of workers and staff people, but it should be used also to improve their trade union education and their general social and civic education. It should enable one to find his place not only in occupational life but also in society. It is an instrument for the democratization of education and training and will help workers to become qualified persons, to contribute to the best of their ability and to face the problems of modern times.

Paid educational leave must be looked at within the framework of continuing education and should be used as a means of promoting a labour force able to improve the climate of industrial relations and labour productivity.

It is in the interest of the employer to have experienced and responsible shop stewards and other employee representatives in their undertaking, thus it is reasonable to expect the employer to contribute to the training.

Both paid educational leave and life-long education are justified not only for economic reasons but also for reasons of social justice and the need to allow each person to achieve the full development of his talents and personality in all aspects of life and society.

Therefore, it is recommended that:

- special efforts be made to negotiate into collective agreements, provisions covering tuition reimbursement and scholarship award programs open to trade unionists for their own education tenable at the Labour College;

- paid leave for educational purposes be included in our bargaining objectives on a national basis.

42nd COUCHICHING CONFERENCE

TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE AND RETRAINING

Gower Markle, Thursday, August 9, 1973 - 9.30 a.m.

1) The question for discussion:

> "Technological Change and Retraining. To maintain price stability and control inflationary trends, employers are required to increase productivity in the work force, often by introduction of new technologies and automation. Who is responsible for the displaced or obsolescent worker?"

What must be done?

A. Government must:

1. Implement a "Bill of Workers' Rights" which will clearly and strongly protect all workers from arbitrary action.
2. Bring about an equitable distribution of the benefits of industrial society, e.g., the Guaranteed Annual Income (Theobald), or the Negative Income Tax (Samuelson), and improved social insurance programs.
3. Move toward the acceptance of the "Leisure Society" (J. Dumazedier) which is part of the same vision of the "Learning Society" described by McLuhan and Hutchins.

   e.g. Paid Leave for Educational Purposes - I.L.O.
4. Initiate adequate and appropriate retraining programs through which workers suffer no economic, social, or psychological harm or loss.

B. Labour must:

1. Continue to promote and protect the total welfare of all workers and their families through competent and diligent collective bargaining and through Legislative and Political education and action.

   e.g. The impact of technological change.
2. Be flexible and be prepared to consider and negotiate on all positive proposals from management and government.
3. Be prepared to co-operate and participate with management and government on all socially constructive undertakings.

   e.g. Retraining, Upgrading, Research, Task Force Projects, etc. (Toffler - Adhocracy)
4. Expand and extend its own education programs and Public Relations.

Technological Change and Retraining continued

C. Management must:

1. Recognize and respect the intrinsic human rights of workers, including the right of free association.

2. Recognize and respect Labour's legitimate demands for participation in management of both public and private enterprise - give workers' concern equal weight to the concerns of management.

3. Work co-operatively with labour and government to prevent workers becoming displaced, redundant, or declared "obsolete"

   e.g. Retraining, Etc.

4. In 1969, G. Alvin Hart, Chairman and Chief Executive of the Bank of Montreal, said in a speech:

   "self-interest alone demands that business play its full role in ensuring that the healthy development of the community as a whole is not inhibited by failure or decay in any of its parts."

   Good advice, but few of us listened!

Guaranteed Annual Income: Vocabulary Test

Choose one of the following words to place in the blank beside the correct definition.

Vocabulary

affluence
food stamps
disincentive
demeaning
job-obsolescence
unemployment insurance
credit buying
incentive-guaranteed-income
inequitable

Definitions

1. The expenditure of income not yet received through work. ______________________
2. A particular job becomes extinct due to technological change. ______________________
3. Prosperity. ______________________
4. Cash payments made by the government while job readjustment occurs. ______________________
5. A government-issued certificate used to buy food. ______________________
6. Damaging to self-respect. ______________________
7. Unequal. ______________________
8. A loss of motivation to earn an income. ______________________
9. A base income is guaranteed and there is motivation to earn more. ______________________

Define

Work-income link:

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Guaranteed annual income:

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THE WORK-INCOME LINK: TOWARD POST-ECONOMIC MOTIVATION

Throughout the bulk of history human livelihood has been directly linked to the performance of work. Generation after generation was taught "If one did not work, one did not eat."

Today, however, that link is becoming increasingly indirect. Although only small portions of our work-age population are affected, signs point to a gradual weakening of the iron law that demands continual work effort as the price for survival.

Indeed, several complimentary forces are moving us toward a general collapse of the work-income link as we now know it. Let's look at some of the indications.

First, the extension of years spent on education has divorced more and more people from the traditional work-income link.

Second, the growing complexities of advanced industrial economies are likewise disrupting this link. Economic cycles, shifting market demands, job obsolescent, technological displacement, and the growing tendency toward temporary or project work assignments have fostered long and more frequent transitions between work periods.

Third, the exploding productive capacities of our abundance regions coupled with the necessity for balancing supply and demand have created the need for a vast, accelerating expansion of credit, allowing the expenditure of income not yet received through work activities.

Finally, the increasing commitment within affluent societies to assist the needy through various forms of welfare is further cutting the relationship between work and income.

In the most general sense the growing dissolution of the work-income link is the result of a two-edged sword. On the one hand, the growing complexities of advanced industrial societies have bred casualties such as cyclical unemployment and changing skill requirements.

On the other hand, today's affluence has fostered a more compassionate and supportive response to disjunctures in income than was possible under the harsh conditions of scarcity that dominated the not-so-distant past.

These conditions have led to a multitude of private and government-sponsored income-maintenance and education programs designed to ease the burden of those who for one reason or another are unable to secure their livelihood directly from work activities.

In the field of education we have provided student loans, scholarships, and programs which seek to integrate work and education. Readjustment and transitional problems have been met with unemployment insurance, severance pay, and drawing in advance on social security and pension plans. General credit has been expanded through the use of credit cards, overdraw privileges for checking accounts, and vastly liberalized loan contracts.

Finally, for the less fortunate, welfare has been developed in the form of cash allowances, food stamps, and limited medical aid programs.

Existing income-maintenance programs do reduce the problems associated with faltering links between work and income, but regrettably, they are often suboptimal and frequently woefully inadequate in terms of their stated purposes.

For instance, scholarships are extremely limited, and loans provide no adjustment mechanisms for faulty educational planning like that which led to the teacher and engineer gluts of the 1970s.

Readjustment and transitional income programs do not cover all workers, provide too little aid, and are frequently terminated too soon. Credit is too often reserved for those who do not truly need it, and interest rates are in many cases exploitive.

Welfare programs are riddled with inconsistencies, incur massive administrative expenses, demean the self-respect of participants, and generally provide inadequate and inequitable assistance. And in addition, our current array of income-maintenance programs is swiftly proving to be too complex to be understood by the average citizen, and too cumbersome to be efficiently and responsibly administered.

During the last few years the increasingly apparent inadequacies of our income-maintenance programs have inspired proposals for a general guaranteed income plan, which would insure all persons of a minimum income floor as a basic human right. Such a program would cause fundamental changes in the motivations, goals and organization of work.

THE FUTURE OF WORK

Will Canadians always need to work?

> The definition of work hasn't changed. It is only the need to work in the traditional sense of the phrase, that is undergoing drastic change.
>
> -- The Hon. John Munro

by DWIGHT BOTTING

ON THE SURFACE "work" appears to be a very simple concept. But consideration of it raises many questions: What is work? Do people work for reasons other than money? Are people's attitudes to work changing? What have been the attitudes to work in the past?

Many experts feel that our society is facing a "work crisis" and that finding solutions to it will not be easy. It has not always been like this in North America. However, in the 20th century we have experienced tremendous economic growth. One of the main reasons for this growth has been our attitude towards work.

Essentially, it was believed that most people who worked hard would be successful and would get ahead in society. Wealth and possessions were believed to come from hard work. Also, successful people, because they worked hard, were considered to be morally strong. This attitude toward work and its benefits came to be known as the "work ethic."

These "work" values still exist today. Politicians, to be successful, must talk about job creation and higher wages. School counsellors often explain the purpose of education purely in terms of job opportunity. Many parents want their children to have better jobs than they have had.

High social status is associated with most high-paying jobs. We value work, and some types of work are more valuable than others.

HISTORICAL ATTITUDES

Let us look at some past attitudes toward work. Work hasn't always been considered an important social value. The ancient Greeks, for example, stressed leisure and used slavery as the work system.

Many other societies have valued work but not allowed people to progress by working hard. This was generally the situation in the medieval world under the feudal system. If you were born a serf you were obliged to work hard and to die as a serf.

The Renaissance is that period of history during which Europe moved from being medieval to modern. It began in the 14th century in Italy and lasted until the 17th century.

The Renaissance brought great changes in the way man viewed himself. Man's attitude toward work was affected by these changes. The taking of profit and the accumulation of capital were significant changes associated with this period. As the spirit of capitalism took hold in European towns and grew, the medieval world withered.

The next major change to affect attitudes toward work was the Industrial Revolution, which began about 1760 in Britain. Workers were assembled in factories and paid wages in return for performing the tasks that the owner demanded. The situation where one person (for example, a shoemaker) did all the jobs to make a product eventually ended. It gave way to a system where each person did only one job in a series needed to make the product.

Because they were working together, workers were now in a position to organize and bargain for better wages and working conditions.

Changes in industry became so widespread that by the early 20th century the economies of North America and Western Europe had become primarily industrial. Previously, they were agricultural. A country was considered to have an industrial economy when more than half of its people were living in cities.

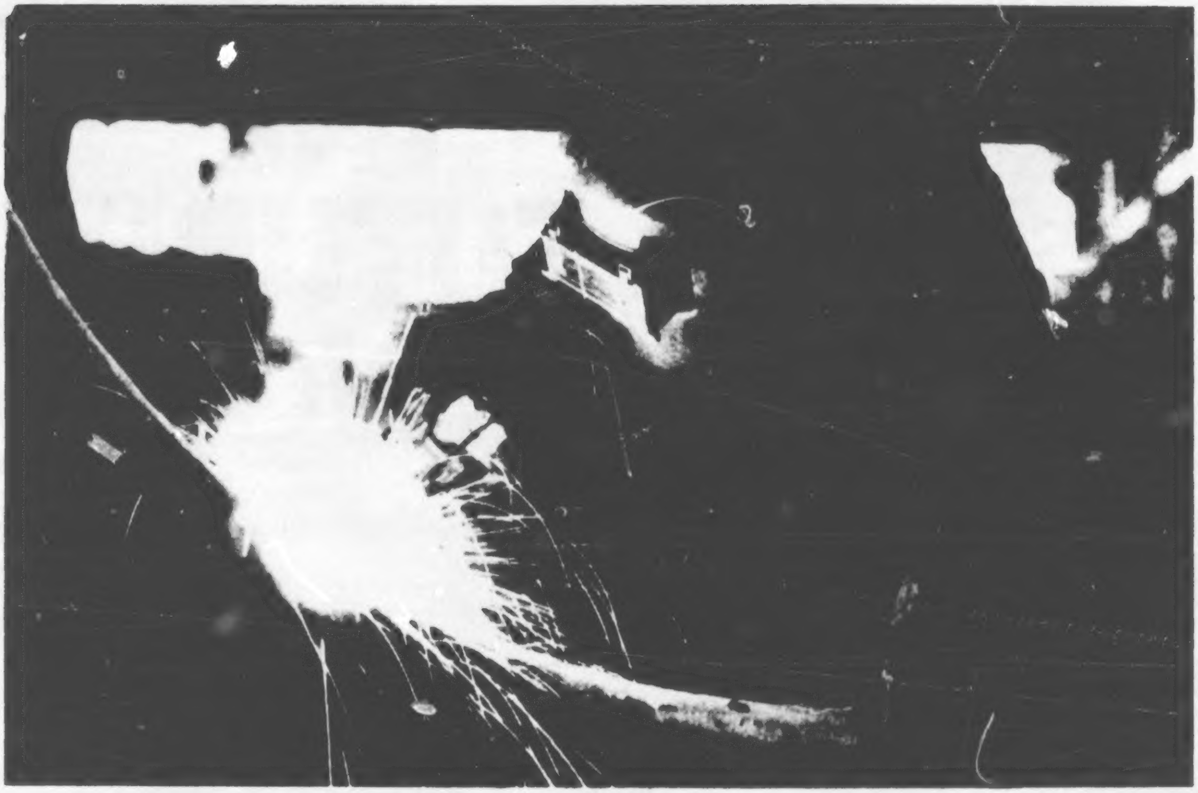
Another change has since occurred: The majority of our workers today are not involved in the production of real, material products. They are involved in service industries where, instead of producing a product, something is *done* for some. Finance, education, marketing and data processing are examples of service industries.

PROBLEMS TODAY

In spite of our economic success, we still have problems:

- One major problem is the assembly line. Although its use has allowed workers to earn good wages, an assembly line can be extremely boring to work on. The result is that many assembly line workers are not achieving the productive increases that are expected of them.
- Also, absenteeism is apparently increasing.
- Management complains that workers are not responding to authority the way they used to do.
- Workers complain that many companies are retiring people early, even though the people are useful and want to produce.
- There is debate over the value of the four-day week.
- Opposition parties complain about high unemployment. Yet businessmen say they cannot find people to perform certain uncreative jobs.
- Many Canadian workers are now complaining about American domination of their unions.
- Labour-management relations seem to be at very low ebb; strikes are constantly in the news.

The attitude some people have toward work is changing. Some experts explain this by saying the expectations of workers are changing. They argue that our wealthy society has created a situation where material well-being, through high wages, is taken for granted. Television tells us we can all enjoy the good life all day



and not just after work. Yet, the assembly line does not permit us this good life during the day. High wages have not been enough to maintain normal productivity increases.

Simply, workers' expectations are high and when these expectations are not met they do not respond as employers would like them to.

POSSIBLE REMEDIES

Many companies are trying to meet these new expectations by adjusting the nature of the jobs they offer. this "job enrichment" has meant that in some companies workers have been formed into teams, each of which is responsible for total production of the product.

Profit-sharing is another method of strengthening an employee's attitude toward his or her job. It permits each worker to share a portion of the company's income. The harder everyone works, presumably the more everyone receives.

But are these adjustments going to work? Karl Marx predicted that capitalism would eventually fail partially because the workers in time would reject the system. Marx felt this would occur because industry takes away a person's sense of personal contribution.

Many people call the job enrichment programs a necessary step in the establishment of industrial democracy. Others see it as a futile measure against the advance of Marx's predicted death of capitalism.

Should housewives be paid? Traditionally, the husband has always been paid for his work outside the home. However, the housewife has never been paid for her work at home. Even though a housewife is not considered a worker in traditional economic terms, it would be unwise to tell one that she is not working. Within your lifetime housewives will probably receive Canada Pension Plan benefits and maybe even wages.

GUARANTEED INCOME

All Canadians may soon receive a guaranteed annual income from our economy, which will be rich enough to provide it. A guaranteed income is a sum of money which the government would pay to a family or individual to make sure they enjoy a minimum standard of living. The possibility of such an income has arisen partly because of changes in the work ethic.

A guaranteed annual income could place all low-paying, non-satisfying jobs in jeopardy The traditional concept of work as a money-making activity could give way to a new definition.

There are conflicting opinions about the effects of a guaranteed annual income. Some people see the guaranteed annual income as a moral disaster which will encourage many lazy people to lie around in idleness while living off taxpayers' money. Other people see it as a great opportunity for people to escape from day-to-day drudgery and to engage in more self-fulfilling pursuits.

Some experts predict that by the year 2,000 work and leisure will have become one: they will be very difficult to tell apart. About five percent of the population, through computers and advanced technology, will be producing all of our material goods. Presumably, this five percent will be the people who derive their greatest fulfillment from doing this work.

The federal government's Local Initiatives Program and the Opportunities for Youth venture are examples of what we might expect in the future. The people in these programs are mainly involved in projects that they have defined as useful.

Predicting the future of the work ethic is difficult. The change in people's expectations will always affect the values that people associate with work. In this respect attitudes toward work have always changed and will continue to change.

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LABOUR'S MANIFESTO FOR CANADA

Text of this Manifesto was approved by the
11th Constitutional Convention of the Canadian Labour Congress,
held in Quebec City, May 17-21, 1976

The labour movement in Canada has a proud history of achievements — achievements through collective bargaining for the working people we directly represent — achievements in the form of progressive social programmes which serve all Canadians. Our success has been based upon solidarity among workers in their relations with employers and a commitment to use the power of that solidarity to promote the principles of freedom, justice and equality for all:

> SOLIDARITY to give us the strength to resist arbitrary employers and government;
>
> FREEDOM to associate with our fellow workers in the institutions we have created;
>
> JUSTICE from a government elected to serve the people;
>
> EQUALITY in the distribution of the social and ecomonic fruits of our labour.

The policies of organized labour have always been based on the belief that, out of the need for change, can come progress — progress toward the objectives of social and economic equality to which our movement has been committed throughout its history. Labour's principles remain the same as when Canadian workers first struck for basic trade union rights. Only the circumstances have changed. The time has come for a new programme for labour and a reassessment of our own organizational structures. A new stage of history was declared on October 13, 1975 — a new stage in which organized labour will need the power of its solidarity more than ever before — a new stage in which the opportunities for progressive change are greater than ever before.

Most of us are still reeling from the introduction of wage controls. Compulsory national arbitration of all major collecive agreements is such a rude shock to the trade unionist's conception of free collective bargaining that it knocks the stilts out from under the economic, social and even political ideas with which we see ourselves and our role in society. The consequences of wage controls for working people and their organizations are unfolding at a disturbing speed:

- a steady stream of collective agreements are being rolled back;
- free collective bargaining has been suspended;
- there is no effective recourse to appeal;
- once a collective agreement has been concluded it has to be renegotiated all over again with the AIB;
- unions are increasingly having to face the prospect of striking against the AIB and, by implication, the government;
- the arithmetic guidelines are being applied with a bureaucratic slavishness which makes nonsense of the "historical relationships" and "special considerations";
- gross inequities are being created among workers doing the same jobs.

We have demonstrated our ability to recover from this first crude blow. The tide of opposition to wage controls is mounting with rallies, marches and demonstrations from one side of the country to the other. The increasingly apparent inability of the AIB to control prices is steadily convincing Canadians generally of the wisdom of the Congress' opposition to wage controls.

The defense of trade union rights has been difficult enough on its own in a generally hostile political environment. But the government has chosen to raise the issues involved to another level. When the Prime Minister began to talk about the new society many trade union leaders heaved a big sigh of relief. There were other groups in society who were frightened by the implications of Trudeau's sophistry. Our political isolation had ended. We could go on the attack and others would support us. But the new debate created new problems. It seemed to make for strange bedfellows. Some were embarrassed by the new-found friends in the Chambers of Commerce; some were bewildereed by the apparent lack of respect for the usual political alignments; some were glad for support from any direction to defeat wage controls.

Wage and price controls have been and are being used by the government as a political and not an economic weapon. They are the vehicle by which it intends to transform the institution of Canada. It is only in this context that the full implications of controls can be understood — they are the launching pad for the future.

Our movement faces a twofold challenge — to defeat wage controls and to mobilize our strength behind the task of creating a more equitable and just society in the wake of that defeat. The next few years are filled with tremendous potential for the trade union movement to mould and transform the economic and political institutions of Canada. They will be tumultuous and difficult times but if we have the vision and capacity to seize upon the times we can be a leading force for social good. The need for change is clear. The question for our movement is whether we want to be in the forefront or lag behind only to respond to the initiatives of government. We have an opportuntiy to seize the initiative and secure our rightful place as a major force in the policy-making process, and turn the *need* for change toward the achievement of *progressive* change.

The response of the Congress to the government's attack on the incomes and rights of working people has been consistent and unequivocal but it remains defensive. The time has come to move to the front -- to escalate our oppostion to wage controls and to formulate a labour programme for the political, economic and social future of this county. A few short months of controls have raised a number of economic, political and trade union questions to which we have not yet provided adequate answers. The national debate about controls has been expanded to a debate about the post-control society or "decontrols." We must begin by understanding the meaning of "decontrols" and the economic objectives of both controls and "decontrols".

CANADIAN LABOUR CONGRESS
CONGRES DU TRAVAIL DU CANADA

Decontrols

Journalists, politicians and the general public are all speculating as to just what the Prime Minsister intends for the post-control society — about the meaning of "decontrols". There are at least four possibilities:

1. It could mean that Trudeau has rediscovered his youthful social conscience and is now going to use his position of power to build a more equitable and planned society. This seems an unlikely interpretation, but, even if it is true, the fact is that Trudeau does not have the political base within his own party to carry out that kind of change. Perhaps he is looking for a political realignment. However, if that was the case, his initial miscalculation was a disastrous one. You don't draw organized labour into a new political alliance by attacking the very basis of its existence.

2. Decontrols may mean a kind of liberal corporatism in which organized labour cooperates with the state and business to establish guidelines for our respective demands on the economic system and to determine our respective shares. It may include a small dose of economic planning but is unlikely to involve more than systematizing the present substantial but fragmented assistance provided to industry by government.

3. Decontrols might mean a return to "normalcy" as so many liberal economists would like to believe is possible. The theory is that all the economy needs is a rude shock to make groups who have been demanding too much behave themselves and then the rules of the game will be able to do the job once again. Competition will control the corporations; governments as employers will no longer be intimidated by the powerful public service unions; organized labour will have its free collective bargaining rights — such as they were prior to October 14th — restored in full; the liberal economists don't have to rethink the basic framework which provides them with the tools of the trade on the basis of which they make their living. It is really a very lazy theory and, in any case, given Trudeau's apparent fascination with the ideas of Galbraith it seems unlikely that it forms the basis of his thinking.

4. Decontrols may mean, "How do we move out of the contol period in such a way as to ensure that organized labour is not able to recover the losses incurred in the control period?"

Clearly none but the first of these possible meanings is acceptable to social democratic trade unionists. Unfortunately, it is also the least likely outcome. No doubt we should distinguish between intent and oucomes of government policy and perhaps some members of the government do actually have this intent. However, liberal corporatism seems the most likely intent, while the last possible meaning seems to be the most likely outcome.

The question for trade unionists is simply, "How much power do we have?" Do we have to accept wage controls and go along with the government's notions of liberal corporatism? Can we protect the basic rights of working people and defeat wage controls? Do we have enough power to force the government to give "decontrols" the first possible meaning? The last of these questions is clearly the most interesting for a social democrat. The answer will obviously depend upon the ability of labour leadership to mobilize the union movement behind a political programme which goes much beyond the defensive position we have taken to this point. However, our destiny is not so much within our own control that this is the only requirement. We have to examine the problem the government is attempting to solve in order to determine whether we can come out with a new suit of clothes or with our skins barely intact.

The economic problem

The most direct way to get at this question is to ignore temporarily the question of government intentions and be concerned only with outcomes. Here we have to be concerned not simply with the present state of federal government economic policy but with the general direction of policy at all levels of government and the general political mood of the country. It is fairly clear that there is a general shift to the political right in the policy of government and in the political mood — at least in the sense that governments have chosen to mobilize right wing sentiments in order to retain their place in power.

If we look specifically at the anti-inflation programme we see that is has two elements — direct controls on incomes and prices and a shift in monetary and fiscal policy. Perhaps the actual impact of these two elements will lead us to the basic economic problem which the government is trying to solve. We know that controls on prices and incomes are, in fact, wage controls. This clearly means that one of the results of the anti-inflation programme will be a reduction in the price of labour and consequently an increase in the return on capital (although perhaps not in profit margins as defined in the price and profit guidelines). Many trade unionists have instinctively wondered why controls were not introduced when profits were increasingly dramatically but were introduced when there were signs that wages were beginning to recover their relative position. This instinctive response points to the fact that the government in its role as manager of the economy is more concerned about "wage push" inflation than it is about "price pull" inflation. The reason is straightforward enough — price pull tends to enhance profits while wage push tends to squeeze profits.

It should be clearly understood that this does not necessarily imply that profits will be enhanced by controls — only that they will not be squeezed as much as they otherwise would have been.

With respect to monetary policy, conventional economic thinking suggests that tighter money will result in more unemployment. Fiscal and monetary policy have proven to be insufficient tools for economy management because they seem incapable of dealing with inflation and unemployment at the same time. The fact that the government in its role as economy manager continues to use these instruments suggests that the problems remain the same. It is just that more instruments are required.

The government's conception of a fiscal policy which deals with inflation is one which involves cuts in government expenditure. While some levels of government have made symbolic attempts to cut the fat out of their operations, social programmes constitute such a major portion of government expenditure that they cannot make any significant cuts without attacking these programmes. This has become particularly difficult since many social security and social welfare programmes have been legislatively protected against the effects of inflation in recent years. Governments no longer have the option of not making discretionary increases in old age pensions. Consequently, we have a growing chorus of calls for a general review of "statutory expenditures." The federal government is introducing legislation to limit its share of the cost of medical services and reduce its share of the total cost of unemployment insurance. In the provincial sector governments are reducing the budgets of welfare agencies, closing the hospitals or reducing available services, increasing medicare costs and introducing work-for-welfare schemes. These programmes serve as wages and salaries for people who cannot find work for a whole range of reasons or provide services which would otherwise have to be paid out of wages and salaries.

We might argue about whether these programmes have been successful in achieving a meaningful redistribution of income but the point is that the present distribution is such that these cutbacks mainly hit working people and those who have to live at or below the average income of working people. The labour movement has campaigned for social programmes to meet the needs that wages cannot and which are paid for largely out of taxes. Cutbacks in social programmes are simply another form of the general attempt to reduce the price of labour. Governments have followed their argument that controls are necessary to protect the economically defenseless by hitting them a second time.

Still ignoring the question of intent, the likely outcome of the anti-inflation programme is clear: controls mean wage controls; tighter money means fewer jobs; cutbacks further reduce the price of labour. The effect of government policy is to attack the very things which have, in post-war history, led trade unionists to the view that the system has served them well. *The fact that governments feel free to conduct their initial attack against wages and social security programmes demonstrates labour's real lack of political power on a national basis.*

The managers of corporations always want to minimize the cost of labour. In a sense the government has become a manager at the national level. In fact, they always have been economy managers. They have just found some new ways of performing their function. If we can be allowed to read intent into the outcome oF government policy, the economy managers appear to have the same objective as corporation managers. A corporation has many ways of minimizing the cost of labour (or more precisely — maximizing the return from labour) and it all works reasonably well so long as the real incomes of the workers are increasing steadily and the corporation's position relative to other organizations selling the same product remains stable. If their relative position is deteriorating they have to cut into the increasing real incomes of their work force; they may be in a position to invest more capital or use other means to increase productivity or eliminate jobs. To accomplish any of these they may have to undermine the effectiveness of the union in various ways which are available to them.

The national economy managers have some of the same options. Everything works reasonably well so long as real incomes are increasing. If the relative position of the economy is deteriorating in relation to other countries, they seek to cut into the real incomes of working people or the jobs available to them. It is more difficult for a government to increase productivity but it is significant that they are looking at ways of doing precisely that. It is no accident that the government has been talking of our "deteriorating export position" in recent months. Historically, the government has generally been able to perform its economic function with the application of a little sound Keynesian economics, "reforms" of the tax structure or other means which are essentially at arm's-length from the economic lives of working people. But these arm's-length techniques have apparently proved ineffective. *They are now having to undermine the effectiveness of unions by an attack on their collective bargaining rights. They have had to use a political instrument along with the usual economic instruments.*

Sometimes corporations are in a positon to take action which will benefit the corporation and the people who work for it — then all goes well. Sometimes they are not in that position and need a helping hand — sometimes in the form of a work force which willingly or after unsuccessfully resisting, accepts a reduction in incomes or jobs — sometimes in the form of a "helping hand-out" from government.

Sometimes governments are able to take action which benefits the country as a whole. But when they are not in that position their options are more limited. Normally the "helping hand-out" is not available to the national economy managers except to the extent that there is a developing coalition of nations attempting to administer the international economic system and to the extent that other nations perceive it as in their interests to maintain the relative position of those in trouble. One of the problems for the economy managers is that most of their instruments are at arm's-length and they are all directed at workers. They have to rely on cutting back services to working people; reducing the real incomes of working people; undermining the rights of working people. Government is presently using all of these instruments.

Most of the real powers of economic decision making are in private hands. What is more — most of the private hands resist any attempt by the government to take on anything more than arm's-length powers, excepting, of course, the power of charity. *The corporations will let the government step in to give the workers a dose of salts but they want them out as soon as possible for fear that they might get the idea of staying on.* The corporations are so busy scuffling with each other that they haven't noticed that the grass in the ballpark is turning brown. The government has already

got the idea of staying on. It has recognized the need for a good groundskeeper if the game is to carry on. *The introduction of controls necessitates the development of "decontrols" and by this the government means more direct powers of economic management for itself.*

We have decided not to accept the reductions of rights and wages. Will we be forced to accept them after ussuccessfully resisting? Will we be able to force the economy managers to make decisions which improve the position of working people generally in the same way that successful unions have been able to force corporation managers to make decisions which improve the position of the members of a bargaining unit?

This is really all the same question: How much power do we have? *If we do not have the power to resist wage controls then we will ultimately be co-opted into serving the government's intentions.* In this case, we *would have* **liberal** *corporatism.* The corporations may not unite to defend their collective self-interest but the government will permanently intervene to reduce the rights and incomes of working people. *In this development tri-partism would mean that the institutions of organized labour would function to ensure the acquiescence of workers to decisions taken by new institutions in which their representatives have no real power.*

However, if we do have the power to resist wage controls, then we also have the power to create **social** *democracy.* But for this result to occur, *organized labour needs to develop national bargaining power to deal with the national economy managers and a national social and economic programme — a bargaining position.*

There is no real choice here. The economic problem has to be solved; the economic system has to be managed more effectively; some measure of private decision-making power has to be taken over by government. *Organized labour has to resist wage controls and it has to resist in order to win. Resisting the kind of controls which mean wage controls means resisting the kind of "decontrols" which are designed to ensure that organized labour cannot recover its position.* The elements are all the same whether we are dealing with corporation managers or economy managers. We need a legal framework of bargaining rights, bargaining power and a bargaining position.

Tri-partism and national planning

In talking about or planning for tri-partism we should harbour no false illusions about either the dangers or the task which confronts labour. The economic and social problems facing Canada will consume a great deal of labour's energies in the foreseeable future.

Labour must make it clear that it will never enter any tri-partite arrangement at less than *full* partnership status. Full partnership means that national planning must include more than an incomes policy in which only wages and salaries are restrained. The close identification historically and presently between government's interests and business' interests is a clear warning to labour that when it comes to dividends, profits for investment, exports and all non-wage or salary forms of income it is only wages that are restrained. *The business community will continue to argue that it must have the necessary economic climate to pursue profits and every time that its positon deteriorates we can expect that wages and labour costs will be the first sector restrained. The mere fact of tri-partism will not alter that fundamental fact.*

A prerequisite of tri-partism must be that management gives up its unilateral right to determine investment and pricing policies. Labour must not willingly enter into any arrangement where only half the income equation i.e. wages is to be determined. To do this would place labour continually on the defensive for all time. *To enter into a tri-partite agreement under such adverse circumstances would indeed be using the union organization as an arm of both business and government to restrain the workers.*

Because of the close identity between business and government it is unlikely that either would willingly concede to share their power with labour. Business would not be willing to relinquish its power to invest and set its own prices and profits while government would certainly not give up the power to govern. Unless the business community and government are willing to concede power to labour, tri-partism will turn into a method of control over labour unions and the cost of labour. This of course is most unsatisfactory.

Nevertheless, this is not to say that tri-partism or the equal sharing of all powers between labour, business and government should not be an objective of labour since the wresting of power away from business and its government in the interests of labour is our legitimate goal. This is the price industry and government must pay.

Labour has always set the price at which it would support "the system". At the local or plant level labour, through collective bargaining, negotiates the price at which it agrees to support the plant enterprise. At the national level the price of labour's support has been legislative measures in the field of social security such as the universal right to education for all, pensions, unemployment insurance, old age security, family allowance and others. The price of labour's future support must be an equal share in the economic and social decision-making on a national basis with other partners — business and government.

Centralization of government

As an organization that has historically promoted democratic socialism, social and economic planning have remained central to our philosophy. Social and economic planning however, demand a central political authority if national planning is to succeed. Regional disparities continue to be a millstone around Canada's neck while workers in their collective bargaining are also frustrated because of these disparities.

It may be academic for labour to be seized of the issue of a centralized political power for the federal government is not likely to leave much room for disagreement. All indications point in the direction of some type of tri-partite structure for arriving at policy. Recent speeches by Trudeau and Munro about national income sharing lead to this conclusion. It was no accident that the article in the Financial Post, "Trudeau Task Force Remaps Economy" carried the message that the group's work ". . . goes far beyond the price/income programme. It is looking into broad structural problems in the Canadian economy with a view to finding ways of solving these — with or without . . . 'massive intervention' by government."

Further evidence which suggests greater federal power in the future is the recent initiative by Trudeau to patriate the *British North America Act 1867*, with or without the consent of the provinces. It is not by accident that Trudeau has raised the constitutional issue at this particular moment. It is a well planned manoeuvre and must be interpreted as a very important part of his overall vision of a strong central government. Those observers who see the patriation of the *BNA Act* as strictly a political move to take the heat out of the wage and price control controversy are wrong. This move is an integral part of the "decontrols" directed at a centralization of powers in Ottawa to more effectively permit the federal government to carry out its brand of national planning.

Logic drives us to the conclusion that the government is moving into a new era in which the institutions of this country are going to change. National planning on social and economic issues demand strong central powers. The question for the CLC is whether *it wishes to be in the forefront in planning the structure of the future in the way in which it believes will best serve the workers' interests or not.* The game is dangerous but the stakes are high. It is really not a question of "co-operating" with the government but one of strength and bargaining ability — of which the labour movement has both.

If the labour movement makes the decision to be in the forefront of change then it can do this successfully from a position of power. As stated previously, there is great danger in being co-opted in a tri-partite policy making process involving the bureaucracy, business, government and labour. Labour's strength at the moment is fragmented among its affiliates and at the plant level.

In the future the CLC must have the power which can only come from the collective strength of its affiliates. There must be agreement between all the affiliates that a full cooperative and coordinated effort will be forthcoming to guarantee that the CLC is operating from a position of strength to protect the rights, freedoms and legitimate interests of all workers. The Executive Council as the responsible decision-making body between Conventions must be assured that the policies and decisions it makes will be followed closely by all the affiliates.

Labour's programme for the future

Canada has clearly reached a stage in its history when our future economic growth cannot be secured without the cooperation of organized labour in national economic and social policies. The present government wants the kind of cooperation in which we *willingly accept* reductions in our wages. They want us to go along with an anti-inflation programme which is based on the argument that labour costs are undermining our international competitive position; which has stimulated an attack on social programmes; which ignores the serious problems of unemployment and income distribution; and which fails to control prices or attack the structural causes of inflation in the three chief elements of the family budget — housing, food and energy. They want us to cooperate in rolling back our historic achievements.

We have made it clear that we will not cooperate with a programme of wage controls; to do so would be to reject the fundamental principles of our movement. We will not be a party to an attack on the incomes and rights of working people and the economically defenseless. We cannot be convinced that the way forward requires several steps back.

The need for change is clear. Any society which can find the finance capital for extravagant hotels or Olympic sites but not homes for people and jobs in the regions; any society which attacks *unemployment insurance* instead of unemployment; any society which implements an anti-inflation programme in the name of those who suffer most only to hit them a second time with social cutbacks; any society which can suspend the basic rights of ordinary people with impunity; any society which can elect a government on an anti-control platform only to be subjugated to controls requires change.

What is required is change in the way that important economic and social decisions are made. Business and government must now share their power with labour. If labour's cooperation is required to lead us out of our economic difficulties then it can only be on the basis of a programme

- which recognizes the right to employment for a living wage as the cornerstone of a productive and equitable society;
- which recognizes the need to create jobs as the first economic priority;
- which contains a commitment to protect those who suffer from inflation by taxing those who benefit;
- which includes a commitment to redress this country's unacceptable record in redistributing income;
- which recognizes that an equitable society can only be achieved if the power of corporations to set prices is constrained to match the constraint which is imposed on the price of labour by the collective bargaining process;
- which recognizes that private investment decisions must serve the interests of ordinary people.

Organized labour is committed to these objectives and principles. The only guarantee that they will be honoured in our national economic and social decisions is if organized labour is a full partner in making those decisions.

What is required is a system of national social and economic planning. Only through planned development will be able

- to direct investment to creating jobs in secondary manufacturing and in the regions where they are most needed;
- to ensure that the resources are available to meet basic needs such as housing;
- to implement a programme of national manpower planning;
- to plan future urban growth and protect land for food production;
- to negotiate the distribution of our national income on an equitable basis;
- to develop a national transportation policy which would complement a national industrial strategy;
- to implement a social security and health services system which would apply equally to all Canadians;
- to establish our national social and economic priorities.

The 10 point programme of the Canadian Labour Congress has been put forward as an alternative to the government's anti-inflation programme. It is a social as well as an economic programme which would establish basic standards of income and housing for all Canadians — which would create jobs and protect those who suffer most from inflation. It is a programme which has been adopted by all the affiliates of this Congress and which has been promoted and accepted the length and breadth of the labour movement.

Our fight *against* wage controls must become a fight *for* a just and equitable society based on:

- the right to employment at a wage which will meet basic needs;
- the right to freely associate with your fellow workers;
- the right to bargain collectively with your employer.

What is required now is a programme of action to *defeat* wage controls and *achieve* national social and economic planning. Only with such a programme can we honour our historic commitment to equality, justice and freedom for all and play our full part in securing the economic and social future of this country.

Progressive change can grow out of the *need* for change, that is the price of our cooperation. To win in this struggle every trade unionist in our movement and every affiliate of this Congress will have to commit themselves to mobilizing our strength and coordinating our resources in a way which has never been done before.

This Programme of Action was approved by the 11th Constitutional Convention of the Canadian Labour Congress, held in Quebec City, May 17-21, 1976

Programme of Action

In this Convention we have adopted a *Manifesto* which commits and dedicates the labour movement of Canada to the goals of social equity and justice; to national economic and social planning; to social democracy; to labour's rightful role in national policy-making and the sharing of power.

Having adopted the *Manifesto*, the time has now come for this Convention to pledge its support for a programme of action that will bring to fruition the principles and the goals contained in the *Manifesto*. In order to achieve the goals of the *Manifesto* and expand our opposition to the controls, we must have a commitment from all sections of the Congress. Our goals will require the total mobilization of resources and the full collective will of the Canadian labour movement. Nothing less will do!

The affiliates must commit the time, the expertise and the resources of their staff to the task of organizing and carrying the campaign to the communities in which our people reside. We must familiarize all Canadian workers and the Canadian public with our programme and our reasons for it; we must make them aware of the dangers inherent in the government's programme; we must be under no illusion that when we adopted the *Manifesto* we made a commitment to work for meaningful change in Canadian society; and we must recognize that in order to achieve that change nothing less than a total commitment from our affiliates to carry our whatever tasks are assigned to them will do. If the movement understands and is prepared to do all these things, then we can achieve what we have set out to do.

On March 22nd we proved that we could mobilize our forces. We must now mobilize these same forces at the community level; we must be sure that our commitment to build a better society is understood by all Canadians; and we must make it clear that Canadian labour will not be part of this programme of wage controls because they strike at the basic principles upon which our movement was founded. It must be clearly understood by all governments that we will fight to maintain our heritage; the right to control our own destiny, the right to freedom of association; and the right to dissent. For without the preservation of these fundamental rights, we cannot preserve the democratic nature of our country.

Therefore, the Executive Council, in full recognition of its responsibilities to the Congress, the affiliates and their membership and our country, recommends to this Eleventh Constitutional Convention that we dedicate ourselves to fight for the principles expressed in the *Manifesto* and to give the Congress through its Executive Council, a mandate to organize and conduct a general work stoppage, or stoppages, if and when necessary.